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WASHINGTON AND HIS COUNTRY

BEING

IRVING'S LIFE OF WASHINGTON

Abridged for the Use of Schools

WITH INTRODUCTION AND CONTINUATION, GIVING A BRIEF OUTLINE OF UNITED STATES HISTORY FROM THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA TO THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR

BY

JOHN FISKE

BOSTON, U.S.A.:
PUBLISHED BY GINN & COMPANY.
1893.

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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

IT is generally conceded, we believe, that the results of the study of history in our schools are very unsatisfactory. The pupils neither receive very distinct impressions nor acquire a love for the study of history that will lead them in after years to pursue the subject further. The attempt to enumerate all the minor events of history has obliged editors so to condense their statements, to keep the books within the proper limits, as to rob them of that easy flow of language so necessary to any work of general interest or literary merit. The study thus becomes tedious and confusing to the child, who is not able to make a proper distinction between important and unimportant events. The present book proceeds on an entirely different plan. At the outset, by omitting freely the unessential points, room is given for a more careful and extended view of the leading facts, interspersed with anecdote and biography, the side lights so necessary for an interesting presentation of a country's history.

The life of Washington, a type of the noblest manhood, the central figure in the greatest epoch of our history, will tend especially to fix in the reader's mind the important events of this period.

Although this volume is so much abridged, it preserves the inimitable language of Irving and retains the vivid interest of the original. The work as a whole possesses a wonderful degree of unity. It well deserves to be called a *Classic History of the United States*, and to stand, on account of its subject-matter and diction, by the side of the other great masterpieces of literature in our series of "Classics for Children."

Constant study of such great classic models will tend to the cultivation of a taste for good reading and a ready use of the mother tongue.

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GINN & CO.

NOVEMBER, 1887.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

THROUGH the courtesy of Messrs. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS we are allowed the use of Irving's Life of Washington from which to make this abridgment.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

It is some time since my friends, the publishers of this book, urged upon me the desirableness of making an abridgment of Irving's Life of Washington, such as might prove useful as a reading-book in schools, and of supplementing the story by a brief introduction and continuation presenting the most instructive points in the history of the United States, from the first settlement of the country by Europeans down to the close of the Civil War. In following this suggestion, I have not simply abridged Irving's work, but have occasionally interwoven text of my own with his, in view of results that had not been reached in his time. I have done this but sparingly, however. The introduction and continuation make no pretence to completeness, even as outlines. I have sought in them only to arrange some of the cardinal events of American history in suchwise as to illustrate, in view of what went before it and came after it, the significance of Washington's career.

JOHN FISKE.

Cambridge,
March 15, 1887.

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INTRODUCTION.

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION OF NORTH AMERICA.

§ 1. The Discovery.

The Northmen. — The time when people from the civilized countries of the Old World first visited the shores of America is not positively known. Vague stories have been current of voyages to America made long ago by Phœnicians, by Irishmen, by Welshmen; some persons have thought that our western coast was visited by Chinese junks a thousand years before Columbus. It may perhaps have been so, but the evidence is very slender, and the stories have but little value. The case is quite different, however, when we come to the stories about the Northmen.

The Northmen were people in whom Americans have much reason for feeling interested. They were one of the finest and strongest races of men ever known in the world, and they were the ancestors of most of us. They lived in the countries now known as Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and the adjacent regions of northern Germany, and have been called by various names. Under the name of Angles, or English, they conquered and settled Britain in the fifth century; under the name of Danes, they partly conquered it again in the ninth. At the same time they conquered the northern part of Gaul, where they were known as Normans; and under this name they again invaded England in the eleventh century, and formed an aristocracy there, and placed their great leader, William the Conqueror, upon the throne which his descendant, Queen Victoria, occupies to-day. They were skilful and daring sailors. From the innumerable bays and fiords which indent the Scandinavian coasts, their bold sea-rovers, known

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as Vikings, or "men of the bay," sailed forth in their little ships, not much larger than modern yachts, but strongly and neatly built, and urged along partly by oars and partly by sails; and in such little craft they visited all the coasts of Europe, disputed with the Saracens the supremacy of the Mediterranean, and even ventured far out into the trackless ocean, without compass or aught save the stars for guides. Thus they settled in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and thence, about the year 874, they made their way to Iceland, where they founded a thriving state. In 981 they discovered Greenland, and planted a colony there, which lasted about four hundred years, until it was swept away by the Black Death.

In the year 1000 Leif Ericsson sailed southwesterly from Greenland and landed in a pleasant and well-wooded country, which he called Vinland because of its abundance of grapes. Other explorers followed him, of whom the most famous was Thorfinn Karlsefni. They had fights with the savage natives of Vinland, who, from the descriptions, are supposed to have been Eskimos. Trees are scarce in Greenland and Iceland, and voyages for timber seem to have been made from time to time to Vinland as late as the fourteenth century. But the Northmen had no idea that they had found a new world; they thought Greenland and Vinland were appendages of Europe; they had reached these places without crossing a wide ocean; and their voyages along these remote coasts attracted no serious attention in Europe, though the Pope duly appointed a missionary bishop for Vinland. There are many reasons for supposing that Vinland may have been some part of the coast of New England, perhaps the region about Narragansett and Buzzard's bays; but it is possible that it may have lain as far north as Nova Scotia. It is not likely that the Northmen made any settlements in Vinland. Where they did settle, as in Greenland, they have left abundant remains of ruined houses and churches. No such vestiges have been found on the coasts of Nova Scotia or New England. The stone building at Newport, which has made so much talk, is undoubtedly a windmill built on the estate of Benedict Arnold, governor of Rhode Island, after the pattern of one with which he had been familiar

near his old home in England. The inscription on Dighton rock is apparently an Indian inscription, similar to those found in New Mexico and elsewhere. There is no evidence of the visits of the Northmen to America, except their own Icelandic records; and the truth of these there is no good reason for doubting.

Columbus. — It was a long time after the year 1000 before the people of Europe turned their attention to distant maritime enterprises. By and by the East India trade became a source of wealth to many European cities, especially to such as Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, which kept great fleets upon the Mediterranean. The Italian cities produced a set of able navigators, who were also men of learning and high scientific attainments, and their services were often put at the disposal of any government which would furnish them with the means of carrying out their bold enterprises. Spain and Portugal were very desirous of finding a passage by sea all the way to India, so that they might rival the commerce of the Italian cities. Portugal took the lead in this work during the fifteenth century. Portuguese captains kept venturing farther and farther down the west coast of Africa, until at last, in 1497, Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and crossed the Indian Ocean to Hindustan. But several years before this it had occurred to Columbus that, since the earth is round like a ball, the easiest way to get to India would be to strike out boldly to the west, and sail straight across the Atlantic Ocean. Learned men had long known that the earth is round, but people generally did not believe it, and it had not occurred to anybody that such a voyage would be practicable. People were afraid of going too far out into the ocean. A ship which disappears in the offing seems to be going down hill; and many people thought that if they were to get too far down hill, they could not get back. Other notions, as absurd as this, were entertained, which made people dread the "Sea of Darkness," as the Atlantic was often called. Accordingly Columbus found it hard to get support for his scheme. At length, in 1492, Queen Isabella of Spain fitted out an expedition for him, consisting of three little vessels, only one of which had a deck. Early in October of that year, after a ten weeks' voyage, he discov-

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ered the islands of San Salvador and Hayti, and returned to Spain to tell of his success.

About fifteen years before this Columbus seems to have visited Iceland, and some have supposed that he then heard about the voyages of the Northmen, and was thus led to his belief that land would be found by sailing west. He may have thus heard about Vinland, and may have regarded the tale as confirming his theory. That theory, however, was based upon his belief in the rotundity of the earth. The best proof that he was not seriously influenced by the Norse voyages, even if he had heard of them, is the fact that he never used them as an argument. In persuading people to furnish money for his enterprise, it has been well said that an ounce of Vinland would have been worth a pound of talk about the shape of the earth.

Columbus made three other voyages, in the course of which he discovered other islands, and in 1498 sailed along the northern coast of South America. He supposed these lands to be a part of Asia, and called their swarthy inhabitants Indians, a name which will always cling to them, though really they are no more Indians than we are Chinese. Columbus made a mistake in calculating the circumference of the earth, and got it only about half as great as it really is, thus leaving out the Pacific Ocean and the width of the American continent. According to this calculation, when he had crossed the Atlantic he seemed to have sailed just far enough to reach Asia. He died in 1506, without even suspecting that he had discovered a New World.

Cabot and Vespucci. — The example of Columbus was soon followed by other skilful and learned navigators. John Cabot and his son Sebastian were Venetians in the employ of Henry VII., king of England. In 1497 they sailed due west from England to Newfoundland and Labrador, and were thus the discoverers of the North American continent. Next year the father died, and Sebastian made another voyage, in which he followed the American coast as far south as Florida.

Amerigo Vespucci was a Florentine in the service of Spain. It is not quite certain whether he made his first voyage to America

in 1497 or in 1499. It is certain that in the latter year he discovered Brazil, and followed the coast down to within about a hundred miles of the strait of Magellan. People would naturally have supposed this coast to be that of the great Asiatic peninsula which has been known since ancient times as Farther India. But Vespucci's voyage showed that this was a very different looking coast, and that it extended much farther to the south. It was accordingly supposed that this must be the coast of a new Asiatic peninsula to the eastward of Farther India. In a map made in those days Asia is depicted with four great peninsulas jutting southward, — first Arabia, then Hindustan, then Farther India, then *America*. It was natural that Vespucci's name should be given to that part of the world which he really did discover; and it was not strange that this name, first applied to the southern part of the New World, which for a long time was better known than the northern, should by and by get applied to the whole. Some people have talked and written very foolishly about the brave and high-minded Vespucci, as if he had laid claim to honor not justly due him, as if it were through some fraud of his that the New World came to be called America instead of Columbia. But Vespucci was in nowise responsible for this; and it would not have occurred to any one at that time to name any country after Columbus, because he was not supposed to have discovered a new country, but only a new way of getting to an old one. But if the great Genoese sailor has not had full justice done him on the map, he will forever rank as the most illustrious explorer of all time. His voyage in 1492 was a scientific triumph of the first order; and in view of its historic consequences, it must be called the most important event since the birth of Christ.

Magellan. — The work of discovering the New World was not yet completed. The first success of Columbus made Portugal very jealous of Spain. The two kingdoms were ready to quarrel over their anticipated good fortune, each wishing to get the whole. The affair was referred to Pope Alexander VI., who drew an imaginary line through the Atlantic Ocean from north to south, 370 leagues west of the Azores, and decreed that all heathen lands

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which should be discovered west of this line should belong to Spain, and all east of it to Portugal. The coast of Brazil happens to come east of this line, and thus fell to Portugal, while all the rest of America fell to Spain. Portuguese ships, after once crossing the Indian Ocean, kept sailing farther to the east and into the Pacific, until it began to become clear that the coast discovered by Vespucci was not the coast of an Asiatic peninsula, but that there was water to the west of it; how much water nobody knew or dreamed. In 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa first saw the Pacific Ocean from the top of a lofty hill in the isthmus of Darien. He naturally called it the South Sea, and it was known by that name for a very long time. There now came upon the scene the heroic man who finished what Columbus had begun, and showed that America was really a New World. This was Ferdinand Magellan, a native of Portugal, but engaged in the service of Spain. In dividing things between these two kingdoms the Pope had not said anything about the opposite side of the globe. Magellan had heard of the Molucca islands which might be reached by sailing eastward. He was authorized to reach them by sailing westward, and thus secure them for Spain. This gave him a chance to settle forever the question of the earth's rotundity. As long as America was supposed to be Asia, Columbus was thought to have settled it. But now it began to look as if America had nothing to do with Asia, and there was thus fresh room for doubt, which could only be finally cleared away by circumnavigating the globe. On this tremendous expedition Magellan started in 1519 with five small vessels. Crossing the Atlantic, he sailed down the coast of South America searching for a westerly passage, until he found the strait which bears his name. Passing through this, he came out upon the ocean whose waves seemed to him so smooth and pleasant that he named it Pacific. Now his trials began. As they sailed month after month alone on this wide waste of waters, without seeing trace of land or sail, the courage of many gave out. Every day, they thought, showed more clearly that the earth was not round, after all, but that their captain was taking them out over an endless flat space, away from the world entirely. Their food

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gave out and their sufferings were dreadful, but they had come so far that it was hopeless to turn back, and so, in spite of starvation and mutiny, Magellan kept on, and after such a record of endurance as the world has never seen surpassed, he reached the Ladrone islands, and met with traders who had come there by sailing eastward from Sumatra. Then Magellan knew that he had proved the earth to be round. He was soon after slain in a skirmish with some savages, but Elcano, his lieutenant, took possession of the Moluccas and kept on across the Indian Ocean and around the Cape of Good Hope, reaching Spain in the autumn of 1522, with only one of his five ships afloat.

This wonderful voyage showed the true position of America with reference to the rest of the world. But it was a long time before much was known about North America, except a few points on the Atlantic coast. It is barely a hundred years since our Pacific coast was first carefully explored by the famous Captain Cook. It is less than a century and a half since the northwestern corner of our continent was discovered and taken possession of by the Russian navigator Behring. In the sixteenth century the attention of the Spaniards was confined to conquering the Indian kingdoms in Mexico and Peru, to colonizing various parts of South America and the West Indies, and to mining for precious metals, using the Indians as slaves and treating them with diabolical cruelty. Spain was then the strongest nation in the world, but France and England were her eager rivals, and neither paid any heed to the papal decree which assigned to her the dominion over North America.

§ 2. French Pioneers.

Cartier and Ribaut. — France was first in the field. King Francis I. sent word to the Emperor Charles V. "that since he and the king of Portugal had divided the earth between themselves, without giving him a share of it, he should like them to show him our father Adam's will, in order to know if he had made them his sole heirs." Meanwhile he should feel at perfect liberty to seize upon all he could get. The French had already

begun to share with the English in the fisheries which were begun upon the banks of Newfoundland immediately after Cabot's voyage, and have been kept up ever since. As early as 1506 fishermen from Brittany discovered and named the island of Cape Breton, and began making rude charts of the gulf of St. Lawrence. For a century the Newfoundland fisheries were almost the only link between the North American coast and Europe. In 1524 Francis I. sent the Florentine navigator Verrazzano on a voyage of discovery. Verrazzano entered New York harbour and Narragansett bay, and sailed northward along the coast as far as the 50th parallel. Ten years later came Jacques Cartier, and explored and named the great river St. Lawrence and the site of Montreal. In 1540–43 an unsuccessful attempt was made by the Sieur de Roberval, aided by Cartier, to establish a French colony in Canada. Then the French became so much occupied with their wars of religion that they gave little thought to America for the next half-century. During this period, however, there was one attempt at colonization which grew directly out of the wars of religion. The illustrious Protestant leader Coligny conceived the plan of founding a Huguenot state in America, and in 1562–64 such a settlement was begun in Florida, at Fort Caroline, on the St. John's River, under the lead of Jean Ribaut and René de Laudonnière; but in the autumn of the latter year it was wiped out in blood by the ferocious Pedro Menendez. That Spanish captain landed in Florida and laid the foundations of St. Augustine, the oldest town in the United States. He then attacked the French colony, took it by surprise, and butchered everybody, men, women, and children, some seven hundred in all; a very few escaped to the woods, and after various adventures made their way back to France. The government of Charles IX. was so subservient to Spain that it did not resent this atrocious act, although it was perpetrated in time of peace. But a private gentleman, named Dominique de Gourgues, who does not seem to have been a Huguenot, took it upon himself to avenge his slaughtered countrymen. Having fitted out a secret expedition at his own expense and with the aid of a few friends, he sailed for Florida, surprised

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the Spaniards at Fort Caroline, slew them every one, and returned to France.

Champlain. — It was not until the religious wars had been brought to an end by Henry IV. that the French succeeded in planting a colony in America. They now began to be interested in the northwestern fur trade as well as in the Newfoundland fisheries; and in 1603 the Sieur de Monts obtained permission to colonize a vast tract of land extending from New York harbour to Cape Breton, and known as Acadie, a name which gradually became restricted to the northeastern part of this region. A monopoly of the fur trade within these limits was granted by the king to a company of which De Monts was the head. The enterprise, so far as De Monts was concerned, was a failure; but one of his companions, Poutrincourt, succeeded in 1607 in establishing the first permanent French settlement in America at Port Royal in Nova Scotia. Another of the party, Samuel de Champlain, made a settlement at Quebec in the following year, and became the founder of Canada. Champlain was one of the most remarkable Frenchmen of his day, — a beautiful character, devout and high-minded, brave and tender. Like Columbus and Magellan, like Baker and Livingstone in our own time, he had the scientific temperament. He was an excellent naturalist, and he has left the best descriptions we have of the Indians as they appeared before they had been affected by contact with white men. Champlain explored our northeast coast very minutely, and gave to many places the names by which they are still known; as, for example, Mount Desert, which has kept its traditional French pronunciation, with the accent on the final syllable. He was the first white man to sail on the beautiful lake which now bears his name, and he pushed his explorations so far into the interior as to discover lakes Ontario and Huron. He was made the first viceroy of Canada, and held that position until his death in 1635, by which time the new colony had come to be large and flourishing. In 1611 Jesuit missionaries came over to convert the Indians, and laboured to that end with wonderful zeal and success. Missions were established as far inland as the Huron country, and the good priests often dis-

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tinguished themselves as brave and intelligent explorers. The fur trade began to assume large dimensions, and French rovers formed alliances with the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood of the Great Lakes. The French usually got on well with the Indians; they knew how to treat them so as to secure their friendship; they intermarried with them, and adopted many of their ways.

The North American Indians. — Nevertheless in one quarter the French offended the Indians, and raised up for themselves a powerful enemy who had much to do with their failure to secure a permanent foothold in America. In the sixteenth century the territory bounded by the Rocky Mountains, the Great Lakes, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of Mexico, seems to have been occupied by five varieties or races of Indians. These were, 1. in the northwest, beyond the Mississippi river, the Dakotahs; 2. in the southwest, the Natchez; 3. in the south, the Mobilians, comprising the Choctaws, Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, etc.; 4. in the north, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic coast, the Algonquins; 5. in the centre of the Atlantic region, the Iroquois. Of these the Algonquins and Iroquois played by far the most important part in the development of American history. The Algonquins comprised such tribes as the Pequots, Mohegans, Narragansetts, and Wampanoags in New England; the Delawares, to the south of the Susquehanna; the Shawnees of the Ohio, the Miamis, Pottawatomies, Ojibwas, and Ottawas. Of the Iroquois the most famous tribes were the so-called Five Nations, dwelling in central New York; to the south of them were the Susquehannocks; the Eries lived on the southern shore of the lake which bears their name, and the northern shore was occupied by a tribe known as the Neutral Nation. To the north of these came the Hurons. One Iroquois tribe — the Tuscaroras — lay quite apart from the rest, in North Carolina; but in 1715 this tribe migrated to New York, and joined the famous Iroquois league, which was henceforth known as the Six Nations.

Between the Algonquins and the Iroquois were many important differences. They differed in their speech, in their modes of building their wigwams and fortifying their villages, and in their

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knowledge of agriculture. The Iroquois were superior to the Algonquins and looked down upon them with immeasurable contempt. Of all the Iroquois the bravest in war and most formidable in numbers were the Five Nations, — the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. For ferocious cruelty they have scarcely been equalled by any other race of men known to history. Their confederated strength made them more than a match for all their rivals, and during the seventeenth century they became the terror of the whole country, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from Canada to North Carolina. In 1649 they overwhelmed and nearly destroyed their kindred the Hurons, putting the Jesuit missionaries to death with frightful tortures; then they exterminated the Neutral Nation. In 1655 they massacred most of the Eries, and incorporated the rest among their own numbers; and in 1672, after a terrible war of twenty years, they effected the ruin of the Susquehannocks. While they were doing these things, they were also carrying the firebrand and tomahawk among the Algonquins in every direction. They drove the Ottawas westward into Michigan, laid waste the country of the Illinois, and reduced the Shawnees and Delawares to the condition of vassals. There is no telling how far they might have carried this career of conquest if the white man had not appeared upon the scene.

It was these formidable Iroquois whom the French at the very outset made their enemies. It was natural that Champlain should court the friendship of the Algonquin tribes on the St. Lawrence. He undertook to defend them against their hereditary foes, and accordingly in 1609 he attacked the Mohawks near Ticonderoga and won an easy victory over savages who had never before seen a white man or heard the report of a musket. But the victory was a fatal one for the French. From that time forth the Iroquois hated them with implacable hatred, and when the English came, these powerful savages entered into alliance with them. Even alone the Iroquois were capable of doing enormous damage to the Canadian settlements. In 1689 they even attacked Montreal, and roasted and devoured their prisoners in full sight of the terror-

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stricken town. This hostility of the Iroquois kept the French away from the Hudson river until it was too late for them to contend successfully for the mastery of New York. But for this circumstance the French might have succeeded in possessing New York, and thus separating the New England colonies from those in the south.

§ 3. The English in Virginia.

Sir Walter Raleigh. — As John Cabot had discovered the North American continent for the English, they claimed it as their property; but many years elapsed before they came to take possession. From the reign of Henry VII. to that of Elizabeth their attention was absorbed by affairs at home. During Elizabeth's reign the great struggle between Catholic and Protestant assumed the form of an international contest, in which the gigantic power of Spain was pitted against England and the Netherlands, while France was divided within itself. In 1588 the defeat of the Invincible Armada marked the overthrow of Spanish supremacy and the triumph of Protestantism. England had prepared the way for this glorious victory by training up such a set of naval captains as has never been surpassed in any age or country. The most famous of these were Sir Francis Drake, Sir Martin Frobisher, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Thomas Cavendish, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Lord Howard of Effingham, and Sir Walter Raleigh. They began as buccaneers and raiders upon the Spanish possessions in all parts of the globe; they ended as colonizers; while from first to last they were explorers. Drake and Cavendish carried the British flag into the Pacific, visited the coast of California, and circumnavigated the earth. Frobisher, in quest of a northwestern passage to India, entered the Arctic Ocean and explored a part of it. Hawkins — to our shame and sorrow in later days — began the practice of kidnapping negroes on the Guinea coast and selling them as slaves. At length Gilbert and his half-brother Raleigh attempted to found colonies in America. Gilbert was wrecked and perished in the sea. Raleigh obtained from the queen a grant of the vast region included between the 34th and 45th parallels of latitude, which the maiden

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queen called, in honor of herself, Virginia. For several years Raleigh worked earnestly to establish a colony somewhere in this region, sending out a number of expeditions under skilful captains, though arduous duties at home prevented his going in person. At one moment, in 1585–87, he seemed on the point of succeeding with a settlement which had been begun on Roanoke Island; but the Invincible Armada absorbed too much attention. The colony was inadequately supported and perished miserably. Nevertheless the work which Raleigh did was so important in directing the energies of the English toward colonizing North America that he must be ranked first in the long series of great men who have founded the United States.

London and Plymouth Companies. — After having lost £40,000 in these attempts, finding the task too great for his unaided energies, Raleigh assigned all his interests in Virginia to a joint-stock company of merchants and adventurers. For some years nothing was accomplished; but at last in 1606 some of these same people, interested in Raleigh's schemes, organized two companies for settling and trading in America. These were known as the London and Plymouth companies. The region called Virginia was divided into two parts. The London company was to control everything north of Florida as far as the 40th parallel, while everything between this and Canada was to be controlled by the Plymouth company. On New Year's Day, 1607, three ships of the London company sailed from the Downs, and on the 26th of April they reached Chesapeake Bay. At Jamestown they laid the foundations of the first permanent English colony in America. Beside the crews, which numbered 39, there were 105 persons, of whom 52 were classed as "gentlemen," the rest as mechanics and tradesmen. There seem to have been no farmers or persons skilled in agriculture. For the first year there were no women. Many of them entertained a vague hope of finding gold, and few of them had any idea how to go to work to found a colony. Their food gave out, the savages were unfriendly, and fever attacked them. In about four months half their number were dead. There can be little doubt that the colony would have perished like its predecessors, had it

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not been for the energy and determination of Captain John Smith.

John Smith. — This remarkable man was one of the most picturesque figures of his time. His adventures in various parts of the world, as recounted by himself, were so extraordinary that he has sometimes been accused, and perhaps with justice, of stretching the truth. He had a romantic temperament, and was fond of hearing and telling wonderful stories; yet, after making all allowances, his career was very remarkable. He had been captured by Barbary pirates, left for dead on a battlefield in Hungary, sold into slavery in Turkey, and made his way on foot through the Russian wilderness. He was full of shifts and expedients, and in the early colony at Jamestown was the only man capable of taking the lead. He sailed up and down the coast, explored the great rivers, coaxed or bullied the Indians, and got supplies of food from them. A few houses were built, and a few patches of ground were cleared and sowed with corn. But even Smith's energy found it hard to keep the colony in existence for two years.

Lord Delaware. — In 1609 Lord Delaware was appointed governor of Virginia, and a new expedition was sent out, consisting of nine ships, with 500 men, under command of two worthy soldiers, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers. As they were nearing their destination they were "caught in the tail of a hurricane," and the good ship Sea-Venture, with both the commanders on board, was driven far away from the rest, and cast upon the Bermuda islands. It has been supposed that it was this wreck of the Sea-Venture which suggested Shakespeare's "Tempest." Deprived of their leaders, the colonists reached Jamestown only to make confusion more hideous. They were a wretched set, for the most part the sweepings of English jails, or ruffians picked up about the streets. When things were at their worst, Smith met with an accident which made it necessary for him to return to England, and the Indians laid a plan for exterminating the colony. About this time Gates and Somers, having built a boat with their own hands and escaped from the Bermudas, arrived upon the scene and found the outlook so desperate that they decided to abandon the enter-

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prise and take all the settlers back to England. Out of nearly 500 only 60 were left alive, and stress of hunger had made some of them cannibals. On the 8th of June, 1610, they had actually embarked for home and sailed a little way down the James river, when Lord Delaware arrived with three well-manned ships and abundant supplies, and falling on his knees on the sandy beach thanked God for the relief of Virginia.

Sir Thomas Dale. — Lord Delaware was a man of energy. He built forts, defeated the Indians, and repressed disorders. But his health soon gave out, and the following spring he returned to England. His successor, Sir Thomas Dale, was a stern soldier, who set up gallows, pillory, and whipping-post; and slew or humbled the evil-doers, till peace and decorum reigned throughout the little colony. The fortunate accident of a marriage between John Rolfe, a leading settler, and Pocahontas, a favourite daughter of the sachem Powhatan, secured for a time the friendship of the Indians. This was important, but something which Sir Thomas Dale did was far more important. Hitherto the system under which the colonists had lived was one of *communism*, — a system under which a few noisy simpletons in our time think every society ought to live. Land was owned in common, and whatever food any one raised, or whatever property was got by trading with the Indians, was thrown into a common stock, to be evenly distributed among the settlers. This system put a premium on laziness. The task of supporting the colony was thrown upon a few industrious people, while the rest drank rum and made mischief. The sagacious Dale changed all this. Henceforth every man was to cultivate his own tract of land, and bring two barrels and a half of corn to the public granary for public purposes; whatever he should raise or earn beyond this was to be his private property. The effect of this change was magical; even the lazy began to think it worth while to work, and crime was repressed more effectually than pillory and gallows could do it. When Dale returned to England in 1616, the colony had become fairly established. He had done more than any other man to found the great state of Virginia.

For the next three years the colony was governed in turn by the

humane and upright George Yeardley and the shameless buccaneer Samuel Argall. In 1619 Yeardley again became governor, and that year was marked by two very notable events; the introduction of negro slavery, and the beginnings of a free popular government.

Tobacco and Slavery. — For the production of tobacco the soil of Virginia is unsurpassed in the world. In 1612 its systematic cultivation was begun by John Rolfe, and the demand from Europe made this employment so profitable that by 1616 the settlers had begun to give almost exclusive attention to it. As soon as the wise measures of Dale had made Virginia a place where respectable people could live, thrifty planters began to come over by hundreds to raise tobacco and make their fortunes. In 1619 more than 40,000 pounds were shipped to England; by 1640 the average yearly export had reached 1,500,000 pounds; by 1670 it had reached 12,000,000 pounds. The rapid growth of this industry created a greater demand for labour than could possibly be supplied by free immigration; and hence it led to the introduction of slave labour. In August, 1619, there came in, says Rolfe, "a Dutch man-of-war that sold us twenty negars." In those days people had no more scruples of conscience in buying and selling black men than they had in buying and selling horses or cows; and the African slave trade, thus begun, was carried on for nearly two hundred years. At first, however, it did not go on so briskly as afterwards, because a certain form of white slavery was still in vogue. When the prisons in England were cumbered with criminals, a clearance was sometimes effected by sending shiploads of them to Virginia to be sold into slavery for a term of years. Gypsies, vagabonds, and orphan children were kidnapped and disposed of in the same way. Such people were known as "indentured servants," because the terms and conditions of their servitude were prescribed by indentures, as in the case of apprentices in England. When after a while they got their freedom, those who were capable and enterprising sometimes acquired plantations and became respectable members of society; but the greater part either recruited the ranks of the criminal classes or went out to the frontier and led half-savage lives there. After the end of the seventeenth

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century there was but little more of this buying and selling of wretched white men. Work on the plantations was done entirely by negroes, and their numbers went on increasing until they became a source of anxiety to their masters, as is shown by many cruel laws in the statute-book.

Free Government. — By July, 1619, there were four thousand white inhabitants in Virginia, distributed among eleven boroughs. The charter of the London Company was amended so as to limit the authority of the governor by a Council and an Assembly. The assembly was to consist of two burgesses or representatives from each borough, to be freely elected by the inhabitants. It soon came to be known as the House of Burgesses, and was in fact a miniature House of Commons for the colony of Virginia. It could pass any laws for the government of the colony, provided they should not conflict with the laws of England, — a somewhat vague provision which, while it retained a veto power in the hands of the British government, at the same time allowed great freedom of legislation to the colonists. Thus Virginia, within a dozen years from the first settlement of Jamestown, became to all intents and purposes a self-governing community. In accordance with Yeardley's instructions, the first representative assembly ever held in America met in the chancel of the little church at Jamestown on Friday, July 30, 1619.

Fall of the London Company. — Free government was a strange thing to obtain from such an obstinate and tyrannical sovereign as James I. The new charter, indeed, had been wrung from the king sorely against his will. The London Company had come to be a powerful corporation, with more than one thousand stockholders, including fifty noblemen and some of the wealthiest merchants in the kingdom. Under its liberal leaders, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Shakespeare's friend the Earl of Southampton, it was beginning to become a formidable power in politics. Its meetings, as the Spanish ambassador truly told James, were "the seminary to a seditious parliament"; but James needed no such warning. He made up his mind that the London Company must fall, and accordingly he accused it of mismanagement and brought suit

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against it in the courts. The judges were timid and time-serving, as was often the case in those days, and the case was decided in favour of the king. In the summer of 1624 the charter of the company was annulled; and James set to work with his own pen to write out a code of laws for Virginia. But while he was about it he died, in March, 1625, and his son Charles succeeded to the throne.

Virginia under Charles I. — The legal basis on which the free government of Virginia had rested was now destroyed, and the new king, Charles I., was just as unscrupulous and tyrannical as his father. But the death of James happened opportunely for the Virginians. Wishing to govern without parliaments, Charles naturally was at his wit's end to devise ways of getting money without summoning a parliament to grant funds for the expenses of government. Among other things he wished to get a monopoly of the tobacco trade, and this desire led him to deal courteously with the Virginians and recognize their miniature parliament. In 1628 he directed the governor of Virginia to convene the House of Burgesses for the purpose of granting him such a monopoly. But the assembly vindicated its independence by higgling about the price, and the monopoly was not granted. After this the king found so much to occupy him at home in his chronic quarrel with the people that he was unable to interfere with fatal effect in Virginia. In 1629 he sent over a wretched governor, Sir John Harvey, who not only put on airs and insulted the people, but stole the public money, and even went so far as to sell lands which were the private property of individual planters. This was more than human nature could bear, and in 1635 the Virginians deposed Sir John Harvey and appointed a provisional governor in his stead. This bold act enraged the king. He called it rebellion, refused to hear a word against the unjust ruler, and reinstated him in office; but after a short time things had come to such a pass with Charles that he deemed it prudent not to make too many enemies, and Harvey was recalled to England. In 1642, just as the thunder-clouds of civil war were breaking over the mother-country, Sir William Berkeley came over as governor, and was the most con-

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spicuous figure in the history of Virginia for the next five-and-thirty years.

The Palatinate of Maryland. — In 1630 an unwelcome visitor came to Virginia. This was the excellent George Calvert, a Yorkshire gentleman whom James I. had raised to the peerage as Lord Baltimore. The fact that he was a Roman Catholic did not prevent his standing high in the good graces of the Stuart kings. He had been a member of the London Company, and after its dissolution Charles I. had desired him to remain as one of a provisional council for the government of Virginia. But he had a different aim in view. Catholics were made uncomfortable in England, and Lord Baltimore wished to found a colony in America where they might live unmolested. He had tried to settle such a colony in Newfoundland, but the enterprise failed. On his visit to Virginia in 1630 he was rudely treated, as a Catholic and as an interloper. He sailed up Chesapeake Bay, explored part of the country north of the Potomac, and returning to England, obtained a grant of it from Charles I. In compliment to the queen Henrietta Maria, the country was called Maryland. The privileges granted to Lord Baltimore were the most extensive ever conferred upon a British subject, and amounted almost to making him an independent sovereign. Maryland was made a palatinate, or independent principality, saving only the feudal supremacy of the crown. With this sole reservation, the Lord Proprietary had all the rights of a sovereign, and his powers and dignities were hereditary in his family. Parliament could not tax the Maryland colonists, or legislate for them; they were also allowed to trade freely with all foreign ports.

Lord Baltimore died before he had founded a colony under this remarkable charter; but in 1634 the work was begun under his son and successor, Cecilius Calvert. The leaders of the emigration were mostly Roman Catholics, but a majority of the settlers were Protestants, and this made a policy of general toleration necessary. In view of the almost regal powers wielded by the Lord Proprietary, it was not easy for the Protestant settlers to oppress the Catholics; while, on the other hand, if the Catholic settlers had been allowed to annoy the Protestants, it would forthwith have raised

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such a storm in England as would have overwhelmed the Lord Proprietary and blasted his enterprise. The policy of toleration, which circumstances thus forced upon both ruler and people, soon began to draw men of all creeds to Maryland, and the colony grew rapidly in population and wealth. In particular, a great number of Puritans came, and presently, encouraged by the growing strength of their party in England, they began to show themselves intolerant of the Catholics, and took measures to undermine their ascendency in the colony. In this they were at first aided, but afterwards opposed, by the action of Virginia.

Virginia and Maryland. — From the first the Virginians were indignant at the grant to Lord Baltimore, because it took away from them a territory which they regarded as rightfully their own. But in 1634 they had Sir John Harvey on their hands, and were in no condition to pick too many quarrels with the king's government. There was one Virginia gentleman, however, who had a claim which he was in nowise disposed to yield. This was William Clayborne, who had settled at Kent Island, in the Chesapeake, and resisted the Maryland settlers with armed force. In 1634 he was defeated in a little naval fight on the Potomac river, and driven from Kent Island. But he nursed his wrath, and in 1645, while the great rebellion was at its height in England, he invaded Maryland, and succeeded for a moment in overturning the proprietary government. His success was due to his having made himself a leader of the Puritan party; but this turned against him the Virginians and their Cavalier governor, Sir William Berkeley. From the beginning the religion of Virginia had been that of the Established Church, and although many Puritans had settled in that colony since 1619, they were never welcome there. Berkeley now took sides against Clayborne, and the government of the Calverts was re-established in Maryland. But the contest was not yet ended.

In January, 1649, King Charles was beheaded. It was now the Puritans who were uppermost in England, while it was the king's friends who were seeking to better their fortunes by leaving the country. Many of these Cavaliers came to Virginia, and while they

were coming, the Puritans in that colony were leaving it and flocking into Maryland. Thus, as Virginia was given up more and more to the Cavaliers, the Puritan party increased in Maryland until it made another attempt to get control of the government, again under the lead of Clayborne. On the 25th of March, 1654, a bloody battle was fought near the site of Annapolis, and the Puritans were victorious. But their triumph was short-lived. In 1658 the death of Cromwell deprived them of their chief support, and the government of the Calvert family was again restored.

During the reigns of Charles II. and James II. the career of Maryland was peaceful; but on the accession of William and Mary new laws enacted by Parliament against Catholics annulled the charter of the Calverts, and their government suddenly fell to the ground. From 1692 to 1714 Maryland was ruled by governors appointed by the crown. In the latter year the fourth Lord Baltimore turned Protestant, and his proprietary rights were revived. Maryland remained a sort of hereditary monarchy until, in 1776, the rule of the sixth Lord Baltimore was terminated by the Declaration of Independence.

Virginia under Charles II. — In spite of her dislike of Puritans, Virginia submitted gracefully to Oliver Cromwell, by whom she was allowed to choose her own governors. In 1652 Sir William Berkeley, after ten years in office, was succeeded by a governor chosen by the House of Burgesses. In 1660, when the Stuart dynasty was restored to the throne in the person of Charles II., the Burgesses shrewdly elected Berkeley again to be their governor, and the king confirmed him. Berkeley was a fine gentleman of the old school, an aristocrat every inch of him, a man of velvet and gold lace, a gallant soldier, an author whose plays were performed on the London stage, a devoted husband, a chivalrous friend, and withal a bigoted upholder of kingship and a stern and merciless judge. Before the end of his rule the little colony of John Smith had come to be a considerable state. In 1670 the population numbered 40,000 souls, and the tobacco crop had come to be a source of great wealth. There were no large towns. The planters lived apart on their vast estates on the banks of the

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broad creeks and rivers with which the country is intersected. For the most part, they had their own wharves, where they dealt directly with European traders, shipping their cargoes of tobacco in exchange for imported merchandise. Hence there were very few manufactures in the colony, few merchants, few schools, few roads. Each planter on his estate was like a lord surrounded by dependents, and the state of society was very simple, while at the same time there was considerable luxury and elegance.

During this period a great many gentlemen of the Cavalier party came and settled in Virginia. Among them were the ancestors of the most famous Virginians engaged in the American Revolution, such as Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, the Randolphs, the Lees, Madison, Mason, and Pendleton. From 1650 to 1670 these men came in such numbers as to give a well-defined character to Virginian society.

In spite of this, the foolish and wicked Charles II. treated the Virginians little better than if they had been his enemies. Laws and regulations interfering with their trade, kept them in a chronic state of discontent, till at length in 1673 the king capped the climax by granting the whole country to two of his favourites, Lords Arlington and Culpepper, as coolly as if it were all a wilderness without any white inhabitants!

Bacon's Rebellion.— Even with a king to back them, it was not easy for two men to take possession of a country with 40,000 inhabitants, and this wonderful grant came to nothing; but it aroused fierce indignation throughout the colony. While affairs were in this inflammable state, the Indians became troublesome. In the early days of the colony they had threatened its very existence. They had slain 400 people in a fearful massacre in 1622; and in 1644 they had again taken the war-path, but had been completely vanquished by Berkeley. Now in 1675 they rose in arms again, and began burning and laying waste the outlying plantations and murdering their inhabitants. But Berkeley was now afraid to call out the military force of the colony, lest in the prevailing disaffection it might be turned against himself. At length, after nearly 400 scalps had been taken by the sav-

ages, the people raised a small volunteer force without authority from the governor, and put it under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, a young Englishman of good family and liberal education, who had lately come to Virginia. As Bacon marched against the Indians, Berkeley proclaimed him a rebel, and started with a small force in pursuit of him. This conduct aroused the whole country to rebellion, and the governor was obliged not only to retreat, but to issue writs for a general election, and to promise a redress of grievances. Bacon was elected to the new assembly, and under his lead an eloquent memorial was sent to the king, recounting the oppressions under which his faithful subjects in Virginia had suffered. Once more Bacon marched against the savages, when in the midst of a brilliant campaign he learned that Berkeley had again proclaimed him a rebel. Leaving his work on the frontier, he instantly marched upon Jamestown and took possession of the government, while Berkeley fled in dismay. A third time, after settling affairs at the capital, did Bacon set forth to overwhelm the Indians, and no sooner had he got out of sight than Berkeley came forward and resumed the administration of the colony. Again Bacon returned to Jamestown, captured the score of houses of which the capital consisted, and burned them to the ground, that the town might no longer afford a shelter to the tyrant. A few days afterward he was seized with a malarial fever, and died, and the rebellion forthwith collapsed for want of a leader. Twenty-two of his principal followers were tried by court martial, and hanged as soon as sentence was pronounced. Charles II. deemed it prudent to disavow this cruel conduct of Berkeley. The too zealous governor was recalled in disgrace, but the Virginians gained nothing by the rebellion. Their eloquent memorial passed unheeded. From Bacon's death to the Declaration of Independence was just a hundred years; and for all that time the political history of Virginia is mainly the story of a protracted brawl between the governors appointed by the crown and the assemblies chosen by the people. Under such influences were the Virginians educated for the great part which they played in the American Revolution.

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§ 4. The Dutch in New Netherland.

Founding of New Netherland. — The year 1609 is an interesting year to the student of American history. The summer of 1609 witnessed that fatal victory of Champlain over the Mohawks, which set the strongest Indian power on the continent in deadly hostility to the French. At the same moment John Smith, on the upper waters of the Chesapeake, was holding friendly parley with a host of the same formidable savages in their bark canoes. The first Frenchman ever seen by these tawny lords of the New York wilderness came as an enemy, the first Englishman as a friend. It was in 1609 that Spain, after a fruitless struggle of more than forty years, consented to the independence of the Netherlands, so that the maritime energies of the Dutch were set free for the work of colonization in East and West. It was also in 1609 that Spain, by banishing a million of her most intelligent and industrious citizens on account of their Moorish origin, inflicted upon herself such a terrible wound that she was no longer able to compete with the other colonizing nations of Europe. It was now England, France, and Holland that were foremost in the race for colonial empire; and curiously enough, it was in this same eventful year that the Dutch came to North America and interposed themselves between the French and the English, in the commanding region ruled by the Iroquois. In the summer of 1609 the great English sailor Henry Hudson, then in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed along the American coast in his little ship the Half-Moon, entered the noble river which bears his name, and ascended it as far as the head of tide-water at the site of Albany. He was looking for a northwest passage to India; what he found was the finest commercial and military situation on the Atlantic coast of North America, and the most direct avenue to the fur trade of the interior. By 1614 the Dutch had begun to settle on the island of Manhattan, on the southern end of which a small town soon grew up, which they called New Amsterdam. As their object was trade rather than agriculture, their posts were soon established along the Hudson

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river and toward the valley of the Mohawk, in the line of travel marked out by the traffic in peltries. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was established, to superintend the colonization of New Netherland. To encourage the founding of permanent estates, it was provided, that any member of the Company who should bring fifty settlers thither should be entitled to an estate with sixteen miles frontage on the Hudson river. This allowed room for about ten such estates on each bank between New Amsterdam and Fort Orange, which stood on the site of Albany. The right of holding manorial courts and other feudal privileges were attached to these grants; and thus was created the class of *patroons* — the Schuylers, Van Rensselaers, Courtlandts, and others — whose position was very much like that of a European nobility, as it was based upon landlordship and upon the exercise of a local territorial jurisdiction. The patroons brought many colonists with them, they acquired immense fortunes by trade, and their descendants have to this day continued to form a conspicuous and important element in New York society.

The colony founded by the Dutch in 1614 remained in their hands for just fifty years, and at the end of this period the population had reached about 8000. Of this number, about 1500 were inhabitants of New Amsterdam, a town which in those days was already cosmopolitan. The Dutch pursued a policy of toleration, and hence, in that cruel age of religious turmoil, they drew settlers from almost every country in Europe. It is said that in 1640 eighteen different languages were spoken on Manhattan Island.

Its Overthrow. — The Dutch were fortunate enough to win the friendship of the powerful Iroquois, but with the Algonquins of Connecticut and Long Island their relations were far from peaceful. In 1643–45 there was a terrible war with these tribes, which at times seemed even to threaten the existence of the Dutch colony. These wars were partly due to the wretched misgovernment of the colony. There was no self-government here, as in Virginia. The settlers could neither make their own laws nor assess their own taxes. Ordinarily the governor, who was

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appointed by the West India Company, exercised supreme power; though occasionally he found it necessary to consult with an advisory board of from eight to twelve men who were chosen by the settlers. The fifth governor, William Kieft (1638–47) was a foolish tyrant who nearly ruined the colony. Under his successor, the famous Peter Stuyvesant, who was also a tyrant, but a sensible one, things went on more prosperously. During his administration the population and wealth of the colony were more than doubled. In 1637 a small party of Swedes had taken possession of the mouth of the Delaware river and made settlements there; in 1655 Stuyvesant overcame and annexed this little colony. But it was soon the turn of the Dutch themselves to be swallowed up by a greater power. From its geographical relations with the interior, the Hudson river was the most commanding military position in North America, and the English had no mind to leave it in the hands of their rivals the Dutch. They got possession of New Amsterdam by an act of high-handed treachery quite characteristic of King Charles II. In the summer of 1664, at a time of profound peace between England and Holland, he fitted out a secret expedition, under command of Col. Richard Nichols, and sent it over to New Amsterdam to demand the surrender of the colony. Stuyvesant, taken by surprise, had only 250 soldiers wherewith to defend the town against 1000 English veterans aided by the 90 guns of the fleet. The people, moreover, were weary of Stuyvesant's arrogant rule, and ready to lend a willing ear to the offer of English liberties. Accordingly, in spite of the governor's rage, the town was surrendered. New Netherland passed without a blow into the hands of the English, and became the proprietary domain of the king's brother, the Duke of York. He sold the portion between the Hudson and Delaware — or, as they were often called, the North and South — rivers to Sir George Carteret, who had won distinction as governor of the island of Jersey. In honour of Carteret this new domain was called New Jersey, while the rest of New Netherland was called New York, in honour of the duke. The region between the Delaware river and Mary-

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land, which has since become the state of Delaware, remained for some time an appendage of New York.

§ 5. The Beginnings of New England.

Earliest Ventures.— The country now known as New England, together with the region west of it and as far south as the Delaware river, was for some time called "North Virginia." The first attempt to found a colony here was made by Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602. He discovered and named Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and the Elizabeth islands, and built a house on the little islet of Cuttyhunk, but want of provisions drove him back to England. Further unsuccessful attempts were made by Martin Pring in 1603, and by George Waymouth in 1606. We have already seen how the London and Plymouth Companies for the colonization of North America were incorporated in 1606. In the following year — the same which saw the building of Jamestown — an expedition was made to "North Virginia," under the auspices of the Plymouth Company. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a gentleman of Somersetshire, and Sir John Popham, chief justice of the King's Bench, were the persons chiefly interested in this enterprise. The settlers built some huts near the mouth of the Kennebeck river and spent the winter of 1607–8 there, half-frozen and half-starved. Next spring they returned home and reported that the country was too cold to be habitable by Englishmen.

In the spring of 1614 the famous John Smith came over with two ships, and explored the coast very minutely from the mouth of the Penobscot to Cape Cod. He made an interesting map of the coast and named the country New England, and at his instance the king's second son, afterward Charles I., gave names to more than thirty places on the map; of these Cape Ann, Charles River, and Plymouth still remain as originally given. Next year Smith started with a second expedition, but was defeated and taken prisoner by a French squadron. In 1616 Gorges sent out a party which stayed all winter by the river Saco. In June, 1620, one of Smith's captains, named Dermer, landed at Plymouth and pronounced it a good place for a settlement, if only fifty or more

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people could be got together for that purpose. Within five months more this idea was to be realized in an extraordinary and quite unforeseen manner.

The Puritans. — The Protestant reformation, set on foot in England in the reign of Henry VIII., was secured in 1588 by the defeat of the great Spanish Armada. After this triumph, attention was soon called to a division which had for some time been growing up in the ranks of the Protestants. Some of the Reformers wished to go to much greater lengths than those who under Edward VI. and Elizabeth had established the Church of England. Their extreme views were partly an inheritance from the Lollards, or disciples of the great reformer Wiclif, and partly the result of contact with the followers of John Calvin. During the persecution under Mary, many Englishmen had taken refuge in Switzerland and become Calvinists; and on their return they found the reforms of Elizabeth not extensive enough to suit them. They wished to simplify the government of the church and do away with many of its forms and ceremonies, so as to make it (as one of their opponents angrily observed) a "church of the Purity"; and from this sneer, it has been supposed, was derived the glorious name of Puritan, by which these people will always be known. During Elizabeth's reign the Puritans became numerous in all parts of England; but they were especially numerous in the eastern counties of Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and in the southwestern shires of Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, so famous for their share in the maritime adventures of that wonderful time. These parts of rural England should on one account have an especial interest for Americans, for among their picturesque villages and smiling fields once dwelt the forefathers of nearly twenty millions of our fellow-countrymen.

The Pilgrim Fathers. — During the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. the Puritans generally did not wish to leave the Church of England, but to stay in it and reform it according to their own notions. But as early as 1567 a small number of ministers, despairing of accomplishing what they wanted, made up their minds to separate from the church and to hold religious services in pri-

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vate houses. In 1580 a Norfolk clergyman named Robert Brown went about advocating this policy of separation, and those who adopted it were known as Separatists or Brownists. They were accused of sedition and persecuted. Many were thrown into jail, some were hanged; Brown fled to the Netherlands. The persecution was kept up intermittently for the next thirty years.

At Scrooby, a hamlet in Nottinghamshire near the edge of Lincoln, there was a congregation of Separatists who listened to the eloquent preaching of John Robinson. In 1608 they fled in a body to Holland, where they maintained themselves for a while at Leyden. But the prospect of losing their English speech and nationality in a foreign land did not please them, and after ten years they made up their minds to migrate to America. They sent agents to England, obtained a grant from the London Company, and petitioned the king for a charter. James refused them a charter, but made no objections to their going; and on the 16th of September, 1620, the Mayflower set sail from Plymouth, in Devonshire, with 102 passengers on board. They aimed at the coast of New Jersey, but when they sighted land on the 19th of November it was the peninsula of Cape Cod. After spending some time in exploring the coast, they landed at length, on the 21st of December, at the spot already marked on Smith's map as Plymouth. The principal leaders of this migration were William Brewster, William Bradford, John Carver, and Miles Standish. They made a treaty with Massasoit, the sachem of the Wampanoag Indians, who lived in the neighborhood, and this treaty was observed for fifty-four years. Yet though relieved of danger from this source, their sufferings were great. More than half their number died the first year, and after ten years they had only increased to 300. Their grant from the London Company was useless, as their settlement was beyond its limits; but in 1621 they got a new grant from the Plymouth Company. After 1630 they began to profit by the great emigration set on foot by the Company of Massachusetts Bay, and their numbers increased much more rapidly. In 1640 the population of the Plymouth colony had reached nearly 3000; in 1670 it had reached 8000, distributed among twenty towns.

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Company of Massachusetts Bay. — In 1627 the project of colonizing New England was taken up afresh by a remarkable body of men of wealth, culture, and high social position, including many leaders of the Puritan party, which had now come to be very powerful in England. They purchased a large tract of land of the Plymouth Company, and got a charter from Charles I., incorporating them as the Company of Massachusetts Bay. The affairs of this new company were to be managed by a governor, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, to be elected annually by the members of the company. They could make any laws they liked for their settlers, provided they did not contravene the laws of England. But the place where the company was to hold its meetings was not mentioned in the charter. Accordingly in 1629 the company decided to take its charter over to New England and found a self-governing community there. The king and his friends bore no good will to these men, but no attempt was made to interfere with their proceedings. At this moment the king was not unwilling to have a number of leading Puritans go away from England. In the attempt to found a colony they might perish or wreck their fortunes, as so many had already done. Should they succeed and become troublesome, Charles I. was not the man to let a charter stand in the way of his dealing with them as he liked. He never felt bound to keep his word about anything, — a trait of character which was by and by to cost him his head.

Settlement of Massachusetts. — The name "Massachusetts" is an Algonquin word meaning "Great Hills," and is said to have been first applied to the Blue Hills in Milton, and to the tribe of Indians dwelling in that neighbourhood. As a territorial designation, it was first given by the English settlers to the Massachusetts Fields, near the mouth of the Neponset river. By 1630 a group of settlements had been begun in this neighbourhood, at Dorchester, Roxbury, Boston, Charlestown, and Watertown. John Endicott had come to Salem two years earlier. During the year 1630 more than a thousand persons came over to Massachusetts. John Winthrop, a wealthy gentleman from Groton, in Suffolk, was the first governor of the company; and Thomas Dudley, a distant relative of Queen Eliza-

beth's favorite, the Earl of Leicester, accompanied him as deputy-governor. At first it was thought that public business could be transacted by a primary assembly of all the freemen in the colony meeting four times a year; but the number of freemen increased so fast that this was very soon found to be impracticable. Accordingly the colonists fell back upon the old English rural plan of electing deputies or representatives to a general court. For a few years the deputies sat in the same chamber with the assistants, but in 1644 they were formed into a second chamber with increased powers; and this was the origin of the American system of legislation by two houses, a senate and a house of representatives. The chamber of assistants answered partly to the council and partly to the senate of later times. The whole system was a sort of miniature copy of the English system, the governor answering to the king, the assistants, to the upper house of parliament, and the representatives, to the lower house.

The Puritans who now came to Massachusetts had not formally separated from the Church of England, as the settlers of Plymouth had done, but the separation was soon effected. Two clergymen at Salem consecrated each other, and drew up a confession of faith and a church covenant; and thirty persons joining in this covenant constituted the first Congregational church in America. A committee of their number then formally ordained the two ministers by the laying on of hands. These proceedings gave umbrage to two of the Salem party, who tried forthwith to set up a church in conformity with Episcopal models. These two men were immediately sent back to England, and so the principle was virtually laid down that the Episcopal form of worship would not be tolerated in the colony. The settlers, who had been so grievously annoyed by Episcopacy in England, considered this exclusiveness necessary for their self-protection, and in 1631 they carried it still further. They decided that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are [*sic*] members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." If any of the dreaded emissaries of Strafford and Laud — the advisers and abettors of the despotic policy of Charles I. — were to come to Massa-

chusetts, this measure would prevent their voting or taking any active part in public affairs.

By the year 1634 nearly 4000 settlers had arrived; about 20 villages had been founded; the building of permanent houses, roads, fences, and bridges had begun to go on quite briskly; lumber, furs, and salted fish were sent to England in exchange for manufactured articles; several thousand goats and cattle grazed in the pastures, and swine innumerable rooted in the clearings and helped to make ready the land for the ploughman. Amid this hurry of pioneer work, the interests of education were not forgotten. So many of the leaders of the emigration were university men, mostly from Cambridge, that it was not long before a university began to seem indispensable to the colony. A few common schools were already in existence, when in 1636 the General Court appropriated £400 toward the establishment of a college at Newtown, three miles west of Boston. Two years later John Harvard, a young clergyman at Charlestown, dying childless, bequeathed his books and half his estate to the new college, which was forthwith called by his name; while in honour of the mother university the name of the town was changed to Cambridge.

Threatened Dangers. — This appropriation of public money for a college was a wonderful thing in 1636, for in that year the infant colony was threatened with formidable perils. The king and his party did not like the liberties which the men of Massachusetts were taking with things ecclesiastical and political, and it was resolved to destroy their charter. They had bitter enemies, too, among the members of the old Plymouth Company. An attempt was made to seize the Massachusetts charter and to divide up the territory of the colony among half a dozen hostile noblemen. As soon as the men of Massachusetts heard of this, they meditated armed resistance. They began building forts in and about Boston harbour, militia companies were put in training, and a beacon was set up on the highest hill in Boston, to give the alarm in case of the approach of an enemy. But the danger was postponed by events in England. The king issued his famous writ of ship-money, and Archbishop Laud undertook to impose his new liturgy

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upon Scotland. These things soon raised such a storm in the old country that Massachusetts was for a time forgotten and went on thriving and managing its own affairs.

Rhode Island. — While the colonists were kept in alarm by the ill will of the home government, there were causes of strife at work at their very doors, of which they were fain to rid themselves as soon as possible. Among those who came over in 1631 was a remarkable young graduate of Oxford named Roger Williams, one of the noblest men of his time. In 1633 he became pastor of a church in Salem. He was an advocate of religious freedom in the modern sense, of the entire separation of church from state, and of the equal protection of all forms of religious faith. At that time very few people held such liberal views. The Puritans of Massachusetts made no pretence to any such liberality. They did not cross the ocean in order to found a state in which every one might believe and behave according to his own notions of what was right. They came in order to found a state in which everything might be cut and dried in accordance with the notions which they held as a community. If anybody disagreed with them, let him imitate their example, and go away and found a state for himself; there was room enough in the American wilderness. Such being their views, it was impossible for the strict Puritans to look with approval upon Roger Williams. But presently he made himself odious by a political pamphlet in which he denied the right of the colonists to the lands which they held in New England under the king's grant. Such a doctrine at such a time was not to be endured, and Williams was ordered to return to England. He escaped to the woods and passed a winter with the Indians about Narragansett Bay, learning their language and acquiring a great personal influence over them. In the spring of 1636 he learned that though the Massachusetts people would not have him preaching among them, they made no objection to his moving off and setting up a church and state of his own; and under such circumstances the beginnings of the state of Rhode Island were made at Providence.

In this same eventful year, 1636, a very bright and capable lady

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from Lincolnshire, named Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, came to Boston and gave lectures there. She entertained peculiar views about "justification," and many of her hearers forsook the teachings of the regular ministers, to follow her. There was fierce excitement among the people of the little half-built town in the wilderness. Mrs. Hutchinson found defenders among people of high position, among them the famous Sir Henry Vane, who was for that year governor of Massachusetts, but soon returned to England, to become one of the greatest of Protestant statesmen, and ultimately to die on the scaffold. Sir Henry was a friend to freedom of speech, but the men of Massachusetts were not mistaken in maintaining that Mrs. Hutchinson was dangerous to the colony. An Indian war was at hand, and so hot had the theological quarrel grown that many men were ready to refuse to serve in the militia because they entertained doubts as to the soundness of the chaplain's opinions. Accordingly Mrs. Hutchinson was expelled from the colony. Of her friends and adherents some, going northward, founded the towns of Exeter and Hampton, near Portsmouth and Dover, which had already been settled by followers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. In 1641 these four towns were added by their own consent to the domain of Massachusetts, and so the matter stood until 1679, when Charles II. marked them off as the royal province of New Hampshire.

Mrs. Hutchinson herself, however, with the rest of her adherents, bought the island of Aquidneck from the Indians, and there, in 1639, made the beginnings of Newport. Soon afterward Mrs. Hutchinson moved into New Netherland, and in 1643 was murdered by Indians. One of her descendants was Thomas Hutchinson, the famous Tory governor of Massachusetts, at the time of the Boston Tea-Party.

The colony of Rhode Island, thus founded by exiles from Massachusetts, continued to practise universal toleration and became a refuge for heretical and oppressed people. At the same time society was for many years extremely turbulent there, and the colony was regarded with strong disfavour by its neighbours.

Connecticut. — During the same eventful year, 1636, the foun-

dations of Connecticut were laid. A few Plymouth men had already established themselves on the site of Hartford, and the younger John Winthrop had built a fort at Saybrook, commanding the mouth of the river. In the course of 1635 twenty vessels came from England to Massachusetts, bringing 3000 colonists. The land near the coast was as yet by no means crowded, but there were many people who disapproved the course of Massachusetts in allowing none but church-members to vote, and these feelings would seem to have had something to do with the migration to the Connecticut valley. The towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield were founded in 1636, and in the colony which thus arose there was no restriction of the right of suffrage to church-members.

The Pequot War.— It was now sixteen years since the landing of the Pilgrims, yet none of the little colonies had been molested by the Indians. The treaty with Massasoit had been strictly maintained in the east, and had kept things quiet there. As settlers now moved westward they encountered other Indians. To the west of the Wampanoags dwelt the Narragansetts, and to the west of these the formidable Pequots, in what is now the valley of the Thames. North of the Pequots, in the highlands of Worcester county, were the Nipmucks, while the Connecticut valley was the home of the Mohegans. The Pequots bullied and browbeat the other tribes, and were the terror of the New England forests. They soon came into collision with the settlers of Connecticut, and their chief sachem, Sassacus, tried to persuade all the tribes to unite in a grand crusade against the English, and drive them into the ocean. But the Narragansetts and Mohegans hated the Pequots too bitterly for this, and they made alliances with the white men. For several months the Pequots prowled around the Connecticut settlements, murdering and kidnapping, until the wrath of the English was kindled, and they made up their minds to strike a blow that would be long remembered. On a moonlit night of May, 1637, Captains Underhill and Mason, with a force of 77 white men and 400 friendly Indians, stormed the principal palisaded village of the Pequots, burned it to the ground, and massacred all but five of its 700 inhabitants. The miserable rem-

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nant of the Pequot tribe was soon wiped out of existence, and there was peace in the land for forty years.

Colony of New Haven. — About a month after this terrible vengeance, a company of wealthy London merchants arrived in Boston. Their minister, John Davenport, had drawn upon himself the especial enmity of Archbishop Laud. It was their desire to put into practice a Puritan ideal of society even stricter than that of Massachusetts, and after a year they sailed up Long Island Sound, and settled New Haven, and presently Milford and Guilford. These towns united to form a commonwealth which was for some time distinct from Connecticut. In the colony of New Haven none but church-members were allowed to vote, and in many respects it was the most puritanical of the New England colonies. It was in New Haven that the famous "Blue Laws" were said to have been enacted, forbidding people to kiss their children on Sunday, or to make mince-pies, or to play on any musical instrument except a drum, trumpet, or jew's-harp. People speaking carelessly, are wont to allude to these wonderful edicts as the "Blue Laws of *Connecticut*." But in truth there never were any "Blue Laws" at all. The story was invented in 1781 by Dr. Peters, a Tory refugee in London, in order to cast ridicule upon the Puritans of New England.

End of the Exodus to New England. — Ever since the year 1629, when the Company of Massachusetts Bay was chartered, King Charles I. had contrived by hook or by crook to get along without calling a parliament. In doing so, he had imposed illegal taxes upon the English people, and interfered with their freedom in various ways, and more especially with their freedom of worship, until their patience was worn out; and at length, in 1640, when the king, for want of money, was obliged to summon a parliament, the day of reckoning began. Before granting money, it was the custom of parliaments to demand a redress of grievances, and this parliament found so much of that sort of work to do, that it came to be known as the Long Parliament. It conducted a great war, beheaded the king, and saw the government of Cromwell rise and

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fall, before it finally ended its existence in 1660, after the strangest career that a legislative body has ever had since history began.

The meeting of the Long Parliament was the end of the Puritan exodus to New England. The Puritans had now so much work to do in the mother country that their annual migrations across the Atlantic abruptly ceased. More than 20,000 had come to New England between 1630 and 1640, and as many as 5000 children born in the new country were growing to maturity. During the next hundred years probably more people went back to England than came thence to the New England colonies. For more than a century the Puritan states in America pursued their career in remarkable seclusion from other communities, and developed a supple and sturdy type of character, which has already proved to be of great value to the world. It was not until after the Revolutionary war that these people began anew to take up their westward march into the state of New York and beyond, until now, after another century, we see some of their descendants dwelling in a Portland and a Salem on the Pacific coast.

The New England Confederacy. — With a view to more efficient self-defence against the Indians, the French of Canada, and the Dutch, a confederation of New England colonies was formed at Boston in 1643. Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut formed themselves into a league, under the style of "The United Colonies of New England." The Rhode Island plantations were not admitted to the league because of their disorderly condition and the prejudice against them on the part of the other colonies. The administration of the league was put into the hands of eight Federal Commissioners, two from each colony, and this board had entire control over all dealings with the Indians or with foreign powers. It was to hold its meetings once a year, or oftener, should occasion require it. This confederate government did not work so well as it might have done, because Massachusetts, being stronger than the other three colonies together, was sometimes inclined to domineer. But it did excellent service for forty years, and the details of its political history are extremely interesting.

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This confederation of the four colonies was an act of sovereignty performed without consulting the home government, and it was regarded with jealousy in England. But Charles I. had too much on his hands to interfere with these bold Puritans, and their friend Cromwell was not disposed to interfere with them. So the confederacy flourished in peace till after Charles II. had got back from his wanderings and taken his seat upon the throne which he was to disgrace. There were plenty of malcontents in England who had been sent back there because the Puritans of the New World did not like their society. Such persons poured their grievances into the royal ear. They said that the people of New England were all rebels at heart; and if it was meant by this that they were bent upon having their own way without regard to the wishes of the home government, there was a great deal of truth in it. Men who had crossed the ocean and encountered the hardships of the wilderness, in order to secure the priceless treasure of self-government, were likely to insist upon keeping what they had won at such great cost.

Quakers in Boston. — The Puritans, however, were very far from being always in the right. We have seen that they were by no means tolerant of those who disagreed with them in opinion. For a while they got along by banishing such people or sending them back to England; but at length their exclusive scheme of government was put to the test by a set of people as resolute as themselves, who persisted in coming among them and would not go away when they were told to go. These resolute people were the Quakers, — one of the noblest of Christian sects, but in their origin, like other sects, the object of much contumely. They believed in private inspiration, and the Puritans were extremely afraid of such a doctrine because they thought it must lead to looseness of living. The Quakers came over from England not so much to escape persecution as to preach their doctrines. Accordingly they were not satisfied with staying in Rhode Island, where they were tolerated, but insisted on coming into Massachusetts. Those who came were banished under penalty of death; but they returned, and at length four were hanged on a gallows erected on

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Boston Common. This was the most disgraceful thing that ever happened in New England. The tragedy ended in 1661 with the victory of the Quakers, when one of their number, the brave Wenlock Christison, came into court and threatened the judges. "I am come here to warn you," said he, "that ye shed no more innocent blood." He was arrested and condemned to death; but the people had come to be shocked at the severity of the magistrates, and the sentence was not executed. The persecution of Quakers, however, continued for a while in a milder form, and thirty or more were imprisoned or whipped.

It was the policy of Charles II. to be tolerant toward Quakers. Catholics and Quakers were the two kinds of Christians whom all other sects agreed in considering as outside the pale of toleration. Charles was secretly a Catholic, and wished to advance Catholic interests in England, and he could only do this by pursuing a general policy of which Quakers as well as Catholics got the benefit. In 1661 he issued an order in council forbidding the General Court of Massachusetts to inflict bodily punishment upon Quakers, and directing it to send them to England for trial. But to send people to England for trial was a humiliation to which Massachusetts would never submit, and she now not merely disregarded the king's message, but defied it by enacting fresh laws against the Quakers.

Coining Money. — The enemies of the New England people, while dilating upon this rebellious disposition of Massachusetts, could also remind the king that for several years that colony had been coining and circulating shillings and sixpences with the name "Massachusetts" and a tree on one side, and the name "New England" with the date on the other. There was no recognition of England upon this coinage, which was begun in 1652 and kept up for more than thirty years. Such pieces of money used to be called "pine-tree shillings"; but, so far as looks go, the tree might be anything, and an adroit friend of New England once assured the king that it was meant for the royal oak in which his majesty hid himself after the battle of Worcester!

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The Connecticut Charter. — Against the colony of New Haven

the king bore a special grudge. Two of the regicide judges, who had sat in the tribunal which condemned his father, had found refuge in that colony, and the bold minister Davenport had openly aided and comforted them. Moreover New Haven had delayed more than a year in recognizing the restoration of Charles II. to the throne. So the king was naturally very angry with New Haven, when circumstances enabled him to punish this disloyal colony, to snub Massachusetts, and to deal a blow at the Confederacy, all at one and the same time.

Massachusetts and New Haven had agreed in allowing only members of the Congregational church to vote. The main object of this was to keep out Episcopalians, but there were many who disapproved of such exclusiveness. Connecticut disapproved of it, and had some controversy with New Haven about the matter. None of the colonies save Massachusetts had a charter, and Connecticut was very anxious to obtain one. Perhaps this may have helped to make her prompt in recognizing the king's restoration. In 1661 the younger Winthrop went over to England to apply for a charter for Connecticut. The king thought it an excellent idea to weaken Massachusetts by raising up a rival state by her side and sowing dissensions between them. To suppress New Haven and forcibly annex her to Connecticut would be just the thing. Accordingly a charter of extraordinary liberality was granted to Connecticut, and she was given possession of all the territory of New Haven. At the same time, as if further to irritate Massachusetts, an equally liberal charter was granted to Rhode Island.

It was with great reluctance that the people of New Haven submitted to the enforced union with Connecticut. Many of the people, indeed, would not submit, but in 1667 migrated to New Jersey and laid the foundations of Newark.

The suppression of one of its four members was a serious blow to the New England Confederacy, but it continued its work, with its constitution amended, so as to make it a league of three states instead of four.

Visit of the Royal Commissioners. — In the summer of 1664 the king sent a couple of ships of war to Boston harbor, with 400

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troops under command of Col. Richard Nichols, who had been appointed with three others as royal commissioners, to look after the affairs of the New World. Colonel Nichols took his ships to New Amsterdam, and captured that important town. After his return the commissioners held meetings at Boston, and for a time the Massachusetts charter seemed in danger. But the Massachusetts lawyers were shrewd, and months were frittered away to no purpose. Presently the Dutch made war upon England, and the king felt it to be unwise to irritate the people of Massachusetts beyond endurance. The turbulent state of English politics which followed still further absorbed his attention, and New England had another respite of nearly twenty years.

King Philip's War.— In 1660 the sachem Massasoit died, and was succeeded by his son Wamsutta, whom the English called Alexander. After two years Wamsutta died and was succeeded by his brother Metacom, whom the English called Philip. Since the annihilation of the Pequots there had been no outbreak of Indian hostilities, though the Narragansetts had been with much reason suspected of plotting against the white men. As a rule the settlers had treated the natives with justice and kindness. The learned John Eliot had translated the Bible into their language, and had converted many by his preaching. In 1674 there were 4000 Christian Indians in New England. Schools were introduced among them, and many learned to read and write. The English as yet showed no disposition to encroach upon the Indians, and they scrupulously paid for the land which they occupied.

Nevertheless the Indians dreaded and disliked this formidable power, which had so rapidly grown up among them. In the presence of the white men they were no longer lords of the forest; they were obliged to recognize a master whom they hated and would gladly destroy. For a long time the terrible destruction of the Pequots held them in awe, but that wholesome feeling had begun to fade away. The red man had now become expert in the use of fire-arms, and no longer seemed so unequal a match for his white neighbor. Under these circumstances, Philip seems to have formed a scheme for uniting the native tribes against the

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English, and utterly destroying them. It was a scheme like that which Sassacus had entertained in 1636, and long afterward, in 1763, Pontiac cherished a similar design. For several years the magistrates of Plymouth and Massachusetts were made uneasy by rumors of Philip's intrigues. At length, in June, 1675, the horrible work began with an attack upon the town of Swansea. Massacres followed at Dartmouth, Middleborough, and Taunton. Victims were flayed alive, or tied to trees and scorched to death with firebrands. Driven from his own haunts by the colonial troops, Philip fled to the Nipmucks, and they attacked Brookfield, and came near destroying the village, but after a three days' fight they were defeated by troops from Lancaster. Captain Lothrop was overwhelmed near Deerfield by 700 Nipmucks, and of his force of 90 picked men only eight escaped the tomahawk. The Connecticut valley was ravaged from Northfield down to Springfield. In this desperate state of affairs, it became evident that the Narragansetts also were meditating hostilities. They could muster 3000 warriors, and were the most formidable of the New England tribes since the extermination of the Pequots. The Federal Commissioners made up their minds to be beforehand and strike at the principal fortress or stockaded village of the Narragansetts. In December this stronghold was attacked by Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, with 1000 men. It stood on a rising ground in the middle of a great swamp; it was surrounded by rows of palisades, which made a wall twelve feet in thickness; and the only approach to its single door was over the trunk of a felled tree two feet in diameter, and slippery with snow and ice. Victory under such circumstances was not easy to achieve, but the Puritan army did its work with a thoroughness that would have won the praise of Cromwell. After a desperate struggle they stormed the village, with a loss of one-fifth of their number. To the Indians no quarter was given, and on that day the Narragansett tribe was virtually swept from the face of the earth.

Rough as this work was, it was much easier to deal with the Indians when crowded behind palisades, than to catch them when scattered about in the trackless forest. They were skilful in elud-

ing pursuit, and in dealing their blows in unexpected places. The war was kept up several months longer by the Nipmucks, until Captain Turner surprised and slew the flower of their warriors at the falls of the Connecticut which have since borne his name. This heavy blow (in May, 1676) broke the strength of the savages. In August, Philip was hunted down and killed, and his severed head was mounted on a pole in the town of Plymouth. By this time the Tarrateens in the northeast had caught the war fever, and during the next year most of the villages between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec were laid in ashes, and their inhabitants massacred. In April, 1678, after a three years' reign of terror, the war came to an end. Of 90 towns in Massachusetts and Plymouth, 12 had been quite destroyed, and 40 others had been the scene of fire and slaughter. More than 600 white men had lost their lives, besides the hundreds of women and children butchered in cold blood. The war-debt of Massachusetts was very heavy, and that of Plymouth was reckoned to exceed the total amount of personal property in the colony; yet in course of time every farthing of this indebtedness was paid. Fearful as was the damage done to the settlers, however, it was to the Indians that the destruction was fatal and final. Of disturbances wrought by them in central and southern New England we hear no more. Their power here was annihilated, and henceforth their atrocities were wrought chiefly on the frontier, in concert with the French of Canada.

The Massachusetts Charter annulled. — During this deadly struggle the men of New England had sought no help from beyond sea and had got none. So far from helping them, it was just this moment of weakness and danger that Charles II. chose for wreaking his spite upon Massachusetts. Other circumstances favored his design. There was a considerable party in the colony which was disgusted with the illiberal policy which restricted the rights of citizenship to members of the Congregational church. The leader of this party was Joseph Dudley, an able man, son of the Dudley who had been lieutenant to Winthrop. Then there were in England the inheritors of the grudge of Gorges and his friends against the colony, and the malcontents who had suffered from the

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stern policy of the Puritans, and all these men found a bold and able leader in Edward Randolph, who even went so far as to propose that the Church of England should be established in Massachusetts, and that none but Episcopal clergymen should be allowed to solemnize marriages there. This was like the policy which the king was trying to impose upon Scotland, and which for the next ten years was to fill that noble country with slaughter and weeping.

It was in 1679, just when all New England was groaning under the bereavements and burdens entailed by Philip's war, that the Stuart government began its final series of assaults upon Massachusetts. First the Piscataqua towns were taken away and made into a royal province under the name of New Hampshire. There was a difficulty of long standing between Massachusetts and the heirs of Gorges about the territory of Maine, which had lately been amicably adjusted: the king now annulled the arrangement that had been made. He also commanded the government of Massachusetts to abolish its peculiar restriction upon the right of suffrage, and to allow Episcopal forms of worship. Much wrangling went on for the next five years, when at length, on June 21, 1684, the dispute was summarily ended by a decree in chancery annulling the charter of Massachusetts.

Tyranny of Sir Edmund Andros. — Now it was on this charter that not only all the cherished institutions of the colony, but even the titles of individuals to their lands and homes, were supposed to be founded. By taking away the charter the king meant that the crown resumed all its original claim to the land, and might grant it over again to other people if it felt so inclined. In February, 1685, a stroke of apoplexy carried off Charles II., and his equally wicked but much less able brother, the Duke of York, ascended the throne as James II. Sir Edmund Andros, a great favorite with the new king, was sent over to America to act as viceroy on a great scale. All the New England colonies were lumped together with New York and New Jersey, and put under his rule. In 1687 the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island were rescinded; but the decree was never formally enrolled. In October of that year Andros went to Hartford to seize the charter,

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but failed to find it. According to local tradition it was hidden in the hollow trunk of an oak-tree.

Andros was a coarse and unscrupulous man, and the two years of his government were the most wretched years in the history of New England. For the moment it seemed as if an end was about to be put to American freedom. The governor imposed arbitrary taxes, seized upon private estates, encroached upon common lands, and suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*. It was announced that all titles were to be ransacked, and that he who wished to keep his property must pay a quit-rent, which under the circumstances amounted to blackmail. The Old South Meeting-House was seized and used as an Episcopal church. The General Court was abolished, and a censorship of the press was set up. Such a barefaced tyranny was hardly ever seen before or since in any community speaking the English language. If it had lasted much longer, New England would have rebelled; there would have been war.

Fall of the Stuart Dynasty. — But the tyranny of Andros in America was but the counterpart of the tyranny which his royal master was trying to establish in England. The people of England rebelled, and the tyrant fled across the Channel. In April, 1689, it became known in Boston that the Prince of Orange had landed in England. The signal-fire was lighted on Beacon Hill, a meeting was held at the Town House, drums beat to arms, militia began to pour in from the country, and Andros, disguised in woman's clothes, was arrested as he was trying to escape to a ship in the harbor. Five weeks afterward, the new sovereigns, William and Mary, were proclaimed in Boston, and the days of Stuart insolence were at an end.

Massachusetts becomes a Royal Province. — From a Dutch Calvinist, like William III., the Puritans had little to fear on the score of religion; yet the king had no great liking for such a republican form of government as that of the New England colonies. The defiance with which Massachusetts had treated the Stuarts looked too much like a challenge of the royal prerogative in general; but the smaller colonies, having been less annoyed, had been less intractable, and now found favor with the king.

Connecticut and Rhode Island were allowed to keep their old charters, by which they were, to all intents and purposes, independent republican governments. Both states lived under these charters till long after the Revolution, — Connecticut until 1818, Rhode Island until 1843. New Hampshire was again erected into a royal province. Plymouth was annexed to Massachusetts, and so were Maine and Nova Scotia. But along with this vast territorial extension there went a considerable curtailment of the political independence of Massachusetts. By the new charter, granted in 1691, the right of the people to be governed by a legislature of their own choosing was expressly confirmed; but all laws passed by the legislature were to be sent to England to receive the royal approval; the governor was henceforth to be appointed by the crown; no qualification of church-membership was to be required of voters; and all forms of worship were to be tolerated except the Roman Catholic.

From the accession of William and Mary to the accession of George III. the history of the internal politics of Massachusetts is, for the most part, like the history of Virginia, the chronicle of a protracted brawl between the governors appointed by the crown and the legislatures chosen by the people. Thus these two great colonies, unlike each other in so many respects, were gradually preparing to unite in opposition to any undue assertion of authority on the part of the home government.

§ 6. The Later Colonies.

The Carolinas. — During the seventeenth century the only English colonies which figure conspicuously in American history are Virginia and Maryland, New York, and the colonies of New England. In the latter half of the century the foundations of the other English colonies were gradually laid. In order to provide for some of his loyal friends whose property had suffered in the great rebellion, Charles II. in 1663 made a grant of the land between Virginia and Florida to a company of eight noblemen, to hold as absolute proprietors, saving only a formal allegiance to the crown. This created a proprietary form of government somewhat similar

to that of Maryland, save that, instead of the semi-royal lord proprietary, an oligarchy of noblemen was to stand at the head of the administration. The country had already been named Carolina a century before by the unfortunate Jean Ribaut, in honor of his king, Charles IX. of France; and the name served equally well for a colony founded by Charles II. of England. An elaborate aristocratic constitution was drawn up for the colony by John Locke, the philosopher, but it was never put in practice. Immigration went on for half a century, and two colonies grew up without much regard to the concerted scheme. The proprietary government was very unpopular. In 1729 South Carolina voluntarily became a royal province, and two years later North Carolina followed her example.

The differences between these two colonies were important and striking. All the colonies we have hitherto considered, except New York, were purely English in blood. In the Carolinas there were a great many French Huguenots, Germans, Swiss, Scotch, and Scotch-Irish; but in North Carolina this non-English element was by no means so great as in South Carolina, where it formed more than half the white population. The English element in North Carolina was at first of a very low character, consisting largely of "poor whites" and border ruffians escaped or driven from Virginia. Tobacco was cultivated in large quantities, but oftener on small estates than on vast plantations. Agriculture was ruder than in any of the other colonies, and society was in a more disorderly condition. Slavery existed from the outset, but there were fewer slaves than in Virginia, and the slavery was of a mild type. The white people were generally poor and uneducated, and knew comparatively little of what was going on beyond their borders. Yet in spite of these disadvantages North Carolina improved greatly during the eighteenth century, and by the time of the Revolution was becoming a comparatively thrifty and well-ordered state.

South Carolina, on the other hand, was a comparatively wealthy community. The plantations were large, and the negro population greatly outnumbered the whites. The chief source of wealth was

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the cultivation of rice and indigo, and in these occupations an able-bodied negro could earn so much more in a single year than the cost of his purchase that it was more profitable to work him to death than to take care of him. Accordingly slavery was of a far more cruel type than in Virginia and North Carolina, and the negro population remained more barbarous than in those colonies. The estates were mostly managed by overseers, and the planters usually congregated in Charleston, where all owned houses. Thus Charleston, alone among many southern towns before the Revolution, came to rival the chief northern towns in size and in trade. It was in 1776 the fifth city in the United States, with a population of 15,000. The children of the rich planters were educated in Europe, and society in Charleston was cultivated and brilliant.

Pennsylvania. — Everywhere except in turbulent Rhode Island the Quakers met with such an inhospitable reception that, like other sects, they were moved to found a colony according to their own notions. In 1677 a great number came to New Jersey and made settlements in the western part of the country. Then the matter was taken up by a very remarkable man, the most celebrated of Quakers, who happened to be on terms of peculiar friendship and intimacy with the royal family. William Penn, son of a distinguished admiral, had been entrusted by his dying father to the especial care of the Duke of York; and here the interests of James were such as to keep him faithful to his trust. As already observed, Catholics and Quakers were the two sects which nobody tolerated, and so the Catholic Stuarts, in order to protect their own friends, were obliged to pursue a course which incidentally benefited the Quakers. Penn inherited the claim to a debt of £16,000 due from the crown to his father, and there was no way in which such a debt could more easily be paid than by a grant of unsettled territory in America. Accordingly in 1681 Penn obtained a grant of 40,000 square miles of territory comprised between the domain of Lord Baltimore and that of the Duke of York. Penn would have called this princely domain New Wales, but the king insisted upon naming it Pennsylvania. Of all the colonies this was the only one that had no sea-coast, and as Penn wanted free

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access to the ocean he proceeded to secure the proprietorship of Delaware, which for some years had been an appendage of New York. Throughout the remainder of the colonial period Pennsylvania and Delaware continued under the same proprietary government, though after 1702 they were distinct provinces, each with its own legislature. Penn's charter was drawn up in imitation of Lord Baltimore's, but differed from it in two important points. Laws passed by the assembly of Maryland were valid as soon as confirmed by Lord Baltimore, and did not even need to be seen by the king or his privy council; but the colonial enactments of Pennsylvania were required to be sent to England for the royal approval. In the Maryland charter the right of the crown to impose taxes within the limits of the province was expressly denied; in the Pennsylvania charter it was expressly affirmed.

In shaping the policy of his new colony Penn was allowed the widest latitude, and never was a colony founded on more liberal principles. Absolute freedom of conscience was guaranteed to every one, the laws were extremely humane, and land was offered to immigrants on very easy terms. Within three years from its foundation, Pennsylvania contained 8000 inhabitants, and it was not long in outgrowing all the other colonies, except Virginia and Massachusetts. Of the white population scarcely half were English; about one-third were Germans, and the remainder chiefly Irish. In 1776 Philadelphia was the largest city in the United States, with a population of 30,000, and in literary activity and general culture it was second only to Boston.

§ 7. The Struggle between England and France.

Discovery of the Great West. — While the settlement of Pennsylvania was filling up the gap between the northern and southern English colonies, and was thus consolidating the English power upon the Atlantic seaboard, a gallant French explorer was adding vast domains in the interior to the empire of Louis XIV. Robert de la Salle was a man of iron if ever there was one. He did more than any one else to extend the dominion of France in the New World. In 1541 Ferdinand de Soto had discovered the Missis-

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sippi river in the lower part of its course, but the Spaniards had done nothing more in this quarter, and De Soto's discovery had lapsed nearly or quite into oblivion. In 1639 and following years the French began to approach the great river from the north, the Jesuit missionaries taking the lead. In 1673 Marquette and Joliet reached the Mississippi by way of the Wisconsin, and sailed over its waters as far down as the mouth of the Arkansas. La Salle had already begun his work in 1669; and at length in 1682, after several unsuccessful attempts, in which he showed such indomitable pluck and perseverance as has never been surpassed, he explored the great river to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico, took possession of the country drained by it in the name of the king of France, and named it after him Louisiana. But before he had been able to carry out his design of establishing a colony at the mouth of the river, after a long series of terrible hardships, he was waylaid in the forest, and murdered by some mutinous wretches of his own party.

Border Wars. — At the time of La Salle's death in 1687 the deadly rivalry between the French and the English colonies was already becoming pronounced. The northward and westward growth of New England, and the English conquest of New Netherland, had brought the two great rivals face to face. The savage struggle between the French and the Iroquois had now been kept up for many years. In 1689 the Iroquois attacked Montreal, and for a moment it seemed as if they might prove more than a match for the French and their Algonquin allies. But in 1693 and 1696 they received a terrible chastisement at the hands of Count Frontenac, who was one of the ablest of the viceroys sent from France to govern Canada. Frontenac marched through the Mohawk valley from Lake Ontario, burning towns, laying waste the country, and seizing upon the principal war-chiefs as hostages. Between 1690 and 1697 the Iroquois confederacy lost more than half its warriors, and never recovered from the blow, although it still remained a formidable power until after the Revolutionary War.

The great struggle between France and England began, both in the Old World and in the New, in 1690, on the occasion of the

accession of Louis XIV.'s arch-enemy, William of Orange, to the English throne. In 1690 a party of Frenchmen and Algonquins surprised the frontier town of Schenectady and slaughtered sixty of the inhabitants. During the next seven years they perpetrated shocking massacres at Salmon Falls and Durham in New Hampshire, at York and Fort Loyal (on the site of Portland) in Maine, and at Groton and Haverhill in Massachusetts. In 1690 the Massachusetts militia, under Sir William Phips, sailed up the St. Lawrence and laid siege to Quebec, while the Connecticut forces, under Winthrop, marched against Montreal; but these generals were no match for Frontenac, and both expeditions ended disastrously. In the following year the French were defeated in a bloody battle by the New York militia and Mohawks under Peter Schuyler. But, on the whole, as long as Frontenac lived, the English had the worst of it. He died at Quebec in 1698, just after the Peace of Ryswick had for a moment put an end to hostilities.

Peace was of very brief duration. In 1702 began the War of the Spanish Succession, which was known in America as Queen Anne's War. For eleven years New York and New England were harassed by barbarous foes. There was an atrocious massacre at Deerfield in 1704, and another at Haverhill in 1708, and at all times there was terror on the frontier. In this war the French were worsted, and at the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, Acadia was ceded to England.

After twenty-eight years of peace between the two great rivals, the War of the Austrian Succession broke out in 1741 and lasted till 1748. In America this was known as King George's War. Its principal incident was the capture of the great stronghold of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island by 4000 New England troops under William Pepperell, in 1745. This fortress commanded the fisheries and the approaches to the St. Lawrence, and its capture saved New England from a contemplated French invasion. The gilded iron cross which stands over the entrance to Harvard College Library was taken from the market-place of Louisburg on this occasion. At the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, greatly to the disgust of New England, Louisburg was restored to the French,

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in exchange for Madras, in Hindustan, which France had taken from England.

Settlement of Georgia. — The southern colonies took little or no part in these earlier wars against the French. It was the Spaniards with whom they had to contend. The Spaniards laid claim to the Carolinas as part of Florida, and kept inciting the Indians to hostilities toward the settlers. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century the southern frontier witnessed many massacres of settlers by the Indians. The great multitude of negro slaves, too, in South Carolina, ever ripe for insurrection, made the neighborhood of the hostile Spaniards especially dangerous. In 1732 this wretched state of affairs attracted the attention of a gallant English soldier, James Oglethorpe, who conceived the plan of establishing a new colony which might serve as a military outpost against the Spaniards. The land between the Savannah river and the Spanish settlements in Florida was made over to a board of trustees, and named Georgia, in honor of the reigning king. The government was in the proprietary form, the trustees standing in the place of the lord proprietary. Oglethorpe was appointed governor, and he obtained his first company of colonists by setting free the insolvent debtors who crowded the prisons of England after the failure of the South-sea Bubble and other wild speculations. Germans and Scotchmen came over in considerable numbers, and a few people from New England joined in the enterprise, and founded the town of Sunbury. In 1739 England and Spain were at war, and Oglethorpe's military colony quite justified the foresight of its founder. In 1742 the Spaniards were defeated, with great slaughter, in the decisive battle of Frederica; and in the following year Oglethorpe invaded Florida, and might have conquered it if he had been properly supported. After Oglethorpe's return to England, the proprietary government became so unpopular that in 1752 Georgia was made a crown colony. Slavery, which had at first been prohibited, was then introduced, and the colony became in its social characteristics similar to South Carolina, though it was long before it outgrew the illiterateness and barbarism of a wild frontier community. At the time of the

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Revolution it was the smallest of the thirteen colonies, with a population of 50,000, of which one-half were slaves.

Completion of the Contact between New France and the English Colonies. — The work of establishing a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, interrupted by the untimely death of the heroic La Salle, was taken up again in 1699 by Iberville. In the course of his operations Mobile was founded in 1702, and in 1718 a French company made the beginnings of the city of New Orleans. The boundary between the French and English colonies was now a very long line, running all the way from New Orleans to Montreal. It was a vague and undetermined line, nowhere fixed by treaty, but everywhere subject to the arbitrament of war. To guard their possessions, the French erected a chain of some sixty fortresses along this line. The general position and direction of this chain is marked by the sites of the towns or cities of New Orleans, Natchez, Vincennes, Fort Wayne, Toledo, Detroit, Ogdensburgh, and Montreal.

Thus at the moment when George Washington entered upon his public career, the contact between New France and the English colonies had just been completed all along the line. France hoped to establish, in the interior of North America, a Catholic and despotic empire, after the pattern of the Old Régime in the mother country; and she had made up her mind that the sway of the English race in America must be confined to the narrow strip of territory between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies. All of the continent west of this mountain range was to become a New France, and no English colonist must be allowed to cross the barrier. The struggle between the two great rivals was thus extended over the whole country, so that Virginia began to play a foremost part in it. For the first time the English colonies, north and south, began to act in concert against a common foe; and in overthrowing the enemy, they first began to feel their own strength when united. Out of this great war immediately grew the disputed questions which formed the occasion of the American Revolution. The causes having been long at work, the development of the crisis was sudden and prodigious. Men old enough to vote in

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town-meeting at the time of Braddock's defeat were not yet fifty when Cornwallis surrendered his army at Yorktown. But in passing from 1755 to 1781, we enter a new world, and the man who did more than any other toward bringing about this wonderful change is the hero of our story, — the modest, brave, far-sighted, iron-willed, high-minded general and statesman, whose fame is one of the most precious possessions of the human race, — George Washington.

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LIFE OF WASHINGTON.

§ 1. Before the French War.

Ancestry. — The Washington family is of an ancient English stock, the genealogy of which has been traced up to the century immediately succeeding the Norman Conquest. The name is that of the village and manor of Wessyngton or Wassengtone in the county of Durham, where for centuries the forefathers of George Washington were lords of the manor. There were several instances of military ability in the family. In the Great Rebellion Sir Henry Washington fought with distinguished valor on the side of King Charles; and his two uncles, John and Andrew, after the death of the king, migrated to Virginia, which was becoming a favorite resort of the persecuted Cavaliers. In 1657 the Washington brothers settled on the Northern Neck, between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, and there at the homestead on Bridges Creek John's grandson, Augustine, was born in 1694. He was twice married. By his first wife he had two sons, Lawrence and Augustine, who grew to maturity. By his second wife, the beautiful Mary Ball, he had four sons, George, Samuel, John Augustine, and Charles; and two daughters, Elizabeth and Mildred.

Childhood and Youth. — George, the eldest, was born on the 22d of February, 1732, in the homestead on Bridges Creek; but while he was still an infant his father moved to an estate in Stafford County, opposite Fredericksburg.

In those days the means of instruction in Virginia were limited, and it was the custom among the wealthy planters to send their sons to England to complete their education. This was done

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by Augustine Washington with his eldest son Lawrence, then about fifteen years of age, and whom he no doubt considered the future head of the family. George was yet in early childhood: as his intellect dawned he received the rudiments of education in the best establishment for the purpose that the neighborhood afforded. It was what was called, in popular parlance, an "old field school-house"; humble enough in its pretensions, and kept by one of his father's tenants named Hobby, who moreover was sexton of the parish. The instruction doled out by him must have been of the simplest kind, reading, writing, and ciphering, perhaps; but George had the benefit of mental and moral culture at home, from an excellent father.

When George was about seven or eight years old his brother Lawrence returned from England, a well-educated and accomplished youth. There was a difference of fourteen years in their ages, which may have been one cause of the strong attachment which took place between them. Lawrence looked down with a protecting eye upon the boy whose dawning intelligence and perfect rectitude won his regard; while George looked up to his manly and cultivated brother as a model in mind and manners.

Lawrence Washington had something of the old military spirit of the family, and circumstances soon called it into action. Spanish depredations on British commerce had recently provoked reprisals. Admiral Vernon, commander-in-chief in the West Indies, had accordingly captured Porto Bello, on the Isthmus of Darien. The Spaniards were preparing to revenge the blow; the French were fitting out ships to aid them. Troops were embarked in England for another campaign in the West Indies; a regiment of four battalions was to be raised in the colonies and sent to join them at Jamaica. There was a sudden outbreak of military ardor in the province; the sound of drum and fife was heard in the villages, with the parade of recruiting parties. Lawrence Washington, now twenty-two years of age, caught the infection. He obtained a captain's commission in the newly raised regiment, and embarked with it for the West Indies in 1740. He served in the joint expeditions of Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth, in the land

forces commanded by the latter, and acquired the friendship and confidence of both of those officers. He was present at the siege of Carthagena, when it was bombarded by the fleet, and when the troops attempted to escalade the citadel. It was an ineffectual attack; the ships could not get near enough to throw their shells into the town, and the scaling ladders proved too short. That part of the attack, however, with which Lawrence was concerned, distinguished itself by its bravery. The troops sustained unflinching a destructive fire for several hours, and at length retired with honor, their small force having sustained a loss of about six hundred in killed and wounded.

We have here the secret of that martial spirit so often cited of George in his boyish days. He had seen his brother fitted out for the wars. He had heard by letter and otherwise of the warlike scenes in which he was mingling. All his amusements took a military turn. He made soldiers of his schoolmates; they had their mimic parades, reviews, and sham fights; a boy named William Bustle was sometimes his competitor, but George was commander-in-chief of Hobby's school.

Lawrence Washington returned home in the autumn of 1742, the campaigns in the West Indies being ended, and Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth having been recalled to England. It was the intention of Lawrence to rejoin his regiment in that country, and seek promotion in the army, but circumstances completely altered his plans. He formed an attachment to Anne, the eldest daughter of the Honorable William Fairfax, of Fairfax County; his addresses were well received, and they became engaged. Their nuptials were delayed by the sudden and untimely death of his father, which took place on the 12th of April, 1743, after a short but severe attack of gout in the stomach, and when but forty-nine years of age. George had been absent from home on a visit during his father's illness, and just returned in time to receive a parting look of affection.

Augustine Washington left large possessions, distributed by will among his children. To Lawrence fell the estate on the banks of the Potomac, with other real property, and several shares in iron

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works; to Augustine, the second son by the first marriage, the old homestead and estate in Westmoreland. The children by the second marriage were severally well provided for, and George, when he became of age, was to have the house and lands on the Rappahannock.

In the month of July the marriage of Lawrence with Miss Fairfax took place. He now gave up all thoughts of foreign service, and settled himself on his estate on the banks of the Potomac, to which he gave the name of MOUNT VERNON, in honor of the Admiral.

George, now eleven years of age, and the other children of the second marriage, had been left under the guardianship of their mother, to whom was intrusted the proceeds of all their property until they should severally come of age. She proved herself worthy of the trust. Endowed with plain, direct good sense, thorough conscientiousness, and prompt decision, she governed her family strictly, but kindly, exacting deference while she inspired affection. George being her eldest son, was thought to be her favorite, yet she never gave him undue preference, and the implicit deference exacted from him in childhood continued to be habitually observed by him to the day of her death. He inherited from her a high temper and a spirit of command, but her early precepts and example taught him to restrain and govern that temper, and to square his conduct on the exact principles of equity and justice.

Tradition gives an interesting picture of the widow, with her little flock gathered round her, as was her daily wont, reading to them lessons of religion and morality out of some standard work. Her favorite volume was Sir Matthew Hale's Contemplations, moral and divine. The admirable maxims therein contained, for outward action as well as self-government, sank deep into the mind of George, and, doubtless, had a great influence in forming his character. They certainly were exemplified in his conduct throughout life. This mother's manual, bearing his mother's name, Mary Washington, written with her own hand, was ever preserved by him with filial care, and may still be seen in the archives of Mount Vernon. A precious document! Let those who

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wish to know the moral foundation of his character consult its pages.

Having no longer the benefit of a father's instructions at home and the scope of tuition of Hobby, the sexton, being too limited for the growing wants of his pupil, George was now sent to reside with Augustine Washington, at Bridges Creek, and enjoy the benefit of a superior school in that neighborhood, kept by a Mr. Williams. His education, however, was plain and practical. He never attempted the learned languages, nor manifested any inclination for rhetoric or belles-lettres. His object, or the object of his friends, seems to have been confined to fitting him for ordinary business. His manuscript school-books still exist, and are models of neatness and accuracy. One of them, it is true, a ciphering-book preserved in the library at Mount Vernon, has some school-boy attempts at calligraphy: nondescript birds, executed with a flourish of the pen, or profiles of faces, probably intended for those of his schoolmates; the rest are all grave and business-like. Before he was thirteen years of age he had copied into a volume forms for all kinds of mercantile and legal papers; bills of exchange, notes of hand, deeds, bonds, and the like. This early self-tuition gave him throughout life a lawyer's skill in drafting documents, and a merchant's exactness in keeping accounts; so that all the concerns of his various estates, his dealings with his domestic stewards and foreign agents, his accounts with government, and all his financial transactions are to this day to be seen posted up in books, in his own handwriting, monuments of his method and unwearied accuracy.

He was a self-disciplinarian in physical as well as mental matters, and practised himself in all kinds of athletic exercises, such as running, leaping, wrestling, pitching quoits, and tossing bars. His frame even in infancy had been large and powerful, and he now excelled most of his playmates in contests of agility and strength. As a proof of his muscular power, a place is still pointed out at Fredericksburg, near the lower ferry, where, when a boy, he flung a stone across the Rappahannock. In horsemanship, too, he already excelled, and was ready to back and able to manage the

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most fiery steed. Traditional anecdotes remain of his achievements in this respect.

Above all, his inherent probity and the principles of justice on which he regulated all his conduct, even at this early period of life, were soon appreciated by his schoolmates; he was referred to as an umpire in their disputes, and his decisions were never reversed. As he had formerly been military chieftain, he was now legislator of the school; thus displaying in boyhood a type of the future man.

The attachment of Lawrence Washington to his brother George seems to have acquired additional strength and tenderness on their father's death; he now took a truly paternal interest in his concerns, and had him as frequently as possible a guest at Mount Vernon. Lawrence had deservedly become a popular and leading personage in the country. He was a member of the House of Burgesses, and adjutant-general of the district, with the rank of major, and a regular salary. A frequent sojourn with him brought George into familiar intercourse with the family of his father-in-law, the Honorable William Fairfax, who resided at a beautiful seat called Belvoir, a few miles below Mount Vernon, and on the same woody ridge bordering the Potomac.

William Fairfax was a man of liberal education and intrinsic worth; he had seen much of the world, and his mind had been enriched and ripened by varied and adventurous experience. Of an ancient English family in Yorkshire, he had entered the army at the age of twenty-one; had served with honor both in the East and West Indies, and officiated as Governor of New Providence, after having aided in rescuing it from pirates. For some years past he had resided in Virginia, to manage the immense landed estates of his cousin, Lord Fairfax, and lived at Belvoir in the style of an English country gentleman, surrounded by an intelligent and cultivated family of sons and daughters.

An intimacy with a family like this, in which the frankness and simplicity of rural and colonial life were united with European refinement, could not but have a beneficial effect in moulding the character and manners of a somewhat home-bred school-boy. It

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was probably his intercourse with them, and his ambition to acquit himself well in their society, that set him upon compiling a code of morals and manners which still exists in a manuscript in his own handwriting, entitled "Rules for Behavior in Company and Conversation." It is extremely minute and circumstantial. Some of the rules for personal deportment extend to such trivial matters, and are so quaint and formal as almost to provoke a smile; but in the main, a better manual of conduct could not be put into the hands of a youth. The whole code evinces that rigid propriety and self-control to which he subjected himself, and by which he brought all the impulses of a somewhat ardent temper under conscientious government.

Returning to school George continued his studies for nearly two years longer, devoting himself especially to mathematics, and accomplishing himself in those branches calculated to fit him either for civil or military service. Among these, one of the most important in the actual state of the country was land surveying. In this he schooled himself thoroughly, using the highest processes of the art; making surveys about the neighborhood, and keeping regular field-books, some of which we have examined, in which the boundaries and measurements of the fields surveyed were carefully entered, and diagrams made, with a neatness and exactness as if the whole related to important land transactions instead of being mere school exercises. Thus, in his earliest days, there was perseverance and completeness in all his undertakings. Nothing was left half done, or done in a hurried and slovenly manner. The habit of mind thus cultivated continued throughout life; so that however complicated his tasks and overwhelming his cares, in the arduous and hazardous situations in which he was often placed, he found time to do everything, and to do it well. He had acquired the magic of method, which of itself works wonders.

In one of these manuscript memorials of his practical studies and exercises, we have come upon some documents singularly in contrast with all that we have just cited, and with his apparently unromantic character. In a word, there are evidences in his own handwriting, that, before he was fifteen years of age, he had con-

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ceived a passion for some unknown beauty, so serious as to disturb his otherwise well-regulated mind, and to make him really unhappy. Why this juvenile attachment was a source of unhappiness we have no positive means of ascertaining. Perhaps the object of it may have considered him a mere school-boy, and treated him as such; or his own shyness may have been in his way, and his "rules for behavior and conversation" may as yet have sat awkwardly on him, and rendered him formal and ungainly when he most sought to please. Even in later years he was apt to be silent and embarrassed in female society. "He was a very bashful young man," said an old lady, whom he used to visit when they were both in their nonage. "I used often to wish that he would talk more."

The object of this early passion is not positively known. Tradition states that the "lowland beauty" was a Miss Grimes, of Westmoreland, afterwards Mrs. Lee, and mother of General Henry Lee, who figured in Revolutionary history as Light Horse Harry, and was always a favorite with Washington, probably from the recollections of his early tenderness for the mother.[1]

Whatever may have been the soothing effect of the female society by which he was surrounded at Belvoir, the youth found a more effectual remedy for his love melancholy in the company of Lord Fairfax, who was a staunch fox-hunter, and kept horses and hounds in the English style. The neighborhood abounded with sport; but fox-hunting in Virginia required bold and skilful horsemanship. He found Washington as bold as himself in the saddle, and as eager to follow the hounds. He forthwith took him into peculiar favor; made him his hunting companion; and it was probably under the tuition of this hard-riding old nobleman that the youth imbibed that fondness for the chase for which he was afterwards remarkable.

Their fox-hunting intercourse was attended with more important results. His lordship's possessions beyond the Blue Ridge had never been regularly settled nor surveyed. Lawless intruders — squatters, as they were called — were planting themselves along

[1] "Light Horse Harry" was father of the great southern general Robert Edward Lee.

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the finest streams and in the richest valleys, and virtually taking possession of the country. It was the anxious desire of Lord Fairfax to have these lands examined, surveyed, and portioned out into lots, preparatory to ejecting these interlopers or bringing them to reasonable terms. In Washington, notwithstanding his youth, he beheld one fit for the task — having noticed the exercises in surveying which he kept up while at Mount Vernon, and the aptness and exactness with which every process was executed. He was well calculated, too, by his vigor and activity, his courage and hardihood, to cope with the wild country to be surveyed, and with its still wilder inhabitants. The proposal had only to be offered to Washington to be eagerly accepted. It was the very kind of occupation for which he had been diligently training himself. All the preparations required by one of his simple habits were soon made, and in a very few days he was ready for his first expedition into the wilderness.

It was in the month of March (1748), and just after he had completed his sixteenth year, that Washington set out on horseback on this surveying expedition, in company with George William Fairfax, eldest son of the proprietor of Belvoir. In the course of this journey, Washington traversed and surveyed a considerable portion of the Shenandoah valley, acquired his first experience in woodcraft, and began to make acquaintance with the Indians.

The manner in which he had acquitted himself in this arduous expedition, and his accounts of the country surveyed, gave great satisfaction to Lord Fairfax, who shortly afterwards moved across the Blue Ridge, and took up his residence at the place heretofore noted as his "quarters." Here he laid out a manor, containing ten thousand acres of arable grazing lands, vast meadows, and noble forests, and projected a spacious manor house, giving to the place the name of Greenway Court.

It was probably through the influence of Lord Fairfax that Washington received the appointment of public surveyor. This conferred authority on his surveys, and entitled them to be recorded in the county offices; and so invariably correct have these surveys been found that, to this day, wherever any of them stand on record, they receive implicit credit.

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For three years he continued in this occupation, which proved extremely profitable, from the vast extent of country to be surveyed and the very limited number of public surveyors. It made him acquainted, also, with the country, the nature of the soil in various parts, and the value of localities; all which proved advantageous to him in his purchases in after years. Many of the finest parts of the Shenandoah Valley are yet owned by members of the Washington family.

Three or four years were thus passed by Washington, the greater part of the time beyond the Blue Ridge, but occasionally with his brother Lawrence at Mount Vernon. His rugged and toilsome expeditions in the mountains, among rude scenes and rough people, inured him to hardships, and made him apt at expedients; while his intercourse with his cultivated brother, and with the various members of the Fairfax family, had a happy effect in toning up his mind and manners, and counteracting the careless and self-indulgent habits of the wilderness.

His Mission to Venango. — During the time of Washington's surveying campaigns among the mountains, a grand colonizing scheme had been set on foot, destined to enlist him in hardy enterprises, and in some degree to shape the course of his future fortunes. The long rivalry between France and England was soon to culminate in a decisive war for the sovereignty over North America. All the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi river was claimed by the French, on the strength of the discoveries of La Salle; but the English were in nowise inclined to admit this claim, and in 1749 an association known as "the Ohio Company" was chartered for the purpose of promptly and quietly occupying the great Ohio valley. Many of the most intelligent and enterprising men of Virginia and Maryland belonged to this company, and Lawrence Washington was its chief manager. But while they were busily engaged in their preparations, the French were already in the field. They sent expeditions from Canada to the southern shore of Lake Erie, and established forts at Presque Isle, where the city of Erie now stands, and at Venango on the Alleghany river; while their emissaries were busy in stirring

up the Indians of the frontier and detaching them from their alliances with the English. This caused a stir of warlike preparation in the English colonies, and especially in Virginia, where Washington, at the age of nineteen, was made adjutant-general of his district, with the rank of major. About this time he accompanied his brother Lawrence on a journey to the Barbadoes in quest of health. The journey was fruitless, the noble Lawrence returning home in July, 1752, just in time to die under his own roof. Soon afterward Governor Dinwiddie made up his mind to send a commissioner to Venango, to warn off the French intruders and to secure the allegiance of the Indian tribes. Nothing in all Washington's career is more remarkable than the fact that, while a mere boy of twenty-one, he was chosen for such a difficult and dangerous enterprise. His woodland experience fitted him for it, and as the confidant and executor of his deceased brother he was especially well acquainted with the affairs of the Ohio Company. After an adventurous journey he reached Venango and presented Governor Dinwiddie's letter to the Chevalier St. Pierre, the French commandant. Dinwiddie complained of the intrusion of French forces into the Ohio country and requested the commandant to depart peaceably. St. Pierre after much deliberation entrusted Washington with a sealed reply. The return of the young envoy was fraught with peril. His footsteps were dogged by hostile Indians, and an attempt was made to draw him into an ambush. But all the dangers were surmounted, and all that forest diplomacy could do was done. The friendly Indians were confirmed in their allegiance, hostile chiefs were browbeaten, and when Washington reached home in January, 1754, he found himself already famous. From that moment he was the rising hope of Virginia.

His First Campaign. — St. Pierre's reply to Dinwiddie's letter proving evasive and unsatisfactory, the governor decided to send troops at once to the frontier and occupy the important point where the waters of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers unite to form the Ohio. The sagacious eye of Washington had selected this position as the commanding one for the whole disputed territory, and the Ohio Company had already begun building a fort there.

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Dinwiddie's schemes made slow progress, for the Virginia legislature was loth to grant the necessary money, and many of the members were unable to see an inch beyond their noses, or to believe that the people of Virginia could ever possibly have any interest in what might go on behind the Alleghany mountains. After much trouble 300 troops were raised and placed under Colonel Joshua Fry, while Washington was made second in command, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. But while these slow preparations were making, the French struck their blow. Captain Contrecœur had embarked 1000 men with field-pieces in a fleet of sixty light boats, and 300 canoes, dropped down the river from Venango, and suddenly made his appearance before the fort, which was not yet half completed. The whole garrison did not exceed fifty men, and the only privilege they could obtain was permission to depart with their working tools. The stronghold was soon finished by the French and named Fort Duquesne, in honor of the nobleman who was then governor of Canada. On the 29th of April, 1754, Washington started with a small force to break a path over the Alleghanies and do what he could to check the progress of the Frenchmen. After crossing the Great Savage Mountain he became aware that enemies were prowling about him and seeking to draw him into an ambuscade. At an open space known as the Great Meadows, on the 26th of May, he surprised and routed this small force, losing one man killed and three wounded. Of the French ten were killed, one wounded, and twenty-one captured. Their commander Jumonville was slain at the first fire. A few days after, in a letter to one of his brothers, Washington made his often-quoted remark, "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound." This remark reached the ears of George II., who dryly observed, "He would not say so if he had been used to hear many." Horace Walpole, for some time after this, ridiculed Washington as a fire-eating braggart. It is interesting as an illustration of honest youthful enthusiasm. Being asked many years afterward whether he had ever really made such a remark, Washington simply replied, "If I said so, it was when I was young."

In spite of this little success, Washington's position, so far

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advanced in the wilderness, was a perilous one; and before proceeding further he built a palisaded fortress, called Fort Necessity, to secure his retreat in case of disaster. By the death of Colonel Fry, the chief command of all the frontier troops devolved upon him. He was reinforced by a small company of artillery, with nine swivels, which were dragged with infinite difficulty over the rough crags and bowlders. After advancing thirteen miles from Fort Necessity he learned of the approach of a large French force from Fort Duquesne, under Captain Villiers. He immediately retreated to Fort Necessity, where Villiers came up with him, and a fight ensued in which the Virginians lost twelve killed and forty-three wounded, while the French, who were attacking entrenched positions, suffered a much greater loss. As Washington, however, was outnumbered four to one, and was almost destitute of provisions, he was obliged to surrender the fort. His troops were allowed to march out with the honors of war, drums beating and colors flying, with all their effects and military stores excepting the artillery; and they made their way homeward unmolested. This surrender took place on the 4th of July, 1754.

Meanwhile a frontier stronghold known as Fort Cumberland was built near Wills' Creek, within the limits of Maryland. Reinforcements arrived in the shape of independent companies from New York and the two Carolinas, and immediately there arose hot disputes about precedence, which Governor Dinwiddie undertook in his wisdom to settle. With new recruits he increased the Virginia force to ten companies, and reduced all these to the rank of independent companies; so that there would be no officer in a Virginia regiment above the rank of captain. This shrewd measure, which Dinwiddie confidently thought would put an end to all trouble, at once drove Washington out of the service; for he very properly refused to accept a lower commission than that under which his conduct had already gained him a vote of thanks from the legislature.

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§ 2. The Great French War.

Braddock's Expedition. — Having resigned his commission, and disengaged himself from public affairs, Washington's first care was to visit his mother, inquire into the state of domestic concerns, and attend to the welfare of his brothers and sisters. In these matters he was ever his mother's adjunct and counsellor, discharging faithfully the duties of an eldest son, who should consider himself a second father to the family.

He now took up his abode at Mount Vernon, and prepared to engage in those agricultural pursuits, for which, even in his youthful days, he had as keen a relish as for the profession of arms. Scarcely had he entered upon his rural occupations, however, when the service of his country once more called him to the field.

The disastrous affair at the Great Meadows, and the other acts of French hostility on the Ohio, had roused the attention of the British ministry. Their ambassador at Paris was instructed to complain of those violations of the peace. The court of Versailles amused him with general assurances of amity, and a strict adherence to treaties. Their ambassador at the court of St. James, the Marquis de Mirepoix, on the faith of his instructions, gave the same assurances. In the meantime, however, French ships were fitted out, and troops embarked, to carry out the schemes of the government in America. So profound was the dissimulation of the court of Versailles, that even their own ambassador is said to have been kept in ignorance of the hostile game they were playing, while he was exerting himself in good faith, to lull the suspicions of England, and maintain the international peace.

The British government now prepared for military operations in America; none of them professedly aggressive, but rather to resist and counteract aggressions. A plan of campaign was devised for 1755, having four objects.

To eject the French from the lands which they held unjustly, in the province of Nova Scotia.

To dislodge them from a fortress which they had erected at

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Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, within what was claimed as British territory.

To dispossess them of the fort which they had constructed at Niagara, between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.

To drive them from the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and recover the valley of the Ohio.

The Duke of Cumberland, captain-general of the British army, had the organization of this campaign; and through his patronage Major-general Edward Braddock was intrusted with the execution of it, being appointed general-in-chief of all the forces in the colonies.

Braddock was a brave and experienced officer; but his experience was that of routine, and rendered him pragmatical and obstinate, impatient of novel expedients "not laid down in the books," but dictated by emergencies in a "new country," and his military precision, which would have been brilliant on parade, was a constant obstacle to alert action in the wilderness.

Braddock was to lead in person the grand enterprise of the campaign, that destined for the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

He landed on the 20th of February, 1755, at Hampton, in Virginia, and proceeded to Williamsburg to consult with Governor Dinwiddie. Shortly afterwards he was joined there by Commodore Keppel, whose squadron of two ships-of-war, and several transports, had anchored in the Chesapeake. On board of these ships were two prime regiments of about five hundred men each; one commanded by Sir Peter Halket, the other by Colonel Dunbar; together with a train of artillery, and the necessary munitions of war. The regiments were to be augmented to seven hundred men each, by men selected from Virginia companies recently raised.

Alexandria was fixed upon as the place where the troops should disembark, and encamp. The ships were accordingly ordered up to that place, and the levies directed to repair thither.

The plan of the campaign included the use of Indian allies. Governor Dinwiddie gave Braddock reason to expect at least four hundred Indians to join him at Fort Cumberland. He laid before him also contracts that he had made for cattle, and promises that

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the Assembly of Pennsylvania had made of flour; these, with other supplies, and a thousand barrels of beef on board of the transports, would furnish six months' provisions for four thousand men.

General Braddock apprehended difficulty in procuring wagons and horses sufficient to attend him in his march. Two Dutch settlers, at the foot of the Blue Ridge, had engaged to furnish two hundred wagons, and fifteen hundred carrying horses, to be at Fort Cumberland early in May. Governor Sharpe was to furnish above a hundred wagons for the transportation of stores, on the Maryland side of the Potomac.

Keppel furnished four cannon from his ships, for the attack on Fort Duquesne, and thirty picked seamen to assist in dragging them over the mountains; for "soldiers," said he, "cannot be as well acquainted with the handling of tackles as seamen." They were to aid also in passing the troops and artillery on floats or in boats, across the rivers, and were under the command of a midshipman and lieutenant.

Trusting to these arrangements, Braddock proceeded to Alexandria. The troops had all been disembarked before his arrival, and the Virginia levies were arrived. There were beside two companies of carpenters; six of rangers; and one troop of light horse. The levies, having been clothed, were ordered to march immediately for Winchester, to be armed, and the general gave them in charge of Ensign Allen, of the 44th, "to make them as like soldiers as possible." The light horse were retained by the general as his escort and body-guard.

The din and stir of warlike preparation disturbed the quiet of Mount Vernon. Washington looked down from his rural retreat upon the ships-of-war and transports, as they passed up the Potomac, with the array of arms gleaming along their decks. The booming of cannon echoed among his groves. Alexandria was but a few miles distant. Occasionally he mounted his horse, and rode to that place; it was like a garrisoned town, teeming with troops, and resounding with the drum and fife. A brilliant campaign was about to open under the auspices of an experienced

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general, and with all the means and appurtenances of European warfare. How different from the starveling expeditions he had hitherto been doomed to conduct! What an opportunity to efface the memory of his recent disaster! All his thoughts of rural life were put to flight. The military part of his character was again in the ascendant; his great desire was to join the expedition as a volunteer.

It was reported to General Braddock. The latter was apprised by Governor Dinwiddie and others, of Washington's personal merits, his knowledge of the country, and his experience in frontier service. The consequence was, a letter from one of Braddock's aides-de-camp, inviting Washington to join his staff.

Such a situation offered no emolument or command, and would be attended with considerable expense, besides a sacrifice of his private interests, having no person in whom he had confidence, to take charge of his affairs in his absence; still he did not hesitate a moment to accept the invitation. In the position offered to him, all the questions of military rank which had hitherto annoyed him, would be obviated. He could indulge his passion for arms without any sacrifice of dignity, and he looked forward with high anticipation to an opportunity of acquiring military experience in a corps well organized, and thoroughly disciplined, and in the family of a commander of acknowledged skill as a tactician.

On arriving at Alexandria, he was courteously received by the general, who expressed in flattering terms the impression he had received of his merits. Washington soon appreciated Braddock's character. He found him stately and somewhat haughty, exact in matters of military etiquette and discipline, positive in giving an opinion, and obstinate in maintaining it; but of an honorable and generous, though somewhat irritable nature.

There were at that time four governors, besides Dinwiddie, assembled at Alexandria, at Braddock's request, to concert a plan of military operations — Shirley of Massachusetts, Delancey of New York, Sharpe of Maryland, and Morris of Pennsylvania. A grand council was held on the 14th of April, composed of General Braddock, Commodore Keppel, and the governors, at which the

general's commission was read, as were his instructions from the king, relating to a common fund, to be established by the several colonies, toward defraying the expenses of the campaign. The governors were prepared to answer on this head, letters to the same purport having been addressed to them by Sir Thomas Robinson, one of the king's secretaries of state, in the preceding month of October. They informed Braddock that they had applied to their respective Assemblies for the establishment of such a fund, but in vain, and gave it as their unanimous opinion, that such a fund could never be established in the colonies without the aid of Parliament. They had found it impracticable, also, to obtain from their respective governments the proportions expected from them by the crown toward military expenses in America; and suggested that ministers should find out some mode of compelling them to do it; and that, in the meantime, the general should make use of his credit upon government, for current expenses, lest the expedition should come to a stand.

In discussing the campaign, the governors were of opinion that New York should be made the centre of operations, as it afforded easy access by water to the heart of the French possessions in Canada. Braddock, however, did not feel at liberty to depart from his instructions, which specified the recent establishments of the French on the Ohio as the objects of his expedition.

Niagara and Crown Point were to be attacked about the same time with Fort Duquesne, the former by Governor Shirley, with his own and Sir William Pepperell's regiments, and some New York companies; the latter by Colonel William Johnson, sole manager and director of Indian affairs; a personage worthy of especial note.

He was a native of Ireland, and had come out to this country in 1734, to manage the landed estates owned by his uncle, Commodore Sir Peter Warren, in the Mohawk country. He had resided ever since in the vicinity of the Mohawk river, in the province of New York. By his agency, and his dealings with the native tribes, he had acquired great wealth, and become a kind of potentate in the Indian country. His influence over the Six Nations was said

to be unbounded; and it was principally with the aid of a large force of their warriors that it was expected he would accomplish his part of the campaign. The end of June was fixed upon as the time when the several attacks upon Forts Duquesne, Niagara, and Crown Point should be carried into execution; and the too sanguine Braddock anticipated an easy accomplishment of his plans.

The expulsion of the French from the lands wrongfully held by them in Nova Scotia, was to be assigned to Colonel Lawrence, lieutenant-governor of that province; we will briefly add, in anticipation, that it was effected by him, with the aid of troops from Massachusetts and elsewhere, led by Lieutenant-colonel Monckton.

The business of the council being finished, General Braddock would have set out for Frederick, in Maryland, but few wagons or teams had yet come to remove the artillery. Washington had looked with wonder and dismay at the huge paraphernalia of war, and the world of superfluities to be transported across the mountains, recollecting the difficulties he had experienced in getting over them with his nine swivels, and scanty supplies. "If our march is to be regulated by the slow movements of the train," said he, "it will be tedious, very tedious, indeed." His predictions excited a sarcastic smile in Braddock, as betraying the limited notions of a young provincial officer, little acquainted with the march of armies.

Governor Morris secured for the expedition the services of a band of hunters, resolute men, well acquainted with the country, and inured to hardships. They were under the command of Captain Jack, one of the most remarkable characters of Pennsylvania. He was known as the "Black Hunter," the "Black Rifle," the "Wild Hunter of the Juniata." Some years before, he had entered the woods with a few enterprising companions, built his cabin, cleared a little land, and amused himself with the pleasures of fishing and hunting. One evening when he returned from a day of sport, he found his cabin burnt, his wife and children murdered. From that moment he forsook every occupation save that of pro-

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tecting the frontier inhabitants from the Indians. He was the terror of the Indians and the consolation of the whites. On one occasion, near the Juniata, in the middle of a dark night, a family were suddenly awakened from sleep by the report of a gun; they jumped from their beds, and by the glimmering light from the chimney saw an Indian fall to rise no more. The open door exposed to view the wild hunter. "I have saved your lives," he cried, then turned and was buried in the gloom of night. Captain Jack was at present protecting the settlements on the Conococheague; but promised to march by a circuitous route and join Braddock with his hunters.

General Braddock set out from Alexandria on the 20th of April. Washington remained behind a few days to arrange his affairs, and then rejoined him at Frederick, in Maryland. The troubles of Braddock had already commenced. The Virginian contractors failed to fulfil their engagement; of all the immense means of transportation so confidently promised, but fifteen wagons and a hundred draft-horses had arrived, and there was no prospect of more. There was equal disappointment in provisions, both as to quantity and quality; and he had to send round the country to buy cattle for the subsistence of the troops.

Fortunately while the general was venting his spleen in anathemas against army contractors, Benjamin Franklin arrived at Frederick. That eminent man, then about forty-nine years of age, had been for many years member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and was now postmaster-general for America. The Assembly understood that Braddock was incensed against them, supposing them adverse to the service of the war. They had procured Franklin to wait upon him, not as if sent by them, but as if he came in his capacity of postmaster-general, to arrange for the sure and speedy transmission of dispatches between the commander-in-chief and the governors of the provinces.

He was well received, and became a daily guest at the general's table. In his autobiography he gives us an instance of the blind confidence and fatal prejudices by which Braddock was deluded throughout this expedition. "In conversation with him one day,"

writes Franklin, "he was giving me some account of his intended progress. 'After taking Fort Duquesne,' said he, 'I am to proceed to Niagara; and, having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time; and I suppose it will, for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; and then I can see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara.'

"Having before revolved in my mind," continues Franklin, "the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what I had heard of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French, who invaded the Illinois country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign; but I ventured only to say, 'To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, the fort, though completely fortified, and assisted with a very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march is from the ambuscades of the Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, nearly four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise on its flanks, and to be cut like thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support one another.'

"He smiled at my ignorance, and replied: 'These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to raw American militia, but upon the king's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make an impression.' I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more."

As the whole delay of the army was caused by the want of conveyances, Franklin observed one day to the general that it was a pity the troops had not been landed in Pennsylvania, where almost every farmer had his wagon. "Then, sir," replied Braddock, "you who are a man of interest there can probably procure them for me, and I beg you will." Franklin consented. An instrument in writing was drawn up, empowering him to contract for one hundred

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and fifty wagons, with four horses to each wagon, and fifteen hundred saddle or pack horses for the service of His Majesty's forces, to be at Wills' Creek on or before the 20th of May; and he promptly departed for Lancaster to execute the commission.

After his departure, Braddock, attended by his staff and his guard of light horse, set off for Wills' Creek by the way of Winchester, the road along the north side of the Potomac not being yet made. "This gave him," writes Washington, "a good opportunity to see the absurdity of the route, and of damning it very heartily." Three of Washington's horses were completely used up before they reached Winchester, and he had to purchase others. This was a severe drain of his campaigning purse; fortunately he was in the neighborhood of Greenway Court, and was enabled to replenish it by a loan from his old friend Lord Fairfax.

The discomforts of the rough road were increased with the general by his travelling with some degree of state in a chariot which he had purchased of Governor Sharpe. In this he dashed by Dunbar's division of the troops, which he overtook near Wills' Creek; his body-guard of light horse galloping on each side of his chariot, and his staff accompanying him; the drums beating the Grenadier's March as he passed. In this style, too, he arrived at Fort Cumberland, amid a thundering salute of seventeen guns. By this time the general discovered that he was not in a region fitted for such display, and his travelling chariot was abandoned at Fort Cumberland; otherwise it would soon have become a wreck among the mountains beyond.

By the 19th of May, the forces were assembled at Fort Cumberland. The two royal regiments, originally one thousand strong, were now increased to fourteen hundred, by men chosen from the Maryland and Virginia levies; two provincial companies of carpenters, or pioneers, thirty men each, with subalterns and captains; a company of guides, composed of a captain, two aids, and ten men; the troop of Virginia light horse, commanded by Captain Stewart; the detachment of thirty sailors with their officers, and the remnants of two independent companies from New York, one of which was commanded by Captain Horatio Gates, of whom we shall have to speak hereafter.

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At Fort Cumberland, Washington had an opportunity of seeing a force encamped according to the plan approved of by the council of war; and military tactics, enforced with all the precision of a martinet. The roll of each company was called over morning, noon, and night. There was strict examination of arms and accoutrements; the commanding officer of each company being answerable for their being kept in good order. The general was very particular in regard to the appearance and drill of the Virginia recruits and companies, whom he had put under the rigorous discipline of Ensign Allen. "They performed their evolutions and firings as well as could be expected," writes Captain Orme, "but their languid, spiritless, and unsoldier-like appearance, combined with the lowness and ignorance of most of their officers, gave little hopes of their future good behavior." He doubtless echoed the opinion of the general; how completely were both to be undeceived as to their estimate of these troops!

The general held a levee in his tent every morning from ten to eleven. He was strict as to the morals of the camp. Drunkenness was severely punished. Divine service was performed every Sunday, at the head of the colors of each regiment, by the chaplain. Convivial life was also maintained even in the wilderness; for the general is said to have been somewhat of a high liver, and to have had with him "two good cooks, who could make an excellent ragout out of a pair of boots, had they but materials to toss them up with."

There was great detention at the fort, caused by the want of forage and supplies, the road not having been finished from Philadelphia. Mr. Richard Peters, the secretary of Governor Morris, was in camp, to attend to the matter. He had to bear the brunt of Braddock's complaints. The general declared he would not stir from Wills' Creek until he had the governor's assurance that the road would be opened in time. Mr. Peters requested guards to protect the men while at work, from attacks by the Indians. Braddock swore he would not furnish guards for the wood-cutters,—"let Pennsylvania do it!" He scoffed at the talk about danger from Indians. Peters endeavored to make him sensible of the

peril which threatened him in this respect. Should an army of them, led by French officers, beset him in his march, he would not be able, with all his strength and military skill, to reach Fort Duquesne without a body of rangers, as well on foot as horseback. The general, however, "despised his observations." Still, guards had ultimately to be provided, or the work on the road would have been abandoned.

Braddock, in fact, was completely chagrined and disappointed about the Indians. The Cherokees and Catawbas, whom Dinwiddie had given him reason to expect in such numbers, never arrived. The Delaware chiefs promised the general they would collect their warriors together, and meet him on his march, but they never kept their word.

During the halt of the troops at Wills' Creek, Washington had been sent to Williamsburg to bring on £4000 for the military chest. He returned after a fortnight's absence, escorted from Winchester by eight men, "which eight men," writes he, "were two days assembling, but I believe would not have been more than as many seconds dispersing, if I had been attacked."

He found the general out of all patience and temper at the delays and disappointments in regard to horses, wagons, and forage, making no allowances for the difficulties incident to a new country, and to the novel and great demands upon its scanty and scattered resources. He accused the army contractors of want of faith, honor, and honesty; and in his moments of passion, which were many, extended the stigma to the whole country. This stung the patriotic sensibility of Washington, and overcame his usual self-command, and the proud and passionate commander was occasionally surprised by a well-merited rebuke from his aide-de-camp.

Washington, moreover, represented to him the difficulties he would encounter in attempting to traverse the mountains with such a train of wheel-carriages, assuring him it would be the most arduous part of the campaign; and recommended, from his own experience, the substitution, as much as possible, of pack-horses. Braddock, however, had not been sufficiently harassed by frontier

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campaigning to depart from his European modes, or to be swayed in his military operations by so green a counsellor.

At length the general was relieved from present perplexities by the arrival of the horses and wagons which Franklin had undertaken to procure. That eminent man, with his characteristic promptness and unwearied exertions, and by his great personal popularity, had obtained them from the reluctant Pennsylvania farmers, being obliged to pledge his own responsibility for their being fully remunerated. He performed this laborious task out of pure zeal for the public service, neither expecting nor receiving emolument; and, in fact, experiencing subsequently great delay and embarrassment before he was relieved from the pecuniary responsibilities thus patriotically incurred.

The arrival of the conveyances put Braddock in good humor with Pennsylvania. "I hope," said he, in a letter to Governor Morris, "that we shall pass a merry Christmas together." On the 10th of June, he set out from Fort Cumberland with his aides-de-camp, and others of his staff, and his body-guard of light horse. Sir Peter Halket, with his brigade, had marched three days previously; and a detachment of six hundred men had been employed upwards of ten days in cutting down trees, removing rocks, and opening a road.

The march over the mountain proved, as Washington had foretold, a "tremendous undertaking." It was with difficulty the heavily laden wagons could be dragged up the steep and rugged roads, newly made, or imperfectly repaired. Often they extended for three or four miles in a straggling and broken line, with the soldiers so dispersed, in guarding them, that an attack on any side would have thrown the whole into confusion.

By the time the advanced corps had struggled over two mountains, and through the intervening forests, and reached (16th June) the Little Meadows, General Braddock had become aware of the difference between campaigning in a new country, or on the old well-beaten battle-grounds of Europe. He now of his own accord turned to Washington for advice, though it must have been a sore trial to his pride to seek it of so young a man; but he had by this

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time sufficient proof of his sagacity, and his knowledge of the frontier.

Thus unexpectedly called on, Washington gave his counsel with becoming modesty, but with his accustomed clearness. There was just now an opportunity to strike an effective blow at Fort Duquesne, but it might be lost by delay. The garrison, according to credible reports, was weak; large reinforcements and supplies, which were on their way, would be detained by the drought, which rendered the river by which they must come low and unnavigable. The blow must be struck before they could arrive. He advised the general, therefore, to divide his forces; leave one part to come on with the stores and baggage, and all the cumbrous appurtenances of an army, and to throw himself in the advance with the other part, composed of his choicest troops, lightened of everything superfluous that might impede a rapid march.

His advice was adopted. Twelve hundred men selected out of all the companies, and furnished with ten field-pieces, were to form the first division, their provisions and other necessaries to be carried on pack-horses. The second division, with all the stores, munitions, and heavy baggage, was to be brought on by Colonel Dunbar.

The least practicable part of the arrangement was with regard to the officers of the advance. Washington had urged a retrenchment of their baggage and camp equipage, that as many of their horses as possible might be used as pack-horses. Here was the difficulty. Brought up, many of them, in fashionable and luxurious life, or the loitering indulgence of country quarters, they were so encumbered with what they considered indispensable necessaries, that out of two hundred and twelve horses generally appropriated to their use, not more than a dozen could be spared by them for the public service. Washington, in his own case, acted up to the advice he had given. He retained no more clothing and effects with him than would about half fill a portmanteau, and gave up his best steed as a pack-horse — which he never heard of afterwards.

During the halt at the Little Meadows, Captain Jack and his band of forest rangers, made their appearance in the camp; armed

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and equipped with rifle, knife, hunting-shirts, leggings, and moccasins, and looking almost like a band of Indians as they issued from the woods. The captain asked an interview with the general, by whom, it would seem, he was not expected. Braddock received him in his tent, in his usual stiff and stately manner. The "Black Rifle" spoke of himself and his followers as men inured to hardships, and accustomed to deal with Indians, who preferred stealth and stratagem to open warfare. He requested his company should be employed as a reconnoitering party to beat up the Indians in their lurking-places and ambuscades. Braddock, who had a sovereign contempt for the chivalry of the woods, and despised their boasted strategy, replied to the hero of the Pennsylvania settlements in a manner to which he had not been accustomed. "There was time enough," he said, "for making arrangements; and he had experienced troops, on whom he could completely rely for all purposes."

Captain Jack withdrew, indignant at so haughty a reception, and informed his leathern-clad followers of his rebuff. They forthwith shouldered their rifles, turned their backs upon the camp, and, headed by the captain, departed in Indian file through the woods, for the usual scenes of their exploits, where men knew their value, the banks of the Juniata or the Conococheague.

On the 19th of June Braddock's first division set out, with less than thirty carriages, including those that transported ammunition for the artillery, all strongly horsed. The Indians marched with the advanced party.

Washington was disappointed in his anticipations of a rapid march. The general, though he had adopted his advice in the main, could not carry it out in detail. His military education was in the way; he could not stoop to the make-shift expedients of a new country, where every difficulty is encountered and mastered in a rough-and-ready style. "I found," said Washington, "that instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every molehill, and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in getting twelve miles."

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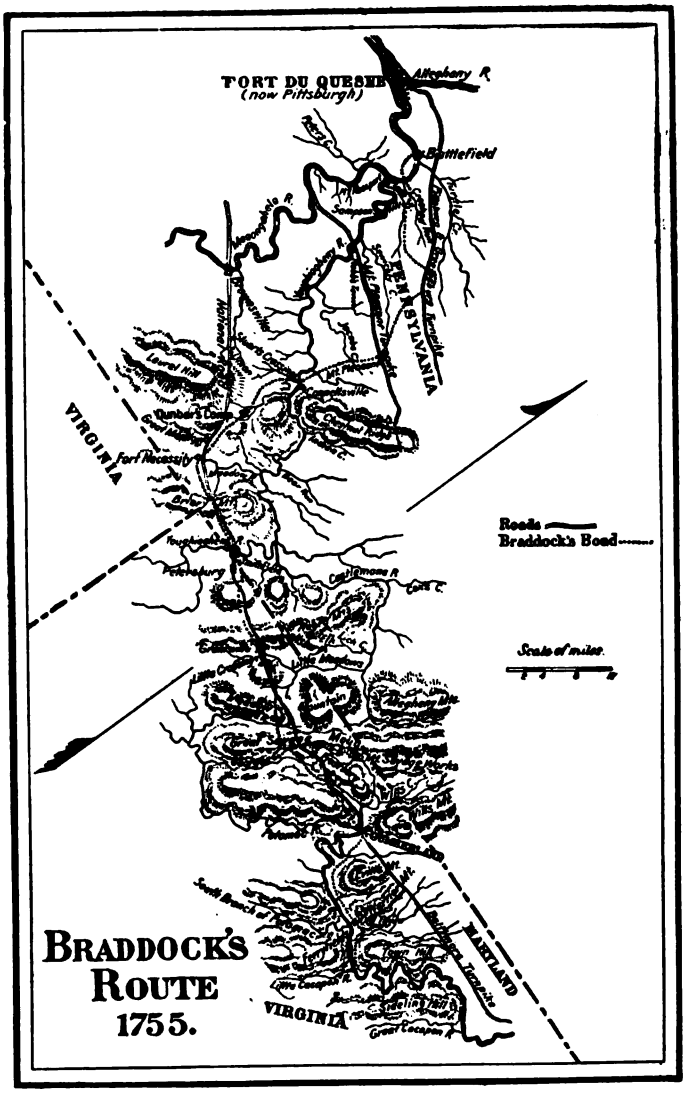
For several days Washington had suffered from fever, accompanied by intense headache, and his illness increased in violence to such a degree that he was unable to ride, and had to be conveyed for a part of the time in a covered wagon.

At the great crossings of the Youghiogheny the general assigned him a guard, provided him with necessaries, and requested him to remain, under care of his physician, Dr. Craik, until the arrival of Colonel Dunbar's detachment, which was two days' march in the rear; giving him his word of honor that he should, at all events, be enabled to join the main division before it reached the French fort.

This kind solicitude on the part of Braddock shows the real estimation in which Washington was held by that officer. But notwithstanding these kind assurances, it was with gloomy feelings that Washington saw the troops depart, fearful he might not be able to rejoin them in time for the attack upon the fort, which, he assured his brother aide-de-camp, he would not miss for five hundred pounds.

Leaving Washington at the Youghiogheny, we will follow the march of Braddock. In the course of the first day (June 24th), he came to a deserted Indian camp; judging from the number of wigwams, there must have been about one hundred and seventy warriors. The next morning at daybreak, three men venturing beyond the sentinels were shot and scalped; parties were immediately sent out to scour the woods, and drive in the stray horses. The day's march passed by the Great Meadows and Fort Necessity, the scene of Washington's capitulation. Several Indians were seen hovering in the woods, and the light horse and Indian allies were sent out to surround them, but did not succeed. In crossing a mountain beyond the Great Meadows, the carriages had to be lowered with the assistance of the sailors, by means of tackle. The camp for the night was about two miles beyond Fort Necessity. Several French and Indians endeavored to reconnoiter it, but were fired upon by the advanced sentinels.

The following day (26th) there was a laborious march of but four miles, owing to the difficulties of the road. The evening



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halt was at another deserted Indian camp, strongly posted on a high rock, with a steep and narrow ascent; it had a spring in the middle, and stood at the termination of the Indian path to the Monongahela. By this pass the party had come which attacked Washington the year before, in the Great Meadows. The Indians and French too, who were hovering about the army, had just left this camp. The fires they had left were yet burning. The French had inscribed their names on some of the trees with insulting bravadoes, and the Indians had designated in triumph the scalps they had taken two days previously. A party was sent out with guides, to follow their tracks and fall on them in the night, but again without success. In fact, it was the Indian boast, that throughout this march of Braddock, they saw him every day from the mountains, and expected to be able to shoot down his soldiers "like pigeons."

The march continued to be toilful and difficult; on one day it did not exceed two miles. In clearing their guns the men were ordered to draw the charge, instead of firing it off. No fire was to be lighted in front of the pickets. At night the men were to take their arms into the tents with them. Further on the precautions became still greater. On the advanced pickets the men were in two divisions, relieving each other every two hours. Half remained on guard with fixed bayonets, the other half lay down by their arms. The picket sentinels were doubled. On the 4th of July they encamped at Thicketty Run. The country was less mountainous and rocky, and the woods, consisting chiefly of white pine, were more open. The general now supposed himself to be within thirty miles of Fort Duquesne. Ever since his halt at the deserted camp on the rock beyond the Great Meadows, he had endeavored to prevail upon his Indians to scout in the direction of the fort, and bring him intelligence, but never could succeed. They had probably been deterred by the number of French and Indian tracks. This day, however, two consented to reconnoiter; and shortly after their departure, Christopher Gist, the resolute pioneer, who acted as guide to the general, likewise set off as a scout.

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The Indians returned on the 6th. They had been close to Fort Duquesne. There were no additional works there; they saw a few boats under the fort, and one with a white flag coming down the Ohio; but there were few men to be seen, and few tracks of any. They came upon an unfortunate officer, shooting within half a mile of the fort, and brought back his scalp. None of the passes between the camp and fort were occupied; they believed there were few men abroad reconnoitering. Gist returned soon after them. His account corroborated theirs; but he had seen a smoke in a valley between the camp and the fort, made probably by some scouting party. He had intended to prowl about the fort at night, but had been discovered and pursued by two Indians, and narrowly escaped with his life.

Washington now considered himself sufficiently recovered to rejoin the troops, and his only anxiety was lest he should not be able to do it in time for the great blow. He was rejoiced, therefore, on the 3d of July, by the arrival of an advanced party of one hundred men convoying provisions. Being still too weak to mount his horse, he set off with the escort in a covered wagon; and after a most fatiguing journey, over mountain and through forest, reached Braddock's camp on the 8th of July. It was on the east side of the Monongahela, about two miles from the river, and about fifteen miles from Fort Duquesne.

In consequence of adhering to technical rules and military forms, General Braddock had consumed a month in marching little more than a hundred miles. The tardiness of his progress was regarded with surprise and impatience even in Europe, where his patron, the Duke of Brunswick, was watching the events of the campaign he had planned. "The Duke," writes Horace Walpole, "is much dissatisfied at the slowness of General Braddock, *who does not march as if he was at all impatient to be scalped.*" The insinuation of the satirical wit was unmerited. Braddock was a stranger to fear; but in his movements he was fettered by system.

Washington was warmly received on his arrival. He was just in time, for the attack upon Fort Duquesne was to be made on the following day. The neighboring country had been reconnoi-

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tered to determine upon a plan of attack. The fort stood on the same side of the Monongahela with the camp; but there was a narrow pass between them of about two miles, with the river on the left and a very high mountain on the right, and in its present state quite impassable for carriages. The route determined on was to cross the Monongahela by a ford immediately opposite to the camp; proceed along the west bank of the river for about five miles, then recross by another ford to the eastern side, and push on to the fort. The river at these fords was shallow, and the banks were not steep.

According to the plan of arrangement, Lieutenant-colonel Gage, with the advance, was to cross the river before daybreak, march to the second ford, and recrossing there, take post to secure the passage of the main force. The advance was to be composed of two companies of grenadiers, one hundred and sixty infantry, the independent company of Captain Horatio Gates, and two six-pounders.

Washington, who had already seen enough of regular troops to doubt their infallibility in wild bush-fighting, and who knew the dangerous nature of the ground they were to traverse, ventured to suggest, that on the following day the Virginia rangers, being accustomed to the country and to Indian warfare, might be thrown in the advance. The proposition drew an angry reply from the general, indignant very probably, that a young provincial officer should presume to school a veteran like himself.

Early next morning (July 9th), before daylight, Colonel Gage crossed with the advance. He was followed, at some distance, by Sir John St. Clair, quartermaster-general, with a working party of two hundred and fifty men, to make roads for the artillery and baggage. They had with them their wagons of tools, and two six-pounders. A party of about thirty savages rushed out of the woods as Colonel Gage advanced, but were put to flight before they had done any harm.

By sunrise the main body turned out in full uniform. At the beating of "the general," their arms, which had been cleaned the night before, were charged with fresh cartridges. The officers

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were perfectly equipped. All looked as if arrayed for a fête, rather than a battle. Washington, who was still weak and unwell, mounted his horse, and joined the staff of the general, who was scrutinizing everything with the eye of a martinet. As it was supposed the enemy would be on the watch for the crossing of the troops, it had been agreed that they should do it in the greatest order, with bayonets fixed, colors flying, and drums and fifes beating and playing. They accordingly made a gallant appearance as they forded the Monongahela, and wound along its banks, and through the open forests, gleaming and glittering in morning sunshine, and stepping buoyantly to the "Grenadiers' March."

Washington, with his keen and youthful relish for military affairs, was delighted with their perfect order and equipment, so different from the rough bush-fighters, to which he had been accustomed. Roused to new life, he forgot his recent ailments, and broke forth in expressions of enjoyment and admiration, as he rode in company with his fellow aides-de-camp, Orme and Morris. Often, in after life, he used to speak of the effect upon him of the first sight of a well-disciplined European army, marching in high confidence and bright array, on the eve of a battle.

About noon they reached the second ford. Gage, with the advance, was on the opposite side of the Monongahela, posted according to orders; but the river bank had not been sufficiently sloped. The artillery and baggage drew up along the beach and halted until one o'clock, when the second crossing took place, drums beating, fifes playing, and colors flying as before. When all had passed, there was again a halt close by a small stream called Frazier's Run, until the general arranged the order of march.

First went the advance, under Gage, preceded by the engineers and guides, and six light horsemen. Then, Sir John St. Clair and the working party, with their wagons and the two six-pounders. On each side were thrown out four flanking parties. Then, at some distance, the general was to follow with the main body, the artillery and baggage were preceded and flanked by light horse and squads of infantry; while the Virginian and other provincial troops were to form the rearguard.

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The ground before them was level until about half a mile from the river, where a rising ground, covered with long grass, low bushes, and scattered trees, sloped gently up to a range of hills. The whole country, generally speaking, was a forest, with no clear opening but the road, which was about twelve feet wide, and flanked by two ravines, concealed by trees and thickets.

Had Braddock been schooled in the warfare of the woods, or had he adopted the suggestions of Washington, which he rejected so impatiently, he would have thrown out Indian scouts or Virginian rangers in the advance, and on the flanks, to beat up the woods and ravines; but, as has been sarcastically observed, he suffered his troops to march forward through the centre of the plain, with merely their usual guides and flanking parties, "as if in a review in St. James' Park."

It was now near two o'clock. The advanced party and the working party had crossed the plain and were ascending the rising ground. Braddock was about to follow with the main body and had given the word to march, when he heard an excessively quick and heavy firing in front. Washington, who was with the general, surmised that the evil he had apprehended had come to pass. For want of scouting parties ahead, the advance parties were suddenly and warmly attacked. Braddock ordered Lieutenant-colonel Burton to hasten to their assistance with the vanguard of the main body, eight hundred strong. The residue, four hundred, were halted, and posted to protect the artillery and baggage.

The firing continued with fearful yelling. There was a terrible uproar. By the general's orders an aide-de-camp spurred forward to bring him an account of the nature of the attack. Without waiting for his return the general himself, finding the turmoil increase, moved forward, leaving Sir Peter Halket with the command of the baggage.

The van of the advance had indeed been taken by surprise. It was composed of two companies of pioneers to cut the road, and two flank companies of grenadiers to protect them. Suddenly the engineer who preceded them to mark out the road gave the alarm, "French and Indians!" A body of them was approach-

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ing rapidly, cheered on by a Frenchman in gayly fringed hunting-shirt, whose gorget showed him to be an officer. There was sharp firing on both sides at first. Several of the enemy fell; among them their leader; but a murderous fire broke out from among trees and a ravine on the right, and the woods resounded with unearthly whoops and yellings. The Indian rifle was at work, levelled by unseen hands. Most of the grenadiers and many of the pioneers were shot down. The survivors were driven in on the advance.

Gage ordered his men to fix bayonets and form in order of battle. They did so in hurry and trepidation. He would have scaled a hill on the right whence there was the severest firing. Not a platoon would quit the line of march. They were more dismayed by the yells than by the rifles of the unseen savages. The latter extended themselves along the hill and in the ravines; but their whereabouts was only known by their demoniac cries and the puffs of smoke from their rifles. The soldiers fired wherever they saw the smoke. Their officers tried in vain to restrain them until they should see their foe. All orders were unheeded; in their fright they shot at random, killing some of their own flanking parties, and of the vanguard, as they came running in. The covert fire grew more intense. In a short time most of the officers and many of the men of the advance were killed or wounded. Colonel Gage himself received a wound. The advance fell back in dismay upon Sir John St. Clair's corps, which was equally dismayed. The cannon belonging to it were deserted. Colonel Burton had come up with the reinforcement, and was forming his men to face the rising ground on the right, when both of the advanced detachments fell back upon him, and all now was confusion.

By this time the general was upon the ground. He tried to rally the men. "They would fight," they said, "if they could see their enemy; but it was useless to fire at trees and bushes, and they could not stand to be shot down by an invisible foe." The colors were advanced in different places to separate the men of the two regiments. The general ordered the officers to form the men, tell them off into small divisions, and advance with them;

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but the soldiers could not be prevailed upon either by threats or entreaties. The Virginia troops, accustomed to the Indian mode of fighting, scattered themselves, and took post behind trees, whence they could pick off the lurking foe. In this way they, in some degree, protected the regulars. Washington advised General Braddock to adopt the same plan with the regulars; but he persisted in forming them into platoons; consequently they were cut down from behind logs and trees as fast as they could advance. Several attempted to take to the trees, without orders, but the general stormed at them, called them cowards, and even struck them with the flat of his sword. Several of the Virginians, who had taken post and were doing good service in this manner, were slain by the fire of the regulars, directed wherever a smoke appeared among the trees.

The officers behaved with consummate bravery; and Washington beheld with admiration those who, in camp or on the march, had appeared to him to have an almost effeminate regard for personal ease and convenience, now exposing themselves to imminent death, with a courage that kindled with the thickening horrors. In the vain hope of inspiriting the men to drive off the enemy from the flanks and regain the cannon, they would dash forward singly or in groups. They were invariably shot down; for the Indians aimed from their coverts at every one on horseback, or who appeared to have command.

Some were killed by random shot of their own men, who, crowded in masses, fired with affrighted rapidity, but without aim. Soldiers in the front ranks were killed by those in the rear. Between friend and foe, the slaughter of the officers was terrible. All this while the woods resounded with the unearthly yellings of the savages, and now and then one of them, hideously painted, and ruffling with feathered crest, would rush forth to scalp an officer who had fallen, or seize a horse galloping wildly without a rider.

Throughout this disastrous day, Washington distinguished himself by his courage and presence of mind. His brother aides, Orme and Morris, were wounded and disabled early in the action,

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and the whole duty of carrying the orders of the general devolved on him. His danger was imminent and incessant. He was in every part of the field, a conspicuous mark for the murderous rifle. Two horses were shot under him. Four bullets passed through his coat. His escape without a wound was almost miraculous. Dr. Craik, who was on the field attending to the wounded, watched him with anxiety as he rode about in the most exposed manner, and used to say that he expected every moment to see him fall. At one time he was sent to the main body to bring the artillery into action. All there was likewise in confusion; for the Indians had extended themselves along the ravine so as to flank the reserve and carry slaughter into the ranks. Sir Peter Halket had been shot down at the head of his regiment. The men who should have served the guns were paralyzed. Had they raked the ravines with grapeshot the day might have been saved. In his ardor Washington sprang from his horse, wheeled and pointed a brass field-piece with his own hand, and directed an effective discharge into the woods; but neither his efforts nor example were of avail. The men could not be kept to the guns.

Braddock still remained in the centre of the field, in the desperate hope of retrieving the fortunes of the day. The Virginia rangers, who had been most efficient in covering his position, were nearly all killed or wounded. His secretary, young Shirley, had fallen by his side. Many of his officers had been slain within his sight, and many of his guard of Virginia light horse. Five horses had been killed under him; still he kept his ground, vainly endeavoring to check the flight of his men, or at least to effect their retreat in good order. At length a bullet passed through his right arm, and lodged itself in his lungs. He fell from his horse, but was caught by Captain Stewart of the Virginia guards, who, with the assistance of another American, and a servant, placed him in a tumbril. It was with much difficulty they got him out of the field — in his despair he desired to be left there.

The rout now became complete. Baggage, stores, artillery, everything was abandoned. The wagoners took each a horse out of his team, and fled. The officers were swept off with the men

in this headlong flight. It was rendered more precipitate by the shouts and yells of the savages, numbers of whom rushed forth from their coverts, and pursued the fugitives to the river side, killing several as they dashed across in tumultuous confusion. Fortunately for the latter, the victors gave up the pursuit in their eagerness to collect the spoil.

The shattered army continued its flight after it had crossed the Monongahela, a wretched wreck of the brilliant little force that had recently gleamed along its banks, confident of victory. Out of eighty-six officers, twenty-six had been killed, and thirty-six wounded. The number of rank and file killed and wounded was upwards of seven hundred. The Virginia corps had suffered the most; one company had been almost annihilated; another, besides those killed and wounded in the ranks, had lost all its officers, even to the corporal.

About a hundred men were brought to a halt about a quarter of a mile from the ford of the river. Here was Braddock, with his wounded aides-de-camp and some of his officers, Dr. Craik dressing his wounds, and Washington attending him with faithful assiduity. Braddock was still able to give orders, and had a faint hope of being able to keep possession of the ground until reinforced. Most of the men were stationed in a very advantageous spot about two hundred yards from the road; and Lieutenant-colonel Burton posted out small parties and sentinels. Before an hour had elapsed most of the men had stolen off. Being thus deserted, Braddock and his officers continued their retreat; he would have mounted his horse, but was unable, and had to be carried by soldiers. Orme and Morris were placed on litters borne by horses. They were subsequently joined by Colonel Gage with eighty men whom he had rallied.

Washington, in the meantime, notwithstanding his weak state, being found most efficient in frontier service, was sent to Colonel Dunbar's camp, forty miles distant, with orders for him to hurry forward provisions, hospital stores, and wagons for the wounded, under the escort of two grenadier companies. It was a hard and a melancholy ride throughout the night and the following day.

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The tidings of the defeat preceded him, borne by the wagoners, who had mounted their horses, on Braddock's fall, and fled from the field of battle. They had arrived, haggard, at Dunbar's camp at mid-day, the Indian yells still ringing in their ears. "All was lost!" they cried. "Braddock was killed! They had seen wounded officers borne off from the field in bloody sheets! The troops were all cut to pieces!" A panic fell upon the camp. The drums beat to arms. Many of the soldiers, wagoners, and attendants, took to flight; but most of them were forced back by the sentinels.

Washington arrived at the camp in the evening, and found the agitation still prevailing. The orders which he brought were executed during the night, and he was in the saddle early in the morning accompanying the convoy of supplies. At Gist's plantation, about thirteen miles off, he met Gage and his scanty force escorting Braddock and his wounded officers. Captain Stewart and a sad remnant of the Virginia light horse still accompanied the general as his guard. The captain had been unremitting in his attentions to him during the retreat. There was a halt of one day at Dunbar's camp for the repose and relief of the wounded. On the 13th they resumed their melancholy march, and that night reached the Great Meadows.

The proud spirit of Braddock was broken by his defeat. He remained silent the first evening after the battle, only ejaculating at night, "Who would have thought it!" He was equally silent the following day; yet hope still seemed to linger in his breast, from another ejaculation: "We shall know better how to deal with them another time!"

He was grateful for the attentions paid to him by Captain Stewart and Washington, and more than once, it is said, expressed his admiration of the gallantry displayed by the Virginians in the action. It is said, moreover, that in his last moments, he apologized to Washington for the petulance with which he had rejected his advice, and bequeathed to him his favorite charger and his faithful servant, Bishop, who had helped to convey him from the field.

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He died on the night of the 13th, at the Great Meadows, the place of Washington's discomfiture in the previous year. His obsequies were performed before break of day. The chaplain having been wounded, Washington read the funeral service. All was done in sadness and without parade, so as not to attract the attention of lurking savages, who might discover and outrage his grave. It is doubtful even whether a volley was fired over it, that last military honor which he had recently paid to the remains of an Indian warrior. The place of his sepulture, however, is still known, and pointed out.

Reproach spared him not, even when in his grave. The failure of the expedition was attributed, both in England and America, to his obstinacy, his technical pedantry, and his military conceit. He had been continually warned to be on his guard against ambush and surprise, but without avail. Had he taken the advice urged on him by Washington and others, to employ scouting parties of Indians and rangers, he would never have been so signally surprised and defeated. Still his dauntless conduct on the field of battle shows him to have been a man of fearless spirit; and he was universally allowed to be an accomplished disciplinarian. His melancholy end, too, disarms censure of its asperity. Whatever may have been his faults and errors, he in a manner expiated them by the hardest lot that can befall a brave soldier, ambitious of renown—an unhonored grave in a strange land, a memory clouded by misfortune, and a name forever coupled with defeat.

The obsequies of the unfortunate Braddock being finished, the escort continued its retreat with the sick and wounded. On the 17th, the sad cavalcade reached Fort Cumberland, and were relieved from the incessant apprehension of pursuit. Dunbar arrived shortly afterward with the remainder of the army. No one seems to have shared more largely in the panic than that officer. From the moment he received tidings of the defeat, his camp had become a scene of confusion. At Cumberland his forces amounted to fifteen hundred effective men; enough for a brave stand to protect the frontier, and recover some of the lost honor; but he merely paused to leave the sick and wounded under care of two

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Virginia and Maryland companies, and then continued his hasty flight through the country, not thinking himself safe, as was sneeringly intimated, until he arrived in Philadelphia, where the inhabitants could protect him.

The true reason why the enemy did not pursue the retreating army was not known until some time afterwards, and added to the disgrace of the defeat. They were not the main force of the French, but a mere detachment of 72 regulars, 146 Canadians, and 637 Indians, 855 in all, led by Captain de Beaujeu. Contrecœur, the commander of Fort Duquesne, had received information, through his scouts, that the English, three thousand strong, were within six leagues of his fort. Despairing of making an effectual defence against such a superior force, he was balancing in his mind whether to abandon his fort without awaiting their arrival, or to capitulate on honorable terms. In this dilemma Beaujeu prevailed on him to let him sally forth with a detachment to form an ambush, and give check to the enemy. Beaujeu was to have taken post at the river, and disputed the passage at the ford. For that purpose he was hurrying forward when discovered by the pioneers of Gage's advance party. He was a gallant officer, and fell at the beginning of the fight. The whole number of killed and wounded of French and Indians did not exceed seventy.

Such was the scanty force which the imagination of the panic-stricken army had magnified into a great host, and from which they had fled in breathless terror, abandoning the whole frontier. No one could be more surprised than the French commander himself, when the ambuscading party returned in triumph with a long train of pack-horses laden with booty, the savages uncouthly clad in the garments of the slain, grenadier caps, officers' gold-laced coats, and glittering epaulettes; flourishing swords and sabres, or firing off muskets, and uttering fiendlike yells of victory. But when Contrecœur was informed of the utter rout and destruction of the much dreaded British army, his joy was complete. He ordered the guns of the fort to be fired in triumph, and sent out troops in pursuit of the fugitives.

The affair of Braddock remains a memorable event in American

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history, and has been characterized as "the most extraordinary victory ever obtained and the furthest flight ever made." It struck a fatal blow to the deference for British prowess, which once amounted almost to bigotry throughout the provinces. "This whole transaction," observes Franklin, in his autobiography, "gave us the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular troops had not been well founded."

Washington arrived at Mount Vernon on the 26th of July, still in feeble condition from his long illness. His campaigning, thus far, had trenched upon his private fortune, and impaired one of the best of constitutions. But though under the saddening influence of debility and defeat he might count the cost of his campaigning, the martial spirit still burned within him. His connection with the army, it is true, had ceased at the death of Braddock, but his military duties continued as adjutant-general of the northern division of the province, and he immediately issued orders for the county lieutenants to hold the militia in readiness for parade and exercise, foreseeing that, in the present defenceless state of the frontier, there would be need of their services. Tidings of the rout and retreat of the army had circulated far and near, and spread consternation throughout the country. Immediate incursions both of French and Indians were apprehended; and volunteer companies began to form, for the purpose of marching across the mountains to the scene of danger. It was intimated to Washington that his services would again be wanted on the frontier. He declared instantly that he was ready to serve his country to the extent of his powers; but never on the same terms as heretofore.

On the 4th of August, Governor Dinwiddie convened the Assembly to devise measures for the public safety. The sense of danger had quickened the slow patriotism of the burgesses; they no longer held back supplies; £40,000 were promptly voted, and orders issued for the raising of a regiment of one thousand men. Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, in the colony. The Assembly also voted £300 to him, and proportionate sums to the other officers, and to the privates of the Virginia companies, in consideration of their gallant conduct, and their losses in the late battle.

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It is worthy of note that the early popularity of Washington was not the result of brilliant achievements or signal success; on the contrary, it rose among trials and reverses, and may almost be said to have been the fruit of defeats. It remains an honorable testimony of Virginian intelligence, that the sterling, enduring, but undazzling qualities of Washington were thus early discerned and appreciated, though only heralded by misfortunes. The admirable manner in which he had conducted himself under these misfortunes, and the sagacity and practical wisdom he had displayed on all occasions, were universally acknowledged; and it was observed that, had his modest counsels been adopted by the unfortunate Braddock, a totally different result might have attended the late campaign.

An instance of this high appreciation of his merits occurs in a sermon preached on the 17th of August by the Rev. Samuel Davis, wherein he cites him as "that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, *whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country.*" The expressions of the worthy clergyman may have been deemed enthusiastic at the time; viewed in connection with subsequent events they appear almost prophetic.

Johnson's Victory. — The defeat of Braddock paralyzed the expedition against Niagara. Deferring the completion of the enterprise until the following year, Shirley returned to Albany with the main part of his forces, leaving about seven hundred men to garrison the fortifications he had commenced at Oswego.

To General William Johnson, it will be recollected, had been confided the expedition against Crown Point. He had with him between five and six thousand troops of New York and New England, and a host of Mohawk warriors, loyally devoted to him. A French force of upwards of three thousand men, under the Baron Dieskau, an old general of high reputation, had recently arrived at Quebec, destined against Oswego. The baron had proceeded to Montreal, and sent forward thence seven hundred of his troops, when news arrived of the army gathering on Lake George for the attack on Crown Point, perhaps for an inroad into

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Canada. The public were in consternation; yielding to their importunities, the baron took post at Crown Point for its defence. Besides his regular troops, he had with him eight hundred Canadians, and seven hundred Indians of different tribes, under the general command of the Chevalier de St. Pierre, the officer to whom Washington had delivered the dispatches of Governor Dinwiddie on his diplomatic mission to the frontier. The chevalier was a man of great influence among the Indians.

In the meantime Johnson remained encamped at the south end of Lake George, awaiting the arrival of his bateaux. The camp was protected in the rear by the lake, in front by a bulwark of felled trees; and was flanked by thickly wooded swamps.

An attack on Fort Edward was apprehended. Scouts had seen the French within four miles of the carrying-place. In the morning Colonel Williams was detached with one thousand men, and two hundred Indians, to intercept the enemy. Within two hours after their departure a heavy fire of musketry, in the midst of the forest, about three or four miles off, told of a warm encounter. The drums beat to arms; all were at their posts. The firing grew sharper and sharper, and nearer and nearer. Williams was evidently retreating. Colonel Cole was sent with three hundred men to cover his retreat. The breastwork of trees was manned. Some heavy cannon were dragged up to strengthen the front. A number of men were stationed with a field-piece on an eminence on the left flank.

In a short time fugitives made their appearance; first singly, then in masses, flying in confusion, with a rattling fire behind them, and the horrible Indian war-whoop. Consternation seized upon the camp, especially when the French emerged from the forest in battle array, led on by the Baron Dieskau, the gallant commander of Crown Point. Had all his troops been as daring as himself, the camp might have been carried by assault; but the Canadians and Indians held back, posted themselves behind trees, and took to bush-fighting. The baron was left with his regulars (two hundred grenadiers) in front of the camp. He kept up a fire by platoons, but at too great a distance to do much mischief;

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the Canadians and Indians fired from their coverts. The artillery played on them in return. The camp, having recovered from its panic, opened a fire of musketry. The engagement became general. The French grenadiers stood their ground bravely for a long time, but were dreadfully cut up by the artillery and small arms. The action slackened on the part of the French, until, after a long contest, they gave way. Johnson's men and the Indians then leaped over the breastwork, and a chance-medley fight ensued, that ended in the slaughter, rout, or capture of the enemy.

The Baron de Dieskau had been disabled by a wound in the leg, and, left alone in the retreat, was found by the pursuers leaning against the stump of a tree. He was conveyed a prisoner to the camp, but ultimately died of his wounds. In the encounter with the detachment under Williams, the brave Chevalier de St. Pierre lost his life. Johnson received a slight wound early in the action. He did not follow up the victory by advancing against Crown Point, but erected a stockaded fort, which received the name of William Henry; and having garrisoned it, returned to Albany. His services were rewarded by government with £5000 and a baronetcy; and he was made Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

Troubles on the Frontier. — On the 4th of February, 1756, Washington set out for Boston, to consult with Major-general Shirley, who had succeeded Braddock in the general command of the colonies.

In those days the conveniences of travelling, even between our main cities, were few, and the roads execrable. The party, therefore, travelled in Virginia style, on horseback, attended by their black servants in livery. In this way they accomplished a journey of five hundred miles in the depth of winter, stopping for some days at Philadelphia and New York. Those cities were then comparatively small, and the arrival of a party of young Southern officers attracted attention. The last disastrous battle was still the theme of every tongue, and the honorable way in which these young officers had acquitted themselves in it made them objects of universal interest. Washington's fame, especially, had gone

before him, having been spread by the officers who had served with him, and by the public honors decreed him by the Virginia Legislature. "Your name," wrote his former fellow-campaigner, Gist, in a letter dated in the preceding autumn, "is more talked of in Philadelphia than that of any other person in the army, and everybody seems willing to venture under your command."

With these prepossessions in his favor, when we consider Washington's noble person and demeanor, his consummate horsemanship, the admirable horses he was accustomed to ride, and the aristocratic style of his equipments, we may imagine the effect produced by himself and his little cavalcade, as they clattered through the streets of Philadelphia, and New York, and Boston. Their sojourn in each city was a continual fête.

From General Shirley he learnt that the main objects of the ensuing campaign would be the reduction of Fort Niagara, so as to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, as a measure of safety for New York, the besieging of Fort Duquesne, and the menacing of Quebec by a body of troops which were to advance by the Kennebec river.

The official career of Shirley was drawing to a close. Though a man of good parts, he had always, until recently, acted in a civil capacity, and proved incompetent to conduct military operations. He was recalled to England, and was to be superseded by General Abercrombie, who was coming out with two regiments.

The general command in America, however, was to be held by the Earl of Loudoun, who was invested with powers almost equal to those of a viceroy, being placed above all the colonial governors. Besides his general command, the Earl of Loudoun was to be governor of Virginia. The campaign would open on his arrival, which, it was expected, would be early in the spring; and brilliant results were anticipated.

Washington remained ten days in Boston, attending, with great interest, the meetings of the Massachusetts Legislature, in which the plan of military operations was ably discussed. After receiving the most hospitable attentions from the polite and intelligent so-

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ciety of the place, he returned to Virginia, for the French had made another sortie from Fort Duquesne, accompanied by a band of savages, and were spreading terror and desolation through the country.

Horrors accumulated at Winchester. Every hour brought its tale of terror, true or false, of houses burnt, families massacred, or beleaguered and famishing in stockaded forts. The danger approached. A scouting party had been attacked in the Warm Spring Mountain, about twenty miles distant, by a large body of French and Indians, mostly on horseback. The captain of the scouting party and several of his men had been slain, and the rest put to flight.

An attack on Winchester was apprehended, and the terrors of the people rose to agony. They turned to Washington as their main hope. The women surrounded him, holding up their children, and imploring him with tears and cries to save them from the savages. The youthful commander looked round on the suppliant crowd with a countenance beaming with pity, and a heart wrung with anguish. A letter to Governor Dinwiddie shows the conflict of his feelings. "I am too little acquainted with pathetic language to attempt a description of these people's distresses. But what can I do? I see their situation; I know their danger, and participate in their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief than uncertain promises." — "The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease."

The unstudied eloquence of this letter drew from the governor an instant order for a militia force from the upper counties to his assistance.

The Legislature, too, began at length to act, but timidly and inefficiently. "The country knows her danger," writes one of the members, "but such is her parsimony that she is willing to wait for the rains to wet the powder, and the rats to eat the bowstrings of the enemy, rather than attempt to drive them from her fron-

tiers." The measure of relief voted by the Assembly was an additional appropriation of £20,000, and an increase of the provincial force to fifteen hundred men. Throughout the summer of 1756, Washington exerted himself diligently in carrying out measures determined upon for frontier security. A great fortress was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudoun, in honor of the commander-in-chief, whose arrival in Virginia was hopefully anticipated. The sites of the frontier posts were decided upon by Washington and his officers; parties were sent out to work on them, and men recruited, and militia drafted to garrison them. Washington visited occasionally such as were in progress, and near at hand. It was a service of some peril, for the mountains and forests were still infested by prowling savages, especially in the neighborhood of these new forts. At one time when he was reconnoitering a wild part of the country, attended merely by a servant and a guide, two men were murdered by the Indians in a solitary defile shortly after he had passed through it. In the autumn, he made a tour of inspection along the whole line, and found repeated proofs of the inefficiency of the militia system. In one place he attempted to raise a force with which to scour a region infested by roving bands of savages. After waiting several days, but five men answered to his summons. In another place, where three companies had been ordered to the relief of a fort attacked by the Indians, all that could be mustered were a captain, a lieutenant, and seven or eight men.

When the militia were drafted, and appeared under arms, the case was not much better. It was now late in the autumn; their term of service, by the act of the legislature, expired in December — half of the time, therefore, was lost in marching out and home. Their waste of provisions was enormous. To be put on allowance, like other soldiers, they considered an indignity. They would sooner starve than carry a few days' provisions on their backs. On the march, when breakfast was wanted, they would knock down the first beeves they met with, and, after regaling themselves, march on till dinner, when they would take the same method; and so for supper, to the great oppression of the people. For the

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want of proper military laws, they were obstinate, self-willed, and perverse. Every individual had his own crude notion of things, and would undertake to direct. If his advice were neglected, he would think himself slighted, abused, and injured, and, to redress himself, would depart for his home.

The garrisons were weak for want of men, but more so from indolence and irregularity. Not one was in a posture of defence; few but might be surprised with the greatest ease. At one fort, the Indians rushed from their lurking-place, pounced upon several children playing under the walls, and bore them off before they were discovered. Another fort was surprised, and many of the people massacred in the same manner. In the course of Washington's tour, as he and his party approached a fort, he heard a quick firing for several minutes; concluding that it was attacked, they hastened to its relief, but found the garrison were merely amusing themselves firing at a mark, or for wagers. In this way they would waste their ammunition as freely as they did their provisions. In the meantime, the inhabitants of the country were in a wretched situation, feeling the little dependence to be put on militia.

Successes of Montcalm. — While the Virginia frontier was thus harassed, military affairs went on tardily and heavily at the north. The campaign against Canada, which was to have opened early in the year, hung fire. The armament coming out for the purpose, under Lord Loudoun, was delayed through the want of energy and union in the British cabinet. General Abercrombie set sail in advance for New York with two regiments, but did not reach Albany, the head-quarters of military operation, until the 25th of June. He billeted his soldiers upon the town, much to the disgust of the inhabitants, and talked of ditching and stockading it, but postponed all enterprises until the arrival of Lord Loudoun; then the campaign was to open in earnest.

On the 12th of July, came word that the forts Ontario and Oswego, on each side of the mouth of the Oswego river, were menaced by the French. They had been imperfectly constructed by Shirley, and were insufficiently garrisoned, yet contained a great amount of military and naval stores, and protected the vessels which cruised on Lake Ontario.

Major-general Webb was ordered by Abercrombie to hold himself in readiness to march with one regiment to the relief of these forts, but received no further orders. Everything awaited the arrival at Albany of Lord Loudoun, which at length took place, on the 29th of July. There were now at least ten thousand troops, regulars and provincials, loitering in an idle camp at Albany, yet relief to Oswego was still delayed. Lord Loudoun was in favor of it, but the governments of New York and New England urged the immediate reduction of Crown Point, as necessary for the security of their frontier. After much debate, it was agreed that General Webb should march to the relief of Oswego. He left Albany on the 12th of August, but had scarce reached the carrying-place, between the Mohawk river and Wood Creek, when he received news that Oswego was reduced, and its garrison captured. While the British commanders had debated, Field-marshal the Marquis of Montcalm, newly arrived from France, had acted. He was a different kind of soldier from Abercrombie or Loudoun. A capacious mind and enterprising spirit animated a small, but active and untiring frame. Quick in thought, quick in speech, quicker still in action, he comprehended everything at a glance, and moved from point to point of the province with a celerity and secrecy that completely baffled his slow and pondering antagonists. Crown Point and Ticonderoga were visited, and steps taken to strengthen their works, and provide for their security; then hastening to Montréal, he put himself at the head of a force of regulars, Canadians, and Indians; ascended the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario; blocked up the mouth of the Oswego by his vessels, landed his guns, and besieged the two forts; drove the garrison out of one into the other; killed the commander, and compelled the garrisons to surrender, prisoners of war. With the forts was taken an immense amount of military stores, ammunition, and provisions; one hundred and twenty-one cannon, fourteen mortars, six vessels of war, and three chests of money. His blow achieved, Montcalm returned in triumph to Montreal, and sent the colors of the captured forts to be hung up as trophies in the Canadian churches.

The season was now too far advanced for Lord Loudoun to enter

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upon any great military enterprise; he postponed, therefore, the great northern campaign, so much talked of and debated, until the following year; and having taken measures for the protection of his frontiers, and for more active operations in the spring, returned to New York, hung up his sword, and went into comfortable winter quarters.

Next year (1757) the great plan of operations at the north was again doomed to failure. The reduction of Crown Point was laid aside and the capture of Louisburg substituted, as an acquisition of far greater importance. This was a place of great consequence, situated on the isle of Cape Breton, and strongly fortified. It commanded the fisheries of Newfoundland, overawed New England, and was a main bulwark to Acadia. In the course of July, Lord Loudoun set sail for Halifax with about six thousand men, to join Admiral Holbourne, who had just arrived with eleven ships of the line, a fire-ship, bomb-ketch, and fleet of transports, having on board six thousand men. With this united force Lord Loudoun anticipated the certain capture of Louisburg.

Scarce had the tidings of his lordship's departure reached Canada, when the active Montcalm again took the field. Fort William Henry, which Sir William Johnson had erected on the southern shore of Lake George, was now his object; it commanded the lake, and was an important protection to the British frontier. A brave old officer, Colonel Monro, with about five hundred men, formed the garrison; more than three times that number of militia were entrenched near by. Collecting his forces from Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, with a considerable number of Canadians and Indians, altogether nearly eight thousand men, Montcalm advanced up the lake, on the 1st of August, in a fleet of boats, with swarms of Indian canoes in the advance. The fort came near being surprised; but the troops encamped without it abandoned their tents and hurried within the works. A summons to surrender was answered by a brave defiance. Montcalm invested the fort, made his approaches, and battered it with his artillery. For five days its veteran commander kept up a vigorous defence, trusting to receive assistance from General Webb, who

had failed to relieve Fort Oswego in the preceding year, and who was now at Fort Edward, about fifteen miles distant, with upwards of five thousand men. Instead, of this, Webb, who over-rated the French forces, sent him a letter, advising him to capitulate. The letter was intercepted by Montcalm, but still forwarded to Monro. The obstinate old soldier, however, persisted in his defence, until most of his cannon were burst, and his ammunition expended. At length, in the month of August, he hung out a flag of truce, and obtained honorable terms from an enemy who knew how to appreciate his valor. Montcalm demolished the fort, carried off all the artillery and munitions of war, with vessels employed in the navigation of the lake, and having thus completed his destruction of the British defences on this frontier, returned once more in triumph with the spoils of victory, to hang up fresh trophies in the churches of Canada.

Lord Loudoun in the meantime formed his junction with Admiral Holbourne at Halifax, but the French were again too quick for them. Admiral de la Mothe had arrived at Louisburg, with a large naval and land force; it was ascertained that he had seventeen ships of the line, and three frigates, quietly moored in the harbor; that the place was well fortified and supplied with provisions and ammunition, and garrisoned with six thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and thirteen hundred Indians.

Some hot-heads would have urged an attempt against all such array of force, but Lord Loudoun was aware of the probability of defeat, and the disgrace and ruin that it would bring upon British arms in America. He wisely, though ingloriously, returned to New York. Admiral Holbourne was overtaken by a hurricane, in which one of his ships was lost, eleven were dismasted, others had to throw their guns overboard, and all returned in a shattered condition to England. Thus ended the northern campaign by land and sea, a subject of great mortification to the nation, and ridicule and triumph to the enemy.

During these unfortunate operations to the north, Washington was stationed at Winchester, and left with seven hundred men to defend a frontier of more than three hundred and fifty miles in

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extent. The capture and demolition of Oswego by Montcalm had produced a disastrous effect. The frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were harassed by repeated inroads of French and Indians, and Washington had the mortification of seeing the noble valley of the Shenandoah almost deserted by its inhabitants, and fast relapsing into a wilderness.

The year wore away on his part in this harassing service, and the vexations he experienced were heightened by continual misunderstandings with Governor Dinwiddie, whose administration, however, was now about to end. He set sail for England in January, 1758, leaving a character overshadowed by the imputation of avarice and extortion. He was a sordid, narrow-minded, and arrogant man; prone to meddle with matters of which he was profoundly ignorant, and absurdly unwilling to have his ignorance enlightened. Mr. Francis Fauquier had been appointed his successor, and, until he should arrive, Mr. John Blair, president of the council, had, from his office, charge of the government. In the latter, Washington had a friend who appreciated his character and services, and was disposed to carry out his plans.

The general aspect of affairs, also, was more animating. Under the able and intrepid administration of William Pitt, who had control of the British cabinet, an effort was made to retrieve the disgraces of the late American campaign, and to carry on the war with greater vigor. Lord Loudoun was relieved from a command in which he had attempted so much and done so little. His friends alleged that his inactivity was owing to a want of unanimity and co-operation in the colonial governments, which paralyzed all his well meant efforts. Franklin, it is probable, probed the matter with his usual sagacity when he characterized him as a man "entirely made up of indecision." — "Like St. George on the signs, he was always on horseback, but never rode on."

Campaigns of 1758. — The general command in America devolved on Abercrombie, and the forces were divided into three detached bodies; one, under Major-general Amherst, was to operate in the north with the fleet under Boscawen, for the reduction of Louisburg; another, under Abercrombie himself, was to pro-

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ceed against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third, under Brigadier-general Forbes, who had the charge of the middle and southern colonies, was to undertake the reduction of Fort Duquesne.

It was with the greatest satisfaction Washington saw his favorite measure at last adopted. He was still commander-in-chief of the Virginia troops, now augmented to two regiments of one thousand men each; one led by himself, the other by Colonel Byrd; the whole destined to make a part of the army of General Forbes in the expedition against Fort Duquesne. Before we proceed with this narrative, however, we will briefly notice the conduct of the two other important expeditions of the year.

Capture of Louisburg. — Major-general Amherst embarked with twelve thousand men, in the fleet of Admiral Boscawen, and set sail from Halifax about the end of May. Along with him went Brigadier-general James Wolfe, an officer young in years, but a veteran in military experience, and destined to gain a romantic celebrity. He may almost be said to have been born in the camp. When a lad, he had witnessed the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy; and now, after having been eighteen years in the service, he was but thirty-one years of age. In America, however, he was to win his lasting laurels.

Louisburg was garrisoned by two thousand five hundred regulars, and three hundred militia, subsequently reinforced by upwards of four hundred Canadians and Indians. In the harbor were six ships of the line, and five frigates; three of which were sunk across the mouth. For several days the troops were prevented from landing by boisterous weather, and a heavy surf.

On the 8th of June, before daybreak they were embarked in boats in three divisions. While several frigates scoured the beach with their shot, Wolfe pulled for shore with his division; the others distracting the attention of the enemy, by making a show of landing in other parts. The surf still ran high, the enemy opened fire, many boats were upset, many men slain, but Wolfe pushed forward, sprang into the water when the boats grounded, dashed through the surf with his men, stormed the enemy's breastworks

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and batteries, and drove them from the shore. The other divisions effected a landing after a severe conflict; artillery and stores were brought on shore, and Louisburg was formally invested.

The Chevalier Drucour, who commanded at Louisburg, kept up a desperate defence until all the ships were taken or destroyed; forty, out of fifty-two pieces of cannon dismounted, and his works mere heaps of ruins. When driven to capitulate, he refused the terms proposed, as being too severe, and, when threatened with a general assault, by sea and land, determined to abide it, rather than submit to what he considered a humiliation. The prayers and petitions of the inhabitants, however, overcame his obstinacy. The place was surrendered, and he and his garrison became prisoners of war. The youthful Wolfe, who returned shortly after the victory to England, was hailed as the hero of the enterprise.

Battle of Ticonderoga. — At the beginning of July, Abercrombie was encamped on the borders of Lake George, with nearly seven thousand regulars, and upwards of nine thousand provincials from New England, New York, and New Jersey. Major Israel Putnam of Connecticut, who had served on this lake, under Sir William Johnson, had been detached with a scouting party to reconnoiter the neighborhood. After his return and report, Abercrombie prepared to proceed against Ticonderoga, situated on a tongue of land in Lake Champlain, at the mouth of the strait communicating with Lake George.

On the 5th of July, the forces were embarked in one hundred and twenty-five whale-boats, and nine hundred bateaux, with the artillery on rafts. The vast flotilla proceeded slowly down the lake, with banners and pennons fluttering in the summer breeze; arms glittering in the sunshine, and martial music echoing along the wood-clad mountains. With Abercrombie went Lord Howe, a brave and enterprising young nobleman, endeared to the soldiery by the generosity of his disposition and the sweetness of his manners.

The next day they landed on the western shore, just at the entrance of the strait leading to Lake Champlain. Here they were formed into three columns, and pushed forward. They soon

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came upon the enemy's advanced guard, a battalion encamped behind a log breastwork. The French set fire to their camp, and retreated. The columns kept their form, and pressed forward, but, through the ignorance of their guides, became bewildered in a dense forest, and fell into confusion. Lord Howe pressed on with the van of the right centre column. Putnam, who was with him, and more experienced in forest warfare, endeavored in vain to inspire him with caution. After a time they came upon a detachment of the retreating foe, who, like themselves, had lost their way. A severe conflict ensued, in which Lord Howe was killed at the onset; but the enemy were routed. Nothing further was done that day. With Lord Howe expired the master spirit of the enterprise. His loss was bewailed by the American people. The point near which the troops had landed still bears his name; the place where he fell is still pointed out; and Massachusetts voted him a monument in Westminster Abbey.

Montcalm had called in all his forces, between three and four thousand men, and was strongly posted behind deep entrenchments and breastworks eight feet high; with an abatis, of felled trees, in front of his lines, presenting a horrid barrier, with their jagged boughs pointing outward. Abercrombie was deceived as to the strength of the French works; against the opinion of his most judicious officers, he gave orders to storm them. Never were rash orders more gallantly obeyed. The men rushed forward with fixed bayonets, and attempted to force their way through the abatis, under a sheeted fire of swivels and musketry. Some even reached the parapet, where they were shot down. The breastwork was too high to be surmounted, and gave a secure covert to the enemy. Repeated assaults were made, and as often repelled, with dreadful havoc. After four hours Abercrombie gave up the ill-judged attempt, and withdrew to the landing-place, with the loss of nearly two thousand in killed and wounded. Had not the vastly inferior force of Montcalm prevented him from sallying beyond his trenches, the retreat of the British might have been pushed to a headlong and disastrous flight.

Abercrombie had still nearly four times the number of the

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enemy, and all the means of carrying on a siege, with every prospect of success; but the failure of this rash assault seems completely to have dismayed him. The next day he re-embarked all his troops, and returned across that lake where his disgraced banners had recently waved so proudly.

While the general was planning fortifications on Lake George, Colonel Bradstreet succeeded in reducing Fort Frontenac, the stronghold of the French on the north side of the entrance of Lake Ontario. This post was not only a central point of Indian trade, but a magazine for the more southern posts, among which was Fort Duquesne.

Capture of Fort Duquesne. — Operations went on slowly in that part of the year's campaign in which Washington was immediately engaged. Brigadier-general Forbes, who was commander-in-chief, was detained at Philadelphia by those delays and cross-purposes incident to military affairs in a new country. Colonel Bouquet, who was to command the advanced division, took his station, with a corps of regulars, at Raystown, in the centre of Pennsylvania. There slowly assembled troops from various parts. Three thousand Pennsylvanians, twelve hundred and fifty South Carolinians, and a few hundred men from elsewhere.

Washington, in the meantime, gathered together his scattered regiments at Winchester. The force thus assembling was in want of arms, tents, field-equipage, and almost every requisite. Washington was now ordered to repair to Williamsburg, and lay the state of the case before the council. He set off promptly on horseback, attended by Bishop, his well-trained military servant, who had served the late General Braddock. It proved an eventful journey, though not in a military point of view. In crossing a ferry of the Pamunkey river, he fell in company with a Mr. Chamberlayne, who lived in the neighborhood, and who, in the spirit of Virginian hospitality, claimed him as a guest. It was with difficulty Washington could be prevailed on to halt for dinner, so impatient was he to arrive at Williamsburg.

Among the guests at Mr. Chamberlayne's was a young and blooming widow, Mrs. Martha Custis, daughter of Mr. John Dan-

dridge, both patrician names in the province. Her husband, John Parke Custis, had been dead about three years, leaving her with two young children, and a large fortune. She is represented as being rather below the middle size, but extremely well shaped, with an agreeable countenance, dark hazel eyes and hair, and frank, engaging manners. Washington's heart appears to have been taken by surprise. The dinner, which in those days was an earlier meal than at present, seemed all too short. The afternoon passed away like a dream. Bishop was punctual to the orders he had received on halting; the horses pawed at the door; but for once Washington loitered in the path of duty. The horses were countermanded, and it was not until the next morning that he was again in the saddle, spurring for Williamsburg. His time for courtship was brief. Military duties called him back almost immediately to Winchester; but he improved his brief opportunity to the utmost. The blooming widow had many suitors, but Washington was graced with that renown so ennobling in the eyes of woman. Before they separated, they had mutually plighted their faith, and the marriage was to take place as soon as the campaign against Fort Duquesne was at an end.

On July 2 Washington arrived at Fort Cumberland, and proceeded to open a road between that post and head-quarters, at Raystown, thirty miles distant, where Colonel Bouquet was stationed. His troops were scantily supplied with regimental clothing. The weather was oppressively warm. He now conceived the idea of equipping them in the light Indian hunting garb, and even of adopting it himself. Such was probably the origin of the American rifle dress, afterwards so much worn in warfare.

The army was now annoyed by scouting parties of Indians hovering about the neighborhood. Expresses passing between the posts were fired upon; a wagoner was shot down. Washington sent out counter-parties of Cherokees, but he earnestly discountenanced a proposition of Colonel Bouquet, to make an irruption into the enemy's country with a strong party of regulars. Such a detachment, he observed, could not be sent without a cumbersome train of supplies, which would discover it to the enemy, who must

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at that time be collecting his whole force at Fort Duquesne; the enterprise, therefore, would be likely to terminate in a miscarriage, if not in the destruction of the party. We shall see that his opinion was oracular.

As Washington intended to retire from military life at the close of this campaign, he had proposed himself to the electors of Frederick County as their representative in the House of Burgesses. The election was coming on at Winchester; his friends pressed him to attend it, and Colonel Bouquet gave him leave of absence; but he declined to absent himself from his post for the promotion of his political interests. There were three competitors in the field, yet so high was the public opinion of his merit, that, though Winchester had been his head-quarters for two or three years past, and he had occasionally enforced martial law with a rigorous hand, he was elected by a large majority.

On the 21st of July the tidings of the fall of Louisburg increased Washington's impatience at the delays of the expedition with which he was connected. He wished to rival these successes by a brilliant blow in the South. He soon learnt to his surprise that the road to which his men were accustomed, and which had been worked by Braddock's troops in his campaign, was not to be taken in the present expedition, but a new one opened through the heart of Pennsylvania, on the track generally taken by the northern traders. The first of September found him still encamped at Fort Cumberland, his troops sickly and dispirited, and the brilliant expedition which he had anticipated dwindling down into a tedious operation of road-making. At length, he received orders from General Forbes to join him with his troops at Raystown, where he had just arrived. He was received by the general with the highest marks of respect. On all occasions, that commander treated his opinions with the greatest deference. He adopted a plan drawn out by Washington for the march of the army; and also an order of battle, which still exists, furnishing a proof of his skill in frontier warfare.

It was now the middle of September; yet the great body of men engaged in opening the new military road, after incredible

toil, had not advanced above forty-five miles, to a place called Loyal Hannan. Colonel Bouquet, who commanded the division of nearly two thousand men sent forward to open this road, had halted at Loyal Hannan to establish a military post. He was upwards of fifty miles from Fort Duquesne, and was tempted to adopt the measure, so strongly discountenanced by Washington, of sending a party on a foray into the enemy's country. He accordingly detached Major Grant with eight hundred picked men, some of them Highlanders, others, Virginians in Indian garb, under command of Major Lewis.

Grant's instructions were merely to reconnoiter the country in the neighborhood of Fort Duquesne, and ascertain the strength and position of the enemy. He conducted the enterprise with the foolhardiness of a man eager for notoriety. Arriving at night in the neighborhood of the fort, he posted his men on a hill, and sent out a party of observation, who set fire to a log house near the walls and returned to the encampment. As if this were not sufficient to put the enemy on the alert, he ordered the reveillé to be beaten in the morning in several places; then, posting Major Lewis with his provincial troops in the rear to protect the baggage, he marshalled his regulars in battle array, and sent an engineer, with a covering party, to take a plan of the works in full view of the garrison.

Not a gun was fired by the fort; the silence was mistaken for fear, and increased the blind security of the British commander. At length, when he was thrown off his guard, there was a sudden sally of the garrison, and an attack on the flanks by Indians hid in ambush. A scene now occurred similar to that at the defeat of Braddock. The British officers marshalled their men according to European tactics, and the Highlanders for some time stood their ground bravely; but the destructive fire and horrid yells of the Indians soon produced panic and confusion. Major Lewis, at the first noise of the attack, left Captain Bullitt, with fifty Virginians, to guard the baggage, and hastened with the main body of his men to the scene of action. The contest was kept up for some time, but the confusion was irretrievable. The Indians sallied

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from their concealment, and attacked with the tomahawk and scalping-knife. Lewis fought hand to hand with an Indian brave, whom he laid dead at his feet, but was surrounded by others, and only saved his life by surrendering himself to a French officer. Grant surrendered himself in like manner. The whole detachment was put to rout with dreadful carnage.

Captain Bullitt rallied several of the fugitives, and made a barricade with the baggage wagons, behind which he posted his men. As the savages, having finished the havoc and plunder of the field of battle, were hastening in pursuit of the fugitives, Bullitt suffered them to come near, when, on a concerted signal, a destructive fire was opened from behind the baggage wagons. They were checked for a time; but were again pressing forward in greater numbers, when Bullitt and his men held out the signal of capitulation, and advanced as if to surrender. When within eight yards of the enemy, they suddenly levelled their arms, poured a most effective volley, and then charged with the bayonet. The Indians fled in dismay, and Bullitt took advantage of this check to retreat with all speed, collecting the wounded and the scattered fugitives as he advanced. The routed detachment came back in fragments to Colonel Bouquet's camp at Loyal Hannan, with the loss of about three hundred killed and taken. If Washington could have taken any pride in seeing his presages of misfortune verified, he might have been gratified by the result of this rash "irruption into the enemy's country," which was exactly what he had predicted. In his letters to Governor Fauquier, however, he bears lightly on the error of Colonel Bouquet. Bullitt was soon after rewarded with a major's commission.

It was the 5th of November before the whole army assembled at Loyal Hannan. Winter was at hand, and fifty miles of wilderness were still to be traversed, by a road not yet made, before they could reach Fort Duquesne. In a council of war it was determined to be impracticable to advance further with the army that season. Three prisoners, however, who were brought in, gave such an account of the weak state of the garrison at Fort Duquesne, its want of provisions, and the defection of the Indians, that it was

determined to push forward. The march was accordingly resumed, but without tents or baggage, and with only a light train of artillery. Washington still kept the advance. As they approached Fort Duquesne the bones of those massacred in the defeat of Braddock still lay scattered about the battle-field, whitening in the sun.

At length the army arrived in sight of Fort Duquesne, advancing with great precaution, and expecting a vigorous defence; but that formidable fortress, the terror and scourge of the frontier, and the object of such warlike enterprise, fell without a blow. The recent successes of the English forces in Canada, particularly the capture and destruction of Fort Frontenac, had left the garrison without hope of reinforcements and supplies. The whole force, at the time, did not exceed five hundred men, and the provisions were nearly exhausted. The commander, therefore, waited only until the English army was within one day's march, when he embarked his troops at night in bateaux, blew up his magazines, set fire to the fort, and retreated down the Ohio, by the light of the flames. On the 25th of November, Washington, with the advanced guard, marched in, and planted the British flag on the yet smoking ruins.

One of the first offices of the army was to collect and bury, in one common tomb, the bones of their fellow-soldiers who had fallen in the battles of Braddock and Grant. The ruins of the fortress were then put in a defensible state, and garrisoned by two hundred men from Washington's regiment; the name was changed to that of Fort Pitt, in honor of the illustrious minister, whose measures had given vigor to this year's campaign; it has since been modified into Pittsburg, and designates one of the most busy and populous cities of the interior.

The reduction of Fort Duquesne terminated, as Washington had foreseen, the troubles and dangers of the southern frontier. The French domination of the Ohio was at an end; the Indians, as usual, paid homage to the conquering power, and a treaty of peace was concluded with all the tribes between the Ohio and the lakes.

With this campaign ended, for the present, the military career of Washington. His great object was attained, the restoration of quiet and security to his native province; accordingly, he gave

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up his commission at the close of the year, and retired from the service, followed by the applause of his fellow-soldiers, and the admiration of all his countrymen.

His marriage with Mrs. Custis took place shortly after his return. It was celebrated on the 6th of January, 1759, at the residence of the bride, in the good old hospitable style of Virginia, amid a joyous assemblage of relatives and friends.

Conquest of Canada. — Before following Washington into the retirement of domestic life, we think it proper to notice the events which closed the great struggle between England and France for empire in America. In that struggle he had first become practised in arms, and schooled in the ways of the world; and its results will be found connected with the history of his later years.

General Abercrombie had been superseded as commander-in chief of the forces in America by Major-general Amherst, who had gained great favor by the reduction of Louisburg. According to the plan of operations for 1759, General Wolfe, who had risen to fame by his gallant conduct in the same affair, was to ascend the St. Lawrence in a fleet of ships-of-war, with eight thousand men, as soon as the river should be free of ice, and lay siege to Quebec. General Amherst, in the meantime, was to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, cross Lake Champlain, push on to the St. Lawrence, and co-operate with Wolfe.

A third expedition, under Brigadier-general Prideaux, was to attack Fort Niagara, which controlled the whole country of the Six Nations, and commanded the navigation of the great lakes, and the intercourse between Canada and Louisiana. Having reduced this fort, he was to traverse Lake Ontario, descend the St. Lawrence, capture Montreal, and join his forces with those of Amherst.

The last mentioned expedition was the first executed. Prideaux embarked at Oswego on the first of July, with a large body of troops. He was accompanied by Sir William Johnson, and his Indian braves of the Mohawk. Landing at an inlet of Lake Ontario, within a few miles of Fort Niagara, he proceeded to invest it. The garrison, six hundred strong, made a resolute de-

fence. On the 20th of July, Prideaux, in visiting his trenches, was killed by the bursting of a cohorn. The siege was conducted by Sir William Johnson with courage and sagacity. Being informed by his scouts that twelve hundred regular troops, with a number of Indian auxiliaries, were hastening to the rescue, he detached a force of grenadiers and light infantry, with some of his Mohawk warriors, to intercept them. They came in sight of each other on the road, between Niagara Falls and the fort, within the thundering sounds of the one, and the distant view of the other. Johnson's "braves" advanced to have a parley with the hostile redskins. The latter received them with a warwhoop, and Frenchman and savage made an impetuous onset. Johnson's regulars and provincials stood their ground firmly, while his red warriors fell on the flanks of the enemy. After a sharp conflict, the French were broken, routed, and pursued through the woods, with great carnage. The next day Sir William Johnson sent a trumpet, summoning the garrison to surrender, to spare the effusion of blood, and prevent outrages by the Indians. They were permitted to march out with the honors of war. Thus was secured the key to the communication between Lakes Ontario and Erie, and to the vast interior region connected with them.

In the month of July, General Amherst embarked on Lake George with nearly twelve thousand men, and proceeded against Ticonderoga. Montcalm was no longer in the fort; he was absent for the protection of Quebec. The garrison did not exceed four hundred men. Bourlamaqui, the brave officer who commanded, dismantled the fortifications, as he did likewise those at Crown Point, and retreated down the lake, to make a stand at the Isle aux Noix, for the protection of Montreal. Instead of following him up, and hastening to co-operate with Wolfe, General Amherst proceeded to repair the works at Ticonderoga, and erect a new fort at Crown Point, though neither were in present danger of being attacked, nor would be of use if Canada were conquered. Amherst was one of those men, who, in seeking to be sure, are apt to be fatally slow. His delay enabled the enemy to rally their forces at Isle aux Noix, and call in Canadian reinforcements,

while it deprived Wolfe of that co-operation most essential to the success of the campaign.

Wolfe, with eight thousand men, ascended the St. Lawrence in June. The grenadiers of the army were commanded by Colonel Guy Carleton, and part of the light infantry by Lieutenant-colonel William Howe, both destined to celebrity in the annals of the American Revolution. Colonel Howe was brother of the gallant Lord Howe, whose fall in the preceding year was so generally lamented. Among the officers of the fleet, was Jervis, the future admiral, and ultimately Earl St. Vincent, and the master of one of the ships was James Cook, afterwards renowned as a discoverer.

About the end of June, the troops debarked on the Isle of Orleans, and encamped in its fertile fields. Quebec, the citadel of Canada, was strong by nature. It was built round the point of a rocky promontory, and flanked by precipices. The crystal current of the St. Lawrence swept by it on the right, and the river St. Charles flowed along on the left, before mingling with that mighty stream. Montcalm's troops were more numerous than the assailants; but the greater part were Canadians and savages. They were entrenched along the northern shore below the city, from the river St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorency.

The night after the debarkation of Wolfe's troops a furious storm caused great damage to the transports, and sank some of the small craft. While it was still raging, a number of fire-ships, sent to destroy the fleet, came driving down. They were boarded intrepidly by British seamen, and towed out of the way. After much resistance, Wolfe established batteries at the west point of the Isle of Orleans, and at Point Levi, on the right (or south) bank of the St. Lawrence, within cannon range of the city. From Point Levi bombshells and red-hot shot were discharged; many houses were set on fire in the upper town; the lower town was reduced to rubbish; the main fort, however, remained unharmed.

Anxious for a decisive action, Wolfe, on the 9th of July, crossed over in boats from the Isle of Orleans, to the north bank of the St. Lawrence, and encamped below the Montmorency. It was an ill-judged position, for there was still that tumultuous stream, with

its rocky banks, between him and the camp of Montcalm; but the ground he had chosen was higher than that occupied by the latter, and the Montmorency had a ford below the falls, passable at low tide. Another ford was discovered, three miles within land, but the banks were steep and shagged with forest. At both fords the vigilant Montcalm had thrown up breastworks, and posted troops.

On the 18th of July, Wolfe made a reconnoitering expedition up the river. He passed Quebec unharmed, and carefully noted the shores above it. Rugged cliffs rose almost from the water's edge. Above them, he was told, was an extent of level ground, called the Plains of Abraham, by which the upper town might be approached on its weakest side; but how was that plain to be attained, when the cliffs, for the most part, were inaccessible, and every practicable place fortified?

He returned to the Montmorency disappointed, and resolved to attack Montcalm in his camp, but his orders were misunderstood, and confusion was the consequence. A sheeted fire mowed down his grenadiers, and he at length gave up the attack, and withdrew across the river, having lost upwards of four hundred men.

Wolfe, of a delicate constitution and sensitive nature, was deeply mortified by this severe check. The difficulties multiplying around him, and the delay of Amherst in hastening to his aid, preyed on his spirits and brought on a fever, which for some time incapacitated him from taking the field. In the midst of his illness he called a council of war, in which the whole plan of operations was altered. It was determined to convey troops above the town, and endeavor to make a diversion in that direction, or draw Montcalm into the open field.

The brief Canadian summer was over; they were in the month of September. The camp at Montmorency was broken up. The troops were transported to Point Levi, leaving a sufficient number to man the batteries on the Isle of Orleans. On the fifth and sixth of September the embarkation took place above Point Levi. Montcalm detached Bougainville with fifteen hundred men to keep along the north shore above the town, watch the movements of

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the squadron, and prevent a landing. To deceive him, Admiral Holmes moved with the ships of war three leagues beyond the place where the landing was to be attempted. He was to drop down, however, in the night, and protect the landing. Cook, the future discoverer, was employed to sound the river and place buoys opposite the camp of Montcalm, as if an attack were meditated in that quarter.

Wolfe was still suffering under the effects of his late fever. When embarked in his midnight enterprise, the presentiment of death seems to have cast its shadow over him. A midshipman who was present[1] used to relate that, as Wolfe sat among his officers, and the boats floated down silently with the current, he recited, in low and touching tones, Gray's Elegy in a Country Churchyard, then just published. One stanza may especially have accorded with his melancholy mood.

> "The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Await alike the inevitable hour.
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

"Gentlemen," said he, when he had finished, "I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec."

The descent was made in flat-bottomed boats, past midnight, on the 13th of September. They dropped down silently with the swift current. "*Qui va la?*" (who goes there?), cried a sentinel from the shore. "*La France,*" replied a captain in the first boat, who understood the French language. "*A quel regiment?*" was the demand. "*De la Reine*" (the queen's), replied the captain, knowing that regiment was in Bougainville's detachment. Fortunately, a convoy of provisions was expected down from Bougainville's, which the sentinel supposed this to be. "*Passe,*" cried he, and the boats glided on without further challenge. The landing took place in a cove near Cape Diamond, which still bears Wolfe's name. He had observed that a cragged path straggled up from it to the Heights of Abraham, which might be climbed,

[1] Afterwards Professor John Robinson of Edinburgh.

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though with difficulty, and appeared to be slightly guarded at top. Wolfe was among the first that landed and ascended the steep and narrow path, where not more than two could go abreast. Colonel Howe, at the same time, with the light infantry and Highlanders, scrambled up the woody precipices, helping themselves by the roots and branches, and putting to flight a sergeant's guard posted at the summit. Wolfe drew up the men in order as they mounted; and by the break of day found himself in possession of the fateful Plains of Abraham.

Montcalm was thunderstruck when word was brought to him in his camp that the English were on the heights, threatening the weakest part of the town. Abandoning his entrenchments, he hastened across the river St. Charles and ascended the heights, which slope up gradually from its banks. His force was equal in number to that of the English, but a great part was made up of colony troops and savages. When he saw the formidable host of regulars he had to contend with, he sent off swift messengers to summon Bougainville with his detachment to his aid; and Vaudreuil to reinforce him with fifteen hundred men from the camp.

The French, in their haste, thinking they were to repel a mere scouting party, had brought but three light field-pieces with them; the English had but a single gun, which the sailors had dragged up the heights. With these they cannonaded each other for a time, Montcalm still waiting for the aid he had summoned. At length, about nine o'clock, losing all patience, he led on his disciplined troops to a close conflict with small arms, the Indians to support them by a galling fire from thickets and corn-fields. The French advanced gallantly, but irregularly; firing rapidly, but with little effect. The English reserved their fire until their assailants were within forty yards, and then delivered it in deadly volleys. They suffered, however, from the lurking savages, who singled out the officers. Wolfe, who was in front of the line, a conspicuous mark, was wounded by a ball in the wrist. He bound his handkerchief round the wound and led on the grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, to charge the foe, who began to waver. Another ball struck him in the breast. He felt the wound to be mortal, and feared

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his fall might dishearten the troops. Leaning on a lieutenant for support, "Let not my brave fellows see me drop," said he faintly. He was borne off to the rear; water was brought to quench his thirst, and he was asked if he would have a surgeon. "It is needless," he replied; "it is all over with me." He desired those about him to lay him down. The lieutenant seated himself upon the ground, and supported him in his arms. "They run! they run! see how they run!" cried one of the attendants. "Who run?" demanded Wolfe, earnestly, like one aroused from sleep. "The enemy, sir; they give way everywhere." The spirit of the expiring hero flashed up. "Go, one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton; tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles' river, to cut off the retreat by the bridge." Then turning on his side, "Now, God be praised, I will die in peace!" said he, and expired.

The centre of the enemy was broken, and the Highlanders were making deadly havoc with their claymores, driving the French into the town or down to their works on the river St. Charles. By this time Bougainville appeared at a distance in the rear, advancing with two thousand fresh troops, but he arrived too late to retrieve the day. The gallant Montcalm had received his death-wound near St. John's Gate, while endeavoring to rally his flying troops, and had been borne into the town. When told by his surgeon that he could not survive above a few hours, "So much the better," replied he; "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." He then called for his chaplain, who, with the bishop of the colony, remained with him through the night. He expired early in the morning, dying like a brave soldier and a devout Catholic. Never did two worthier foes mingle their life-blood on the battle-field than Wolfe and Montcalm.

Preparations were now made by army and fleet to make an attack on both upper and lower town; but the spirit of the garrison was broken, and the inhabitants were clamorous for the safety of their wives and children. On the 17th of September, 1759, Quebec capitulated, and was taken possession of by the British. A garrison of six thousand effective men was placed in it, under the command of Brigadier-general Murray.

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Had Amherst followed up his success at Ticonderoga, the year's campaign would have ended, as had been projected, in the subjugation of Canada. His cautious delay gave Levi, the successor of Montcalm, time to rally the scattered French forces, and struggle for the salvation of the province. In the following spring, as soon as the river St. Lawrence opened, he approached Quebec, and landed at Point au Tremble, about twelve miles off. The garrison had suffered dreadfully during the winter from excessive cold, want of vegetables and of fresh provisions. Many had died of scurvy, and many more were ill. On hearing that Levi was advancing with ten thousand men and five hundred Indians, Murray sallied out with his diminished forces of not more than three thousand. English soldiers, he boasted, were habituated to victory. More brave than discreet, he attacked the vanguard of the enemy; the battle which took place was fierce and sanguinary. Murray's troops had caught his own headlong valor, and fought until near a third of their number were slain. They were at length driven back into the town, leaving their artillery on the field. Levi opened trenches before the town the same evening. By the 11th of May, he had one bomb battery and three batteries of cannon in operation. Murray, equally alert within the walls, strengthened his defences and kept up a vigorous fire. His garrison was now reduced to two hundred and twenty effective men, and he was driven almost to despair, when a British fleet arrived in the river. The whole scene was now reversed. One of the French frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; another ran on shore, and was burnt; the rest of their vessels were either taken or destroyed. The besieging army retreated in the night, leaving provisions, implements, and artillery behind them; and so rapid was their flight, that Murray, who sallied forth on the following day, could not overtake them.

A last stand for the preservation of the colony was now made by the French at Montreal, where Vaudreuil fortified himself, and called in all possible aid, Canadian and Indian. But when Amherst presented himself before the town, Vaudreuil found himself threatened by an army of nearly ten thousand men, and a

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host of Indians, for Amherst had called in the aid of Sir William Johnson and his Mohawk braves. To withstand a siege in an almost open town against such superior force was out of the question, especially as Murray from Quebec was at hand with additional troops. A capitulation accordingly took place on the 8th of September, including the surrender not merely of Montreal, but of all Canada.

Thus ended the contest between France and England for dominion in America, in which, as has been said, the first gun was fired in Washington's encounter with De Jumonville. A French statesman, the Count de Vergennes, consoled himself by the persuasion that it would be a fatal triumph to England. It would remove the only check by which her colonies were kept in awe. "They will no longer need her protection," said he; "she will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her, and *they will answer by striking off* all *dependence*."

Washington at Home. — For three months after his marriage, Washington resided with his bride at the "White House." During his sojourn there, he repaired to Williamsburg, to take his seat in the House of Burgesses. By a vote of the House, it had been determined to greet his installation by a signal testimonial of respect. Accordingly, as soon as he took his seat, Mr. Robinson, the Speaker, in eloquent language, returned thanks, on behalf of the colony, for the distinguished military services he had rendered to his country. Washington rose to reply; blushed — stammered — trembled, and could not utter a word. "Sit down, Mr. Washington," said the Speaker, with a smile; "your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."

Such was Washington's first launch into civil life, in which he was to be distinguished by the same judgment, devotion, courage, and magnanimity exhibited in his military career. He attended the House frequently during the remainder of the session, after which he conducted his bride to his favorite abode of Mount Vernon.

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Mr. Custis, the first husband of Mrs. Washington, had left large landed property, and £45,000 in money. One-third fell to his widow in her own right; two-thirds were inherited equally by her two children, — a boy of six, and a girl of four years of age. By a decree of the General Court, Washington was intrusted with the care of the property inherited by the children; a sacred and delicate trust, which he discharged in the most faithful and judicious manner; becoming more like a parent than a mere guardian to them.

From a letter to his correspondent in England, it would appear that he had long entertained a desire to visit that country. Had he done so, his acknowledged merit and military services would have insured him a distinguished reception; but his marriage had put an end to all travelling inclinations. In his letter from Mount Vernon, he writes: "I am now, I believe, fixed in this seat, with an agreeable partner for life, and I hope to find more happiness in retirement than I ever experienced in the wide and bustling world." This was no Utopian dream transiently indulged, amid the charms of novelty. Throughout the whole course of his career, agricultural life appears to have been his *beau ideal* of existence, which haunted his thoughts even amid the stern duties of the field. Mount Vernon was his harbor of repose, where he repeatedly furled his sail, and fancied himself anchored for life. No impulse of ambition tempted him thence; nothing but the call of his country, and his devotion to the public good. The place was endeared to him by the remembrance of happy days passed there, in boyhood, with his brother Lawrence; but it was a delightful place in itself. The mansion was beautifully situated on a swelling height, crowned with wood, and commanding a magnificent view up and down the Potomac. The grounds immediately about it were laid out in the English taste. The estate was apportioned into separate farms, devoted to different kinds of culture, each having its allotted laborers. Much, however, was still covered with wild woods, seamed with deep dells and runs of water, and indented with inlets; haunts of deer, and lurking-places of foxes. The whole woody region along the Potomac, from Mount Vernon

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to Belvoir, and far beyond, with its range of forests and hills, and picturesque promontories, afforded sport of various kinds, and was a noble hunting-ground. Washington had hunted through it with old Lord Fairfax in his stripling days; we do not wonder that his feelings throughout life incessantly reverted to it.

These were, as yet, the aristocratic days of Virginia. The estates were large, and continued in the same families by entails. Many of the wealthy planters were connected with old families in England. The young men, especially the elder sons, were often sent to finish their education there, and on their return brought out the tastes and habits of the mother country. The governors of Virginia were from the higher ranks of society, and maintained a corresponding state. The "Established," or Episcopal Church, predominated throughout the ancient "dominion," as it was termed; each county was divided into parishes, as in England, — each with its parochial church, its parsonage and glebe. Washington was vestryman of two parishes, Fairfax and Truro; the parochial church of the former was at Alexandria, ten miles from Mount Vernon; of the latter, at Pohick, about seven miles. The church at Pohick was rebuilt on a plan of his own, and in a great measure at his expense. At one or other of these churches he attended every Sunday, when weather and roads permitted.

The Virginian houses in those days were spacious, commodious, liberal in all their appointments, and fitted to cope with the free-handed, open-hearted hospitality of the owners. Nothing was more common than to see handsome services of plate, elegant equipages, and superb carriage horses — all imported from England. The Virginians have always been noted for their love of horses, and the rich planters vied with each other in their studs, importing the best English stocks.

Washington, by his marriage, had added above one hundred thousand dollars to his already considerable fortune, and was enabled to live in ample and dignified style. His intimacy with the Fairfaxes, and his intercourse with British officers of rank, had perhaps their influence on his mode of living. He had his chariot and four, with black postilions in livery, for the use of Mrs.

Washington and her lady visitors. As for himself, he always appeared on horseback. His stable was well filled and admirably regulated. His stud was thoroughbred and in excellent order. His household books contain registers of the names, ages, and marks of his various horses; such as Ajax, Blueskin, Valiant, Magnolia (an Arab), etc. Also his dogs, chiefly fox-hounds, Vulcan, Singer, Ringwood, Sweetlips, Forester, Music, Rockwood, Truelove, etc.

A large Virginia estate, in those days, was a little empire. The mansion-house was the seat of government, with its numerous dependencies, such as kitchens, smoke-houses, workshops, and stables. In this mansion the planter ruled supreme; his steward or overseer was his prime minister and executive officer; he had his legion of house negroes for domestic service, and his host of field negroes for the culture of tobacco, Indian corn, and other crops, and for other out of door labor. Their quarter formed a kind of hamlet apart, composed of various huts, with little gardens and poultry yards, all well stocked, and swarms of little negroes gambolling in the sunshine. Then there were large wooden edifices for curing tobacco, the staple and most profitable production, and mills for grinding wheat and Indian corn, of which large fields were cultivated for the supply of the family and the maintenance of the negroes.

Among the slaves were artificers of all kinds, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, smiths, wheelwrights, and so forth; so that a plantation produced everything within itself for ordinary use: as to articles of fashion and elegance, luxuries, and expensive clothing, they were imported from London; for the planters on the main rivers, especially the Potomac, carried on an immediate trade with England. Their tobacco was put up by their own negroes, bore their own marks, was shipped on board of vessels which came up the rivers for the purpose, and consigned to some agent in Liverpool or Bristol, with whom the planter kept an account.

The Virginia planters were prone to leave the care of their estates too much to their overseers, and to think personal labor

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a degradation. Washington carried into his rural affairs the same method, activity, and circumspection that had distinguished him in military life. He kept his own accounts, posted up his books and balanced them with mercantile exactness. The products of his estate became so noted for the faithfulness, as to quality and quantity, with which they were put up, that it is said any barrel of flour that bore the brand of George Washington, Mount Vernon, was exempted from the customary inspection in the West India ports.

He was an early riser, often before daybreak in the winter when the nights were long. On such occasions he lit his own fire, and wrote or read by candle-light. He breakfasted at seven in summer, at eight in winter. Two small cups of tea and three or four cakes of Indian meal (called hoe-cakes) formed his frugal repast. Immediately after breakfast he mounted his horse and visited those parts of the estate where any work was going on, seeing to everything with his own eyes, and often aiding with his own hand. He treated his negroes with kindness; attended to their comforts; was particularly careful of them in sickness; but never tolerated idleness, and exacted a faithful performance of all their allotted tasks. He had a quick eye at calculating each man's capabilities.

Dinner was served at two o'clock. He ate heartily, but was not critical about his food. His beverage was small beer or cider, and two glasses of old Madeira. He took tea, of which he was very fond, early in the evening, and retired for the night about nine o'clock.

Washington delighted in the chase. In the hunting season, when he rode out early in the morning to visit distant parts of the estate where work was going on, he often took some of the dogs with him for the chance of starting a fox, which he occasionally did, though he was not always successful in killing him. He was a bold rider and an admirable horseman, though he never claimed the merit of being an accomplished fox-hunter. In the height of the season, however, he would be out with the fox-hounds two or three times a week, accompanied by his guests at Mount Vernon and the gentlemen of the neighborhood, especially the Fairfaxes

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of Belvoir. On such occasions there would be a hunting dinner at one or other of those establishments, at which convivial repasts Washington is said to have enjoyed himself with unwonted hilarity. The waters of the Potomac also afforded occasional amusement in fishing and shooting. The fishing was sometimes on a grand scale, when the herrings came up the river in shoals, and the negroes of Mount Vernon were marshalled forth to draw the seine. Canvas-back ducks abounded at the proper season, and the shooting of them was one of Washington's favorite recreations.

Occasionally he and Mrs. Washington would pay a visit to Annapolis, at that time the seat of government of Maryland, and partake of the gayeties which prevailed during the session of the legislature. The society of these seats of provincial government was always polite and fashionable, and more exclusive than in these republican days, being, in a manner, the outposts of the English aristocracy, where all places of dignity or profit were secured for younger sons, and poor, but proud relatives. During the session of the legislature, dinners and balls abounded, and there were occasional attempts at theatricals. The latter was an amusement for which Washington always had a relish, though he never had an opportunity of gratifying it effectually. Neither was he disinclined to mingle in the dance, and we remember to have heard venerable ladies, who had been belles in his day, pride themselves on having had him for a partner, though, they added, he was apt to be a ceremonious and grave one.

In this round of rural occupation, rural amusements, and social intercourse, Washington passed several tranquil years, the halcyon season of his life. His already established reputation drew many visitors to Mount Vernon; some of his early companions in arms were his occasional guests, and his friendships and connections linked him with some of the most prominent and worthy people of the country, who were sure to be received with cordial, but simple and unpretending hospitality. His domestic concerns and social enjoyments, however, were not permitted to interfere with his public duties. He was active by nature, and eminently a man of business by habit. As judge of the county court, and member

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of the House of Burgesses, he had numerous calls upon his time and thoughts, and was often drawn from home; for whatever trust he undertook, he was sure to fulfil with scrupulous exactness.

Pontiac's War. — Tidings of peace gladdened the colonies in the spring of 1763. The definitive treaty between England and France had been signed at Fontainebleau. Now, it was trusted, there would be an end to those horrid ravages that had desolated the interior of the country. "The desert and the silent place would rejoice, and the wilderness would blossom like the rose."

The month of May proved the fallacy of such hopes. In that month the famous insurrection of the Indian tribes broke out, which, from the name of the chief who was its prime mover and master spirit, is commonly called Pontiac's War. The Delawares and Shawnees, and other of those tribes of the Ohio, among whom Washington had mingled, were foremost in this conspiracy. Some of the chiefs who had been his allies, had now taken up the hatchet against the English. The plot was deep-laid, and conducted with Indian craft and secrecy. At a concerted time an attack was made upon all the posts from Detroit to Fort Pitt (late Fort Duquesne). Several of the small stockaded forts, the places of refuge of woodland neighborhoods, were surprised and sacked with remorseless butchery. The frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were laid waste; traders in the wilderness were plundered and slain; hamlets and farm-houses were wrapped in flames, and their inhabitants massacred. It needed all the influence of Sir William Johnson to keep the Six Nations from joining this formidable conspiracy; had they done so, the triumph of the tomahawk and scalping-knife would have been complete; as it was, a considerable time elapsed before the frontier was restored to tolerable tranquillity.

§ 3. Beginnings of the Revolution.

The Stamp Act. — Public events were now taking a tendency which, without any political aspiration or forethought of his own, was destined gradually to bear Washington away from his quiet

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home and pursuits, and launch him upon a grander and wider sphere of action than any in which he had hitherto been engaged.

The prediction of the Count de Vergennes was in the process of fulfilment. The recent war of Great Britain for dominion in America, though crowned with success, had engendered a progeny of discontents in her colonies. From the beginning, the commercial policy of Great Britain toward the colonies had been wholly restrictive. "It was the system of a monopoly." Her navigation laws had shut their ports against foreign vessels; obliged them to export their productions only to countries belonging to the British crown; to import European goods solely from England, and in English ships; and had subjected the trade between the colonies to duties. All manufactures, too, in the colonies that might interfere with those of the mother country had been either totally prohibited, or subjected to intolerable restraints. The acts of Parliament, imposing these prohibitions and restrictions, had at various times produced sore discontent and opposition on the part of the colonies, especially among those of New England. There was nothing, however, to which the jealous sensibilities of the colonies were more alive than to any attempt of the mother country to draw a revenue from them by taxation. From the earliest period of their existence, they had maintained the principle that they could only be taxed by a legislature in which they were represented.

During the progress of the French war, various projects were discussed in England with regard to the colonies, which were to be carried into effect on the return of peace. The open avowal of some of these plans, and vague rumors of others, more than ever irritated the jealous feelings of the colonists.

In 1760, there was an attempt in Boston to collect duties on foreign sugar and molasses imported into the colonies. Writs of assistance were applied for by the custom-house officers, authorizing them to break open ships, stores, and private dwellings, in quest of articles that had paid no duty; and to call the assistance of others in the discharge of their odious task. The merchants opposed the execution of the writ on constitutional grounds. The

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question was argued in court, where James Otis spoke so eloquently in vindication of American rights, that all his hearers went away ready to take arms against writs of assistance. "Then and there," says John Adams, who was present, "was the first scene of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there American Independence was born."

Another ministerial measure was to instruct the provincial governors to commission judges, not as theretofore "during good behavior," but "during the king's pleasure." New York was the first to resent this blow at the independence of the judiciary. The lawyers appealed to the public through the press against an act which subjected the halls of justice to the prerogative. Their appeals were felt beyond the bounds of the province, and awakened a general spirit of resistance. Thus matters stood at the conclusion of the war.

In March, 1765, the Parliament passed George Grenville's Stamp Act, according to which all instruments in writing were to be executed on stamped paper, to be purchased from the agents of the British government. What was more: all offences against the act could be tried in any royal, marine, or admiralty court throughout the colonies, however distant from the place where the offence had been committed; thus interfering with that most inestimable right, a trial by jury.

It was an ominous sign that the first burst of opposition to this act should take place in Virginia. That colony had hitherto been slow to accord with the republican spirit of New England. Moreover, it had not so many pecuniary interests involved in these questions as had the people of New England, being an agricultural rather than a commercial province; but the Virginians are of a quick and generous spirit, readily aroused on all points of honorable pride, and they resented the stamp act as an outrage on their rights.

Washington occupied his seat in the House of Burgesses, when, on the 29th of May, the stamp act became a subject of discussion. Among the burgesses sat Patrick Henry, a young lawyer who had recently distinguished himself by pleading against the exercise

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of the royal prerogative in church matters, and who was now for the first time a member of the House. Rising in his place, he introduced his celebrated resolutions, declaring that the General Assembly of Virginia had the exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants, and that whoever maintained the contrary should be deemed an enemy to the colony. The Speaker, Mr. Robinson, objected to the resolutions, as inflammatory. Henry vindicated them; went into an able and constitutional discussion of colonial rights, and an eloquent exposition of the manner in which they had been assailed; wound up by one of those daring flights of declamation for which he was remarkable, and startled the House by a warning flash from history: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles his Cromwell, and George the Third — ('Treason! treason!' resounded from the neighborhood of the Chair) — may profit by their examples," added Henry. "Sir, if this be treason (bowing to the Speaker), make the most of it!" The resolutions were modified, to accommodate them to the scruples of the Speaker and some of the members, but their spirit was retained. The Lieutenant-governor (Fauquier), startled by this patriotic outbreak, dissolved the Assembly, and issued writs for a new election; but the clarion had sounded. The resolves of the Assembly of Virginia gave the signal for a general outcry over the continent, and roused one legislative body after another to follow the example of that of Virginia. At the instigation of Massachusetts, a Congress was held in New York in October, composed of delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. In this they denounced the acts of Parliament imposing taxes on them without their consent, and extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty, as violations of their rights and liberties as natural born subjects of Great Britain, and prepared an address to the king, and a petition to both Houses of Parliament, praying for redress.

The very preparations for enforcing the stamp act called forth popular tumults in various places. In Boston the stamp distributer was hanged in effigy; his windows were broken; a house in-

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tended for a stamp office was pulled down, and the effigy burnt in a bonfire made of the fragments. The stamp officer next day publicly renounced the perilous office. The 1st of November, the day when the act was to go into operation, was ushered in with portentous solemnities. At Boston the ships displayed their colors at half-mast. Many shops were shut; funeral knells resounded from the steeples, and there was a grand auto-da-fé, in which the promoters of the act were paraded, and suffered martyrdom in effigy. At New York the printed act was carried about the streets on a pole surmounted by a death's head, with a scroll bearing the inscription, "The folly of England and ruin of America." No one would venture to carry the stamp act into execution. In fact no stamped paper was to be seen; all had been either destroyed or concealed. All transactions which required stamps to give them validity were suspended, or were executed by private compact. The courts of justice were closed, until at length some conducted their business without stamps. Union was becoming the watchword. The merchants of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and such other colonies as had ventured publicly to oppose the stamp act, agreed to import no more British manufactures after the 1st of January unless it should be repealed. So passed away the year 1765.

Revenue Acts of 1767. — On the 18th of March, 1766, the act was repealed, to the great joy of the sincere friends of both countries, and to no one more than to Washington. Still, there was a fatal clause in the repeal, which declared that the king, with the consent of Parliament, had power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to "bind the colonies, and people of America, in all cases whatsoever." As the people of America were contending for principles, not mere pecuniary interests, this reserved power of the Crown and Parliament left the dispute still open. Further aliment for public discontent was furnished by other acts of Parliament. One imposed duties on glass, pasteboard, white and red lead, painters' colors, and tea; the duties to be collected on the arrival of the articles in the colonies; another empowered naval officers to enforce the acts of trade and navigation.

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Boston continued to be the focus of what the ministerialists termed sedition. The General Court of Massachusetts, not content with petitioning the king for relief against the recent measures of Parliament, drew up a circular, calling on the other colonial legislatures to join with them in suitable efforts to obtain redress. In the ensuing session, Governor Bernard called upon them to rescind the resolution on which the circular was founded, — they refused to comply, and the General Court was consequently dissolved. The governors of other colonies required of their legislatures an assurance that they would not reply to the Massachusetts circular, — these legislatures likewise refused compliance, and were dissolved. All this added to the growing excitement.

In consequence of repeated collisions between the people of Boston and the commissioners of customs, two regiments of soldiers were sent to that town and encamped on the Common, to the great indignation of the public, who were grievously scandalized at seeing field-pieces planted in front of the state-house and sentinels stationed at the doors; and, above all, at having the sacred quiet of the Sabbath disturbed by drum and fife.

Early in 1770 an important change took place in the British cabinet. The reins of government passed into the hands of Lord North, a man of considerable capacity, but a favorite of the king, and subservient to his narrow colonial policy. His administration, so eventful to America, commenced with an error. In the month of March, an act was passed, revoking all the duties laid in 1767, *excepting that on tea.* This single tax was continued, as he observed, "to maintain the parliamentary right of taxation," — the very right which was the grand object of contest. In this, however, he was in fact yielding, against his better judgment, to the stubborn tenacity of the king. He endeavored to reconcile the opposition, and perhaps himself, to the measure, by plausible reasoning. An impost of threepence on the pound could never, he alleged, be opposed by the colonists, unless they were determined to rebel against Great Britain.

Here was the stumbling-block at the threshold of Lord North's administration. In vain the members of the opposition urged that

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this single exception, while it would produce no revenue, would keep alive the whole cause of contention; that so long as a single external duty was enforced, the colonies would consider their rights invaded and would remain unappeased. Lord North was not to be convinced; or rather, he knew the royal will was inflexible, and he complied with its behests. "The properest time to exert our right to taxation," said he, "is when the right is refused. To temporize is to yield; and the authority of the mother country, if it is now unsupported, will be relinquished forever: *a total repeal cannot be thought of till America is prostrate at our feet.*"

On the very day (March 5, 1770) in which this ominous bill was passed in Parliament, a sinister occurrence took place in Boston. Some of the young men of the place insulted the military; the latter resented it; the young men, after a scuffle, were put to flight, and pursued. The alarm bells rang; a mob assembled; the custom-house was threatened; the troops in protecting it were assailed with clubs and stones, and obliged to use their fire-arms, before the tumult could be quelled. Five of the populace were killed, and six wounded, two of them mortally. The troops were now removed from the town, which remained in the highest state of exasperation; and this untoward occurrence received the opprobrious and extravagant name of "the Boston massacre."

The colonists, as a matter of convenience, resumed the consumption of those articles on which the duties had been repealed; but continued, on principle, the rigorous disuse of tea, excepting such as had been smuggled in. New England was particularly earnest in the matter; many of the inhabitants, in the spirit of their Puritan progenitors, made a covenant, to drink no more of the forbidden beverage until the duty on tea should be repealed.

The Boston Tea-Party. — This covenant operated disastrously against the interests of the East India Company, and produced an immense accumulation of the proscribed article in their warehouses. To remedy this, Lord North brought in a bill (1773), by which the Company were allowed to export their teas from England to any part whatever, without paying export duty. This, by enabling them to offer their teas at a low price in the colonies

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would, he supposed, tempt the Americans to purchase large quantities, thus relieving the Company, and at the same time benefiting the revenue by the impost duty. Confiding in the wisdom of this policy, the Company disgorged their warehouses, freighted several ships with tea, and sent them to various parts of the colonies. This brought matters to a crisis. One sentiment, one determination pervaded the whole continent. Taxation was to receive its definitive blow. Whoever submitted to it was an enemy to his country. From New York and Philadelphia the ships were sent back, with their cargoes, to London. In Charleston the tea was unloaded, and stored away in cellars and other places, where it perished. At Boston the action was still more decisive. The ships anchored in the harbor. Some small parcels of tea were brought on shore, but the sale of them was prohibited. The captains of the ships, seeing the desperate state of the case, would have made sail back for England, but they could not obtain the consent of the consignees, a clearance at the custom-house, or a passport from the governor to clear the port. It was evident the tea was to be forced upon the people of Boston, and the principle of taxation established.

To settle the matter completely, and prove that, on a point of principle, they were not to be trifled with, a number of the inhabitants, disguised as Indians, boarded the ships in the evening (16th December), broke open all the chests of tea, and emptied the contents into the sea. This was no rash and intemperate proceeding of a mob, but the well-considered, though resolute act, of sober, respectable citizens, men of reflection, but determination. The whole was done calmly, and in perfect order; after which the actors in the scene dispersed without tumult, and returned quietly to their homes.

The general opposition of the colonies to the principle of taxation had given great annoyance to the government, but this individual act concentrated all its wrath upon Boston. A bill was forthwith passed in Parliament (commonly called the Boston port bill), by which all lading and unlading of goods, wares, and merchandise, were to cease in that town and harbor on and after the 1st of

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June, 1774, and the seat of government was to be transferred to Salem.

Another law, passed soon after, altered the charter of the province, decreeing that all counsellors, judges, and magistrates should be appointed by the Crown, and hold office during the royal pleasure.

This was followed by a third, intended for the suppression of riots; and providing that any person indicted for murder or other capital offence, committed in aiding the magistracy, might be sent by the governor to some other colony, or to Great Britain, for trial.

Such was the bolt of Parliamentary wrath fulminated against the devoted town of Boston. Before it fell, there was a session in May of the Virginia House of Burgesses. All things were going on smoothly there, when a letter brought intelligence of these vindictive measures of Parliament. The letter was read in the House of Burgesses, and produced a general burst of indignation. All other business was thrown aside, and this became the sole subject of discussion. A protest against this and other recent acts of Parliament was entered upon the journal of the House, and a resolution was adopted, on the 24th of May, setting apart the 1st of June as a day of fasting, prayer, and humiliation; in which the divine interposition was to be implored, to avert the heavy calamity threatening destruction to their rights, and all the evils of civil war; and to give the people one heart and one mind in firmly opposing every injury to American liberties.

On the following morning, while the Burgesses were engaged in animated debate, they were summoned to attend Lord Dunmore in the council chamber, where he made them the following laconic speech: "Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses: I have in my hand a paper, published by order of your House, conceived in such terms as reflect highly upon His Majesty, and the Parliament of Great Britain, which makes it necessary for me to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

As on a former occasion, the Assembly, though dissolved, was not dispersed. The members adjourned to the long room of the old Raleigh tavern, and passed resolutions, denouncing the Boston

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port bill as a most dangerous attempt to destroy the constitutional liberty and rights of all North America; recommending their countrymen to desist from the use, not merely of tea, but of all kinds of East Indian commodities; pronouncing an attack on one of the colonies, to enforce arbitrary taxes, an attack on all; and ordering the committee of correspondence to communicate with the other corresponding committees, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the several colonies of British America, to meet annually in GENERAL CONGRESS, at such place as might be deemed expedient, to deliberate on such measures as the united interests of the colonies might require.

This was the first recommendation of a General Congress by any public assembly, though it had been previously proposed in town meetings at New York and Boston. A resolution to the same effect was passed in the Assembly of Massachusetts before it was aware of the proceedings of the Virginia Legislature. The measure recommended met with prompt concurrence throughout the colonies, and the 5th day of September next was fixed upon for the first Congress, which was to be held at Philadelphia.

On the 1st of June the harbor of Boston was closed, and all business ceased. The two other Parliamentary acts altering the charter of Massachusetts were to be enforced. No public meeting, excepting the annual town meetings in March and May, were to be held without permission of the governor, General Thomas Gage, who had recently been appointed to the military command of Massachusetts. He was the same officer who had led the advance guard on the field of Braddock's defeat. Fortune had since gone well with him. Rising in the service, he had been governor of Montreal, and had succeeded Amherst in the command of the British forces on this continent. He was linked to the country also by domestic ties, having married into one of the most respectable families of New Jersey. In the various situations in which he had hitherto been placed he had won esteem, and rendered himself popular. Not much, however, was expected from him in his present post by those who knew him well. With all Gage's experience in America, he had formed a most erroneous opinion

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of the character of the people. "The Americans," said he to the king, "will be lions only as long as the English are lambs;" and he engaged, with four regiments, to keep Boston quiet! The manner in which his attempts to enforce the recent acts of Parliament were resented, showed how egregiously he was in error. From the time of taking command at Boston he was perplexed how to manage its inhabitants. Had they been hot-headed and prone to paroxysm, his task would have been easy; but it was the cool, shrewd common sense, by which all their movements were regulated, that confounded him.

High-handed measures failed of the anticipated effect. Their harbor had been thronged with ships; their town with troops. The port bill put an end to commerce; wharves were deserted, warehouses closed; streets grass-grown and silent. The rich were growing poor, and the poor were without employ; yet the spirit of the people was unbroken. There was no uproar, however; everything was awfully systematic and according to rule. Town meetings were held, in which public rights and public measures were eloquently discussed by John Adams, Josiah Quincy, and other eminent men. Over these meetings Samuel Adams presided as moderator; a man clear in judgment, calm in conduct, inflexible in resolution; deeply grounded in civil and political history, and infallible on all points of constitutional law.

Alarmed at the powerful influence of these assemblages, government issued an act prohibiting them after the 1st of August. The act was evaded by convoking the meetings before that day, and *keeping them alive* indefinitely. Gage was at a loss how to act. It would not do to disperse these assemblages by force of arms; for the people who composed them mingled the soldier with the polemic; and, like their prototypes, the Covenanters of yore, if prone to argue, were as ready to fight. So the meetings continued to be held pertinaciously. Faneuil Hall was at times unable to hold them, and they swarmed from that revolutionary hive into the Old South Church. The liberty-tree became a rallying place for any popular movement, and a flag hoisted on it was saluted by all processions as the emblem of the popular cause.

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The Continental Congress. — Congress assembled on Monday, the 5th of September, in a large room in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. There were fifty-one delegates, representing all the colonies excepting Georgia. Washington was one of the delegates from Virginia. The meeting has been described as "awfully solemn." The most eminent men of the various colonies were now for the first time brought together; they were known to each other by fame, but were, personally, strangers. The object which had called them together was of incalculable magnitude. The liberties of no less than three millions of people, with that of all their posterity, were staked on the wisdom and energy of their councils.

Owing to closed doors, and the want of reporters, no record exists of the discussions and speeches made in the first Congress.

The first public measure was a resolution declaratory of their feelings with regard to the recent acts of Parliament, violating the rights of the people of Massachusetts, and of their determination to combine in resisting any force that might attempt to carry those acts into execution. A committee of two from each province reported a series of resolutions, which were adopted by Congress, as a "declaration of colonial rights." In this were enumerated their natural rights to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property; and their rights as British subjects. Among the latter was participation in legislative councils. This they could not exercise through representatives in Parliament; they claimed, therefore, the power of legislating in their provincial Assemblies, consenting, however, to such acts of Parliament as might be essential to the regulation of trade; but excluding all taxation for raising revenue in America.

Then followed a specification of the acts of Parliament, passed during the reign of George III., infringing and violating their rights. "To these grievous acts and measures," it was added, "Americans cannot submit; but in hopes their fellow-subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have, for the present, only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures: —

"1st. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, or association.

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"2d. To prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America.

"3d. To prepare a loyal address to His Majesty."

The above-mentioned association was accordingly formed, and committees were to be appointed in every county, city, and town, to maintain it vigilantly and strictly.

The Congress remained in session fifty-one days. The papers issued by it have deservedly been pronounced masterpieces of practical talent and political wisdom. Chatham, when speaking on the subject in the House of Lords, could not restrain his enthusiasm. "When your lordships," said he, "look at the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow that, in the master states of the world, I know not the people, or senate, who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in General Congress at Philadelphia."

From the secrecy that enveloped its discussions, we are ignorant of the part taken by Washington in the debates; but when Patrick Henry was asked, on his return home, whom he considered the greatest man in Congress, he replied: "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor."

Massachusetts in Rebellion. — The public mind, in Boston and its vicinity, had been rendered excessively jealous and sensitive by the landing of artillery upon the Common, the planting of four large field-pieces on Boston Neck, the only entrance to the town by land. The country people were arming and disciplining themselves in every direction, and collecting and depositing arms and ammunition in places where they would be at hand in case of emergency.

The commissions were arrived for those civil officers appointed by the Crown under the new modifications of the charter; many,

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however, were afraid to accept of them. Those who did soon resigned, finding it impossible to withstand the odium of the people. The civil government throughout the province became obstructed in all its operations. Gage on the 1st of September issued writs for an election of an Assembly to meet at Salem in October; seeing, however, the irritated state of the public mind, he now countermanded the same by proclamation. The people, disregarding the countermand, carried the election, and ninety of the new members thus elected met at the appointed time. They waited a whole day for the governor to attend, administer the oaths, and open the session; but as he did not make his appearance, they voted themselves a provincial Congress, and chose for president of it John Hancock — a man of great wealth, and eminent from his social position. This self-constituted body adjourned to Concord, quietly assumed supreme authority, and issued a remonstrance to the governor, virtually calling him to account for his military operations in fortifying Boston Neck, and collecting warlike stores about him, thereby alarming the fears of the whole province, and menacing the lives and property of the Bostonians.

The provincial Congress conducted its affairs with the order and system so formidable to General Gage. Having adopted a plan for organizing the militia, it had nominated general officers, two of whom, Artemas Ward and Seth Pomeroy, had accepted. The executive powers were vested in a committee of safety. This was to determine when the services of the militia were necessary; was to call them forth; to nominate their officers to the Congress; to commission them, and direct the operations of the army. Under such auspices, the militia went on arming and disciplining itself in every direction.

Arrangements had been made for keeping up an active correspondence between different parts of the country, and spreading an alarm in case of any threatening danger. Under the direction of the committee of safety, large quantities of military stores had been collected and deposited at Concord and at Worcester.

Among other portentous signs, war-hawks began to appear above the horizon. Mrs. Cushing, wife of a member of Congress, writes

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to her husband, "Two of the greatest military characters of the day are visiting this distressed town; General Charles Lee, who has served in Poland, and Colonel Israel Putnam, whose bravery and character need no description." As these two men will take a prominent part in coming events, we pause to give a word or two concerning them.

Israel Putnam was a soldier of native growth; one of the military productions of the French war; seasoned and proved in frontier campaigning. He had served at Louisburg, Fort Duquesne, and Crown Point; had signalized himself in Indian warfare; been captured by the savages, tied to a stake to be tortured and burnt, and had only been rescued by the interference, at the eleventh hour, of a French partisan of the Indians. Since the peace, he had returned to agricultural life, and was now a farmer at Pomfret, in Connecticut, where the scars of his wounds and the tales of his exploits rendered him a hero in popular estimation. The war spirit yet burned within him. He was now chairman of a committee of vigilance, and had come to Boston in discharge of his political and semi-belligerent functions.

A Soldier of Fortune. — General Charles Lee was a military man of a different stamp. He was the son of a British officer, Lieutenant-colonel John Lee, of the dragoons, who married the daughter of Sir Henry Bunbury, and afterwards rose to be a general. Lee was born in 1731, and may almost be said to have been cradled in the army, for he received a commission when eleven years old. At the age of twenty-four, he commanded a company of grenadiers, and served in the French war in America, where he was brought into military companionship with Sir William Johnson's Mohawk warriors, whom he used to extol for their manly beauty, their dress, their graceful carriage and good breeding. In fact, he rendered himself so much of a favorite among them, that they adopted him into the clan of the Bear, giving him an Indian name, signifying "Boiling Water." At the battle of Ticonderoga, Lee was shot through the body, while leading his men against the French breastworks. He was present at the siege of Fort Niagara, and at the surrender of Montreal. In 1762, he bore a colonel's

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commission, and served under Brigadier-general Burgoyne in Portugal. The war over, he returned to England, bearing testimonials of bravery and good conduct from his commander-in-chief, and from the king of Portugal.

Wielding the pen as well as the sword, Lee undertook to write on questions of colonial policy, relative to Pontiac's war, in which he took the opposition side. This lost him the favor of the ministry, and with it all hope of further promotion. He now determined to offer his services to Poland, supposed to be on the verge of a war. His military reputation secured him the favor of Poniatowsky, recently elected king of Poland, with the name of Stanislaus Augustus, who admitted him to his table, and made him one of his aides-de-camp. In 1769, he was raised to the rank of major-general in the Polish army, and left Warsaw to join the Russian force, which was advancing into Moldavia. He arrived in time to take part in a severe action between the Russians and Turks, in which the Cossacks and hussars were terribly cut up by the Turkish cavalry. Lee never returned to Poland, but for some time led a restless life about Europe — visiting Italy, Sicily, Malta, and the south of Spain; troubled with attacks of rheumatism, gout, and the effects of a "Hungarian fever." He had become more and more cynical and irascible, and had more than one "affair of honor," in one of which he killed his antagonist. His splenetic feelings, as well as his political sentiments, were occasionally vented in severe attacks upon the ministry, full of irony and sarcasm. In the questions which had risen between England and her colonies, he had strongly advocated the cause of the latter; and it was the feelings thus excited, and the recollections, perhaps, of his early campaigns, that had recently brought him to America. His caustic attacks upon the ministry; his conversational powers and his poignant sallies, had gained him great reputation; but his military renown rendered him especially interesting at the present juncture. A general, who had served in the famous campaigns of Europe, commanded Cossacks, fought with Turks, and been aide-de-camp to the king of Poland, was regarded as a prodigious acquisition to the patriot cause! On the other hand,

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his visit to Boston was looked upon with uneasiness by the British officers, who knew his adventurous character. It was surmised with some truth that he was exciting a spirit of revolt, with a view to putting himself at its head.

The semi-belligerent state of affairs in Massachusetts produced a general restlessness throughout the land. Military measures, hitherto confined to New England, extended to the middle and southern provinces, and the roll of the drum resounded through the villages. Virginia was among the first to buckle on its armor. It had long been a custom among its inhabitants to form themselves into independent companies, equipped at their own expense, having their own peculiar uniform, and electing their own officers, though holding themselves subject to militia law. They had hitherto been self-disciplined; but now they continually resorted to Washington for instruction and advice; considering him the highest authority on military affairs. Mount Vernon, therefore, again assumed a military tone as in former days, when he took his first lessons in the art of war. Two occasional and important guests in this momentous crisis were General Charles Lee and Major Horatio Gates. The latter was the son of a captain in the British army. He had received a liberal education, and had served in the campaign of Braddock, and afterwards in the West Indies. Being dispatched to London with tidings of the victory at Martinico, he was rewarded by the appointment of major. His promotion did not equal his fancied deserts. He wanted something more lucrative; so he sold out on half-pay and became an applicant for some profitable post under the government, which he hoped to obtain through the influence of some friends in the aristocracy. Thus several years were passed, partly with his family in retirement, partly in London, paying court to patrons and men in power, until finding there was no likelihood of success, and having sold his commission and half-pay, he emigrated to Virginia in 1772, a disappointed man; purchased an estate in Berkeley County, beyond the Blue Ridge; espoused the popular cause, and renewed his old campaigning acquaintance with Washington. He was now about forty-six years of age, of a florid complexion and

goodly presence, though a little inclined to corpulency; social and insinuating in his manners, with a strong degree of self-approbation. A long course of solicitation, haunting public offices and ante-chambers, and "knocking about town," had taught him, it is said, how to wheedle and flatter, and accommodate himself to the humors of others, so as to be the boon companion of gentlemen, and "hail-fellow well met" with the vulgar.

Lee, who was an old friend and former associate in arms, had recently been induced by him to purchase an estate in his neighborhood in Berkeley County, with a view to making it his abode, having a moderate competency, a claim to land on the Ohio, and the half-pay of a British colonel. Both of these officers, disappointed in the British service, looked forward, probably, to greater success in the patriot cause. Lee had been at Philadelphia since his visit to Boston, and had made himself acquainted with the leading members of Congress during the session. He was evidently cultivating an intimacy with every one likely to have influence in the approaching struggle.

To Washington the visits of these gentlemen were extremely welcome at this juncture, from their military knowledge and experience, especially as much of it had been acquired in America, in the same kind of warfare in which he himself had mingled.

It is doubtful whether the visits of Lee were as interesting to Mrs. Washington as to the general. He was whimsical, eccentric, and at times rude; negligent also, and slovenly in person and attire; for though he had occasionally associated with kings and princes, he had also campaigned with Mohawks and Cossacks, and seems to have relished their "good breeding." What was still more annoying in a well regulated mansion, he was always followed by a legion of dogs, which shared his affections with his horses, and took their seats by him when at table. "I must have some object to embrace," said he, misanthropically. "When I can be convinced that men are as worthy objects as dogs, I shall transfer my benevolence, and become as staunch a philanthropist as the canting Addison affected to be."

In the month of March the second Virginia convention was

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held at Richmond. Washington attended as delegate from Fairfax County. In this assembly, Patrick Henry, with his usual ardor and eloquence, advocated measures for arming and disciplining a militia force, and providing for the defence of the colony. "It is useless," said he, "to address further petitions to government, or to await the effect of those already addressed to the throne. The time for supplication is past; the time for action is at hand. We must fight, Mr. Speaker," exclaimed he, emphatically; "I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms, and to the God of Hosts, is all that is left us!" Washington joined him in the conviction, and was one of a committee that reported a plan for carrying those measures into effect. "It is my full intention, if needful," writes he to his brother, "*to devote my life and fortune to the cause.*"

§ 4. Preliminary Campaigns of the Revolutionary War.

Lexington.—While the spirit of revolt was daily gaining strength and determination in America, a strange infatuation reigned in the British councils. While the wisdom and eloquence of Chatham were exerted in vain in behalf of American rights, an empty braggadocio, elevated to a seat in Parliament, was able to captivate the attention of the members, and influence their votes by gross misrepresentations of the Americans and their cause. This was no other than Colonel Grant, the same shallow soldier who had been guilty of a foolhardy bravado before the walls of Fort Duquesne, which brought slaughter and defeat upon his troops. He entertained Parliament with ludicrous stories of the cowardice of Americans. He had served with them, he said, and knew them well, and would venture to say they would never dare to face an English army. With five regiments, he could march through all America! The councils of the arrogant and scornful prevailed; and instead of Chatham's proposed bill, further measures of a stringent nature were adopted, ruinous to the trade and fisheries of New England.

At length the bolt, so long suspended, fell! The troops at

Boston had been augmented to about four thousand men. Alarmed by the energetic measures of the whigs, General Gage now resolved to surprise and destroy their magazine of military stores at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. Preparations were made with great secrecy. On the 18th of April officers were stationed on the roads leading from Boston, to prevent any intelligence of the expedition getting into the country. At night orders were issued by General Gage that no person should leave the town. About ten o'clock, from eight to nine hundred men, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Smith, embarked in boats at the foot of Boston Common, and crossed to Lechmere Point, in Cambridge, whence they were to march silently to the place of destination.

The measures of General Gage had not been shrouded in all the secrecy he imagined. Dr. Joseph Warren, one of the committee of safety, had observed the preparatory disposition of the boats and troops, and surmised some sinister intention. A design on the magazine at Concord was suspected, and the committee of safety ordered that the cannon collected there should be secreted, and the stores removed. On the night of the 18th, Dr. Warren sent off two messengers by different routes to give the alarm that the king's troops were actually sallying forth. In the meantime Colonel Smith set out on his nocturnal march by an unfrequented path across marshes, where at times the troops had to wade through water. He had proceeded but a few miles when alarm guns, and the clang of village bells, showed that the news of his approach was travelling before him. He now sent back to General Gage for a reinforcement, while Major Pitcairn was detached with six companies to press forward, and secure the bridges at Concord. Pitcairn advanced rapidly, capturing every one he met or overtook. By the time he entered the village of Lexington, about seventy of the yeomanry, in military array, were mustered on the green near the church. Pitcairn halted his men within a short distance and ordered them to prime and load. The major, riding forward, waved his sword, and ordered the rebels, as he termed them, to disperse. The orders were disregarded. A scene of con-

fusion ensued, with firing on both sides; eight of the patriots were killed, and ten wounded, and the whole put to flight. Colonel Smith soon arrived with the residue of the detachment, and they all marched on towards Concord. About seven o'clock, they entered that village in two divisions by different roads. Concord is traversed by a river of the same name, having two bridges, the north and the south. The grenadiers took post in the centre of the town, while strong parties of light troops were detached to secure the bridges and destroy the military stores. Two hours were expended in the work of destruction without much success, so much of the stores having been removed or concealed. During all this time the yeomanry from the neighboring towns were hurrying in with such weapons as were at hand. About ten o'clock, a body of three hundred undertook to dislodge the British from the north bridge. As they approached, the latter fired upon them, killing two, and wounding a third. The patriots returned the fire with spirit and effect. The British retreated to the main body, the Americans pursuing them across the bridge.

About noon Colonel Smith commenced his retrograde march for Boston. It was high time. His troops were jaded by the night march, and the morning's toils and skirmishings. Along the open road, they were now harassed incessantly by rustic marksmen, who took deliberate aim from behind trees, or over stone fences. Where the road passed through woods, the British found themselves between two fires, dealt by unseen foes, the minute men having posted themselves on each side among the bushes. It was in vain they threw out flankers, and endeavored to dislodge their assailants; each pause gave time for other pursuers to come within reach, and open attacks from different quarters. For several miles they urged their way along woody defiles, or roads skirted with fences and stone walls, the retreat growing more and more disastrous. Before reaching Lexington, Colonel Smith received a severe wound in the leg, and the situation of the retreating troops was becoming extremely critical, when, about two o'clock, they were met by Lord Percy, with a brigade of one thousand men, and two field-pieces. His lordship had been detached from Boston

about nine o'clock by General Gage, in compliance with Colonel Smith's urgent call for a reinforcement, and had marched gayly through Roxbury to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," in derision of the "rebels." He now found the latter a more formidable foe than he had anticipated. Opening his brigade to the right and left, he received the retreating troops into a hollow square; where, fainting and exhausted, they threw themselves on the ground to rest. His lordship showed no disposition to advance upon their assailants, but contented himself with keeping them at bay with his field-pieces, which opened a vigorous fire from an eminence.

Hitherto the provincials, being hasty levies, without a leader, had acted from individual impulse, without much concert; but now General Heath was upon the ground. He was one of those authorized to take command when the minute men should be called out. Doctor Warren, also, arrived on horseback, having spurred from Boston on receiving news of the skirmishing. In the subsequent part of the day, he was one of the most active and efficient men in the field. Lord Percy, having allowed the troops a short interval for repose and refreshment, continued the retreat toward Boston. As soon as he got under march, the galling assault by the pursuing yeomanry was recommenced in flank and rear. There was occasional sharp skirmishing, with bloodshed on both sides, but in general a dogged pursuit, where the retreating troops were galled at every step. Their march became more and more impeded by the number of their wounded. Lord Percy narrowly escaped death from a musket-ball, which struck off a button of his waistcoat. One of his officers remained behind, wounded in West Cambridge. His ammunition was failing as he approached Charlestown. The provincials pressed upon him in the rear, others were advancing from Roxbury, Dorchester, and Milton; Colonel Pickering, with the Essex militia, seven hundred strong, was at hand; there was danger of being intercepted in the retreat to Charlestown. The sharpest firing of the provincials was near Prospect Hill, as the harassed enemy hurried along the Charlestown road, eager to reach the Neck, and get under cover of their ships. The pursuit terminated a little after sunset, at

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Charlestown Common, where General Heath brought the minute men to a halt. Within half an hour more, a powerful body of men, from Marblehead and Salem, came up to join in the chase. "If the retreat," writes Washington, "had not been as precipitate as it was, — and God knows it could not well have been more so, — the ministerial troops must have surrendered, or been totally cut off."

In this memorable affair, the British loss was two hundred and seventy-three killed, wounded, and missing. Among the slain were eighteen officers. The loss of the Americans was ninety-three. The cry of blood from the field of Lexington went through the land. Bodies of militia, and parties of volunteers from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, hastened to join the minute men of Massachusetts in forming a camp in the neighborhood of Boston. With the troops of Connecticut, came Israel Putnam, having recently raised a regiment in that province, and received from its Assembly the commission of brigadier-general. The command of the camp was given to General Artemas Ward, already mentioned. He was a native of Shrewsbury, in Massachusetts, and a veteran of the Seven Years' War — having served as lieutenant-colonel under Abercrombie.

Ticonderoga. — As affairs were now drawing to a crisis, and war was considered inevitable, some bold spirits in Connecticut conceived a project for surprising the old forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, already famous in the French war. Their situation on Lake Champlain gave them the command of the main route to Canada; they were feebly garrisoned and abundantly furnished with artillery and military stores, so much needed by the patriot army. This scheme was set on foot in the provincial Legislature of Connecticut, then in session. It was not openly sanctioned by that body, but secretly favored, and money lent from the treasury to those engaged in it. Sixteen men were thus enlisted in Connecticut, a greater number in Massachusetts, but the greatest accession of force was from the country forming the present State of Vermont. It had long been a disputed territory, claimed by New York and New Hampshire. George II. had decided in favor of New York:

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but the Governor of New Hampshire had made grants of between one and two hundred townships in it, whence it had acquired the name of the New Hampshire Grants. The settlers on those grants resisted the attempts of New York to eject them, and formed themselves into an association, called "The Green Mountain Boys." Resolute, strong-handed fellows they were, with Ethan Allen at their head, a native of Connecticut, but brought up among the Green Mountains. He and his lieutenant, Seth Warner, were outlawed by the Legislature of New York, and rewards offered for their apprehension. They and their associates armed themselves, set New York at defiance, and swore they would be the death of any one who should attempt their arrest. Thus Ethan Allen was becoming a kind of Robin Hood among the mountains, when at the present crisis he at once stepped forward and volunteered with his Green Mountain Boys to serve in the popular cause. He was well fitted for the enterprise in question, by his experience as a frontier champion, his robustness of mind and body, and his fearless spirit. He had a kind of rough eloquence, also, that was very effective with his followers. "His style," says one, who knew him personally, "was a singular compound of local barbarisms, Scriptural phrases, and oriental wildness; and though unclassic, and sometimes ungrammatical, was highly animated and forcible." Washington, in one of his letters, says there was "an original something in him which commanded admiration."

Thus reinforced, the party, now two hundred and seventy strong, pushed forward to Castleton, a place within a few miles of the head of Lake Champlain. Here a counsel of war was held on the 2d of May, and here at this juncture, another adventurous spirit arrived. This was Benedict Arnold, since so sadly renowned. He, too, had conceived the project of surprising Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and had proposed the scheme to the Massachusetts committee of safety. They had given him a colonel's commission, authorized him to raise a force in western Massachusetts, and furnished him with money and means. Arnold had enlisted but a few officers and men when he heard of the expedition from Connecticut being on the march. He instantly hurried on with one attendant to

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overtake it, and laid claim to the supreme command. His claims were disregarded by the Green Mountain Boys, who would follow no leader but Ethan Allen. As they formed the majority of the party, Arnold was fain to acquiesce, and serve as a volunteer.

The party arrived at Shoreham, opposite Ticonderoga, on the night of the 9th of May. There were but few boats at hand, with which the transportation was commenced. It was slow work; the night wore away; day was about to break, and but eighty-three men, with Allen and Arnold, had crossed. Should they wait for the residue, day would dawn, the garrison wake, and their enterprise might fail. Allen drew up his men, addressed them in his own emphatic style, and announced his intention to make a dash without waiting for more force. They mounted the hill briskly, but in silence, guided by a boy from the neighborhood. The day dawned as Allen arrived at a sally-port. A sentry pulled trigger on him, but his piece missed fire. He retreated through a covered way. Allen and his men followed, reached the quarters of the commandant, thundered at the door, and demanded the surrender of the fort. The commandant appearing at his door half-dressed, gazed at Allen in bewildered astonishment. "By whose authority do you act?" exclaimed he. "In the name of the great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress!" replied Allen, with a flourish of his sword. There was no disputing the point. The fortress was surrendered, with a great supply of military and naval stores, so important in the present crisis. Seth Warner, who had brought over the residue of the party from Shoreham, was now sent with a detachment against Crown Point, which surrendered on the 12th of May, without firing a gun. Here were taken upward of a hundred cannon.

Thus a partisan band had, almost without the loss of a man, won for the patriots the command of Lakes George and Champlain, and thrown open the great highway to Canada.

Washington Commander-in-chief. — The second General Congress assembled at Philadelphia on the 10th of May. Peyton Randolph was again elected as president; but being obliged to return, and occupy his place as Speaker of the Virginia Assembly,

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John Hancock of Massachusetts was elevated to the chair. A lingering feeling of attachment to the mother country, struggling with the growing spirit of self-government, was manifested in the proceedings of this remarkable body. Many of those most active in vindicating colonial rights, and Washington among the number, still indulged the hope of an eventual reconciliation, while few as yet entertained the idea of complete independence. A second "humble and dutiful" petition to the king was moved, but Congress, in face of it, went on to assume and exercise the powers of a sovereign authority.

They ordered the enlistment of troops, the construction of forts in various parts of the colonies, the provision of arms, ammunition, and military stores; while to defray the expense of these, and other measures, avowedly of self-defence, they authorized the emission of notes to the amount of three millions of dollars, bearing the inscription of "The United Colonies"; the faith of the confederacy being pledged for their redemption. A retaliating decree was passed, prohibiting all supplies of provisions to the British fisheries; and another, declaring the province of Massachusetts Bay absolved from its compact with the Crown, by the violation of its charter, and recommending it to form an internal government for itself.

The situation of the New England army, actually besieging Boston, became an early and absorbing consideration. It was without munitions of war, without arms, clothing, or pay; unless sanctioned and assisted by Congress, there was danger of its dissolution. If dissolved, what would there be to prevent the British from sallying out of Boston, and spreading desolation throughout the country? All this was the subject of much discussion. The disposition to uphold the army was general; but the difficult question was, who should be commander-in-chief? There was a southern party which could not brook the idea of a New England army, commanded by a New England general. On the other hand, Mr. Hancock had an ambition to be appointed commander-in-chief.

Charles Lee also was at that time in Philadelphia. The active interest he had manifested in the cause was well known, and the public had an extravagant idea of his military qualifications. He

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was of foreign birth, however, and it was deemed improper to confide the supreme command to any but a native-born American.

The opinion evidently inclined in favor of Washington; it was John Adams who brought the members of Congress to a decision. Rising in his place, he moved that Congress should adopt the army at Cambridge, and appoint a general. Though this was not the time to nominate the person, "yet," adds he, "as I had reason to believe this was a point of some difficulty, I had no hesitation to declare, that I had but one gentleman in my mind for that important command, and that was a gentleman from Virginia, who was among us and very well known to all of us; a gentleman, whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies better than any other person in the Union. Mr. Washington, who happened to sit near the door, as soon as he heard me allude to him, from his usual modesty, darted into the library-room. Mr. Hancock, who was our president, which gave me an opportunity to observe his countenance, while I was speaking on the state of the colonies, the army at Cambridge, and the enemy, heard me with visible pleasure; but when I came to describe Washington for the commander, I never remarked a more sudden and striking change of countenance. Mortification and resentment were expressed as forcibly as his face could exhibit them."

The subject was postponed to a future day. On the 15th of June, the army was regularly adopted by Congress. Many still clung to the idea, that in all these proceedings they were merely opposing the measures of the ministry and not the authority of the crown, and thus the army before Boston was designated as the Continental Army, in contradistinction to that under General Gage, which was called the Ministerial Army. In this stage of the business, Mr. Johnson of Maryland rose, and nominated Washington for the station of commander-in-chief. The election was by ballot, and was unanimous.

He declared, when he accepted the mighty trust, that he would

lay before Congress an exact account of his expenses, and would not accept a shilling of pay. General Ward was elected the second in command, and Lee the third. The other two major-generals were Philip Schuyler of New York, and Israel Putnam of Connecticut. Eight brigadier-generals were likewise appointed; Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Greene. At Washington's express request, his old friend, Major Horatio Gates, then absent at his estate in Virginia, was appointed adjutant-general, with the rank of brigadier. Adams, according to his own account, was extremely loth to admit Lee or Gates into the American service, "but," adds he, "considering the earnest desire of General Washington to have the assistance of those officers, and the reputation they would give to our arms in Europe, and especially with the ministerial generals and army in Boston, I could not withhold my vote from either."

The reader will possibly call these circumstances to mind when, on a future page, he finds how Lee and Gates requited the friendship to which chiefly they owed their appointments.

Bunker Hill. — Meanwhile events had been drawing to a crisis in the excited region about Boston. The provincial troops which blockaded the town prevented supplies by land, the neighboring country refused to furnish them by water, and Boston began to experience the privations of a besieged city. On the 5th of May arrived ships of war and transports from England, bringing large reinforcements, under Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, commanders of high reputation. As the ships entered the harbor, and the "rebel camp" was pointed out, — ten thousand yeomanry beleaguering a town garrisoned by five thousand regulars, — Burgoyne could not restrain a burst of surprise and scorn. "What!" cried he, "ten thousand peasants keep five thousand king's troops shut up! Well, let us get in, and we'll soon find elbow-room."

Inspirited by these reinforcements, General Gage determined to take the field. Previously, however, he issued a proclamation (12th June), putting the province under martial law, threatening to treat as rebels and traitors all malcontents who should continue

under arms, together with their aiders and abettors; but offering pardon to all who should lay down their arms and return to their allegiance. From this proffered amnesty, however, John Hancock and Samuel Adams were especially excepted; their offences being pronounced "too flagitious not to meet with condign punishment."

This proclamation only served to put the patriots on the alert against such measures as might be expected to follow. The besieging force amounted to about fifteen thousand men distributed at various points. Its character and organization were peculiar. It could not be called a national army, for, as yet, there was no nation to own it; it was, in fact, a fortuitous assemblage of four distinct bodies of troops, belonging to different provinces, and each having a leader of its own election. About ten thousand belonged to Massachusetts, and were under the command of General Artemas Ward, whose headquarters were at Cambridge. Another body of troops, under Colonel John Stark, came from New Hampshire. Rhode Island furnished a third, under the command of General Nathaniel Greene. A fourth was from Connecticut, under the veteran Putnam.

These bodies of troops, being from different colonies, were independent of each other. Those from New Hampshire were instructed to obey General Ward as commander-in-chief; with the rest, it was a voluntary act, rendered in consideration of his being military chief of Massachusetts, the province which, as allies, they came to defend. There was, in fact, but little organization in the army. Nothing kept it together, and gave it unity of action, but a common feeling of exasperated patriotism.

The troops knew but little of military discipline. Almost all were familiar with the use of fire-arms in hunting and fowling; many had served in frontier campaigns against the French, and in "bush-fighting" with the Indians. There was a regiment of artillery, partly organized by Colonel Gridley, a skilful engineer, and furnished with nine field-pieces; but the greater part of the troops were without military dress or accoutrements; most of them were hasty levies of yeomanry, some of whom had seized their rifles and

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fowling-pieces, and turned out in their working clothes and home-spun country garbs. It was an army of volunteers, subordinate through inclination and respect to officers of their own choice, and depending for sustenance on supplies sent from their several towns.

Such was the army spread over an extent of ten or twelve miles, and keeping watch upon the town of Boston, containing at that time a population of seventeen thousand souls, and garrisoned with more than ten thousand British troops, disciplined and experienced in the wars of Europe.

We have already mentioned the peninsula of Charlestown, which lies opposite to the north side of Boston. The heights, which swell up in rear of the village, overlook the town and shipping.

It was determined to seize and fortify these heights on the night of Friday, the 16th of June. A little before sunset the troops, about twelve hundred in all, assembled on the common, in front of General Ward's quarters. They came provided with packs, blankets, and provisions for four-and-twenty hours, but ignorant of the object of the expedition. Being all paraded, prayers were offered up by the reverend President Langdon of Harvard College, after which they all set forward on their silent march. Colonel William Prescott, a veteran of the French war, had been chosen by General Ward to conduct the enterprise. His written orders were to fortify Bunker Hill, and defend the works until he should be relieved. It was understood that reinforcements and refreshments would be sent to the fatigue party in the morning. The detachment left Cambridge about nine o'clock, Colonel Prescott taking the lead, preceded by two sergeants with dark lanterns. At Charlestown Neck they were joined by General Putnam; and here were the wagons laden with entrenching tools, which first gave the men an indication of the enterprise.

Charlestown Neck is a narrow isthmus, connecting the peninsula with the main land; having the Mystic river, about half a mile wide, on the north, and a large embayment of Charles river on the south or right side. It was now necessary to proceed with the utmost caution, for they were coming on ground over which the British kept jealous watch. They had erected a battery at

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Boston on Copp's Hill, immediately opposite to Charlestown. Five of their vessels of war were stationed so as to bear upon the peninsula from different directions, and the guns of one of them swept the isthmus, or narrow neck just mentioned. Across this isthmus, Colonel Prescott conducted the detachment undiscovered, and up the ascent of Bunker Hill. This commences at the Neck, and slopes up for about three hundred yards to its summit, which is about one hundred and twelve feet high. It then declines toward the south, and is connected by a ridge with Breed's Hill, about sixty or seventy feet high. The crests of the two hills are about seven hundred yards apart.

On attaining the heights, a question rose which of the two they should proceed to fortify. Bunker Hill was specified in the written orders given to Colonel Prescott by General Ward, but Breed's Hill was nearer to Boston, and had a better command of the town and shipping. It was therefore determined on. Gridley marked out the lines for the fortifications; the men stacked their guns; threw off their packs; seized their trenching tools, and set to work with great spirit; but so much time had been wasted in discussion, that it was midnight before they struck the first spade into the ground.

So spiritedly, though silently, was the labor carried on, that by morning a strong redoubt was thrown up as a main work, flanked on the left by a breastwork, partly cannon-proof, extending down the crest of Breed's Hill to a piece of marshy ground called the Slough. To support the right of the redoubt, some troops were thrown into the village of Charlestown, at the southern foot of the hill.

At dawn of day, the Americans at work were espied by the sailors on board of the ships of war, and the alarm was given. The captain of the *Lively*, the nearest ship, without waiting for orders, opened a fire upon the hill. The other ships and a floating battery followed his example. Their shot did no mischief to the works, but the cannonading roused the town of Boston. Gage could scarcely believe his eyes when he beheld on the opposite hill a fortification full of men, which had sprung up in the course of the

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night. He called a council of war. The Americans evidently intended to cannonade Boston from this hill. It was unanimously resolved to dislodge them. How was this to be done? A majority advised that a force should be landed on Charlestown Neck, under the protection of their batteries, so as to attack the Americans in rear, and cut off their retreat. Gage objected that it would place his troops between two armies; one at Cambridge, superior in numbers, the other on the heights, strongly fortified. He was for landing in front of the works, and pushing directly up the hill; a plan adopted through a confidence that raw militia would never stand their ground against the assault of veteran troops — another instance of undervaluing the American spirit, which was to cost the enemy a lamentable loss of life.

The sound of drum and trumpet, the clatter of hoofs, the rattling of gun-carriages, and all the other military din and bustle in the streets of Boston, soon apprised the Americans on their rudely fortified height of an impending attack. They were ill fitted to withstand it, being jaded by the night's labor, and want of sleep; hungry and thirsty, having brought but scanty supplies, and oppressed by the heat of the weather. Prescott sent repeated messages to General Ward, asking reinforcements and provisions. Putnam seconded the request in person, urging the exigencies of the case. Ward hesitated. He feared to weaken his main body at Cambridge, as his military stores were deposited there, and it might have to sustain the principal attack. At length, having taken advice of the council of safety, he issued orders for Colonel Stark, then at Medford, to march to the relief of Prescott with his New Hampshire troops. The orders reached Medford about 11 o'clock. Ammunition was distributed in all haste; two flints, a gill of powder, and fifteen balls to each man. The balls had to be suited to the different calibres of the guns; the powder to be carried in powder-horns or loose in the pocket, for there were no cartridges prepared. It was the rude turn-out of yeoman soldiery destitute of regular accoutrements.

Meanwhile, the Americans on Breed's Hill continued strengthening their position until about 11 o'clock, when they ceased to work,

piled their entrenching tools in the rear, and looked out anxiously for the anticipated reinforcements and supplies. A large part of the tools were carried to Bunker Hill, and a breastwork commenced by order of General Putnam. The importance of such a work was afterwards made apparent.

About noon the Americans descried twenty-eight barges crossing from Boston. They contained a large detachment of grenadiers and light infantry, commanded by General Howe. They made a splendid and formidable appearance with their scarlet uniforms, and the sun flashing upon muskets and bayonets and brass field-pieces. A heavy fire from the ships and batteries covered their advance; but no attempt was made to oppose them, and they landed about one o'clock at Moulton's Point, a little to the north of Breed's Hill. Here General Howe made a pause, while the Americans took advantage of the delay to strengthen their position. The breastwork on the left of the redoubt extended to what was called the Slough, but beyond this, the ridge of the hill and the slope toward Mystic river were undefended, leaving a pass by which the enemy might turn the left flank of the position and seize upon Bunker Hill. Putnam ordered Captain Knowlton to cover this pass with his Connecticut troops. A novel kind of rampart was suggested by the rustic general. About six hundred feet in the rear of the redoubt, and about one hundred feet to the left of the breastwork, was a post-and-rail fence, set in a low foot-wall of stone, and extending down to Mystic river. The posts and rails of another fence were hastily pulled up, and set a few feet in behind this, and the intermediate space was filled up with new-mown hay from the adjacent meadows. This double fence proved an important protection to the redoubt, although there still remained an unprotected interval of about seven hundred feet.

While Knowlton and his men were putting up this fence, Putnam proceeded with other troops to throw up the work on Bunker Hill. By this time the veteran Stark made his appearance with the New Hampshire troops, five hundred strong. Putnam detained some of Stark's men to aid in throwing up the work on Bunker Hill, and directed him to reinforce Knowlton with the

rest. About two o'clock, Warren arrived on the heights. He had recently been elected a major-general, but had not received his commission; he was cheered by the troops as he entered the redoubt, and Colonel Prescott tendered him the command. He declined. "I have come to serve only as a volunteer, and shall be happy to learn from a soldier of your experience."

The British now prepared for a general assault. The left wing, commanded by General Pigott, was to mount the hill and force the redoubt, while General Howe, with the right wing, was to push on between the fort and Mystic river, turn the left flank of the Americans and cut off their retreat.

General Pigott, accordingly, advanced up the hill under cover of a fire from field-pieces and howitzers planted on a small height near the landing-place on Moulton's Point. His troops commenced a discharge of musketry while yet at a long distance from the redoubt. The Americans within the works, obedient to strict command, retained their fire until the enemy were within thirty or forty paces, when they opened upon them with a tremendous volley. Being all marksmen, accustomed to take deliberate aim, the slaughter was immense, and especially fatal to officers. The assailants fell back in some confusion; but, rallied on by their officers, advanced within pistol shot. Another volley, more effective than the first, made them again recoil. To add to their confusion, they were galled by a flanking fire from the handful of provincials posted in Charlestown. Shocked at the carnage, and seeing the confusion of his troops, General Pigott gave the word for retreat.

In the meantime, Howe advanced along Mystic river toward the fence where Stark and Knowlton were stationed, thinking to carry this slight breastwork with ease, and so get in the rear of the fortress. His artillery proved of little avail, being stopped by a swampy piece of ground, while his columns suffered from two or three field-pieces with which Putnam had fortified the fence. When the British arrived within thirty paces a sheeted fire opened upon them from rifles, muskets, and fowling-pieces, all levelled with deadly aim. The carnage, as in the other instance, was horrible.

The British were thrown into confusion and fell back; some even retreated to the boats.

After a considerable pause they again ascended the hill to storm the redoubt. Charlestown which had annoyed them by a flanking fire, was in flames, by shells thrown from the ships; the crash of burning buildings and the dense volumes of smoke obscured the summer sun. The American troops reserved their fire, as before, until the enemy was close at hand, when they again poured forth repeated volleys with the fatal aim of sharpshooters. The British stood the first shock, and continued to advance; but the incessant stream of fire staggered them. Their officers remonstrated, threatened, and even attempted to goad them on with their swords, but the havoc was too deadly; whole ranks were mowed down; many of the officers were either slain or wounded, and among them several of the staff of General Howe. The troops again gave way and retreated down the hill.

All this passed under the eye of thousands of spectators of both sexes and all ages, watching from afar every turn of a battle in which the lives of those most dear to them were at hazard. The British soldiery in Boston gazed with astonishment at the resolute and protracted stand of raw militia whom they had been taught to despise, and at the havoc made among their own veteran troops. Every convoy of wounded brought over to the town increased their consternation; and General Clinton, who had watched the action from Copp's Hill, embarking in a boat, hurried over as a volunteer, taking with him reinforcements.

A third attack was now determined on, though some of Howe's officers remonstrated, declaring it would be downright butchery. A different plan was adopted. General Howe made a feint of attacking the fortified fence; but, while a part of his force was thus engaged, the rest brought some of the field-pieces to enfilade the breastwork on the left of the redoubt. A raking fire soon drove the Americans out of this exposed place into the enclosure. The troops were now led on to assail the works. The Americans again reserved their fire until their assailants were close at hand, and then made a murderous volley, by which several officers were laid

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low, and Howe himself was wounded in the foot. The Americans, however, had fired their last round, their ammunition was exhausted; and now succeeded a desperate and deadly struggle, hand to hand, with bayonets, stones, and the stocks of their muskets. At length, as the British continued to pour in, Prescott gave the order to retreat. His men had to cut their way through two divisions of the enemy who were getting in rear of the redoubt, and they received a destructive volley from those who had formed on the captured works. By that volley fell the patriot Warren, who had distinguished himself throughout the action. He was among the last to leave the redoubt, and had scarce done so when he was shot through the head with a musket-ball, and fell dead on the spot.

At the rail fence, the resistance was kept up after the troops in the redoubt had given way, and until Prescott had left the hill; thus defeating Howe's design of cutting off the retreat of the main body. Having effected their purpose, the brave associates at the fence abandoned their weak outpost, retiring slowly, and disputing the ground inch by inch, with a regularity remarkable in troops many of whom had never before been in action.

The main retreat was across Bunker Hill where Putnam had endeavored to throw up a breastwork. It was impossible, however, to bring the troops to a stand. They continued on down the hill to the Neck and across it to Somerville, exposed to a raking fire from the ships and batteries, and only protected by a single piece of ordnance. The British were too exhausted to pursue them; they contented themselves with taking possession of Bunker Hill.

According to their own returns, their killed and wounded, out of a detachment of three thousand men, amounted to one thousand and fifty-four, and a large proportion of them officers. The loss of the Americans did not exceed four hundred and fifty.

To the latter this defeat had the effect of a triumph. It gave them confidence in themselves and consequence in the eyes of their enemies. They had proved to themselves and to others that they could measure weapons with the disciplined soldiers of Europe, and inflict the most harm in the conflict.

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Washington at Cambridge. — General Washington set out from Philadelphia for Boston on horseback on the 21st of June, having for military companions Major-generals Lee and Schuyler, and being accompanied for a distance by several private friends.

General Schuyler was a man eminently calculated to sympathize with Washington in all his patriotic views and feelings, and became one of his most faithful coadjutors. Sprung from one of the earliest and most respectable Dutch families which colonized New York, he had received a good education; applied himself at an early age to the exact sciences, and become versed in finance, military engineering, and political economy. When twenty-two years of age he commanded a company of New York levies under Sir William Johnson, which gave him an early opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Indian tribes, their country, and their policy. In 1758 he was in Abercrombie's expedition against Ticonderoga. Since the close of the French war he had served his country in various civil stations, and been one of the most zealous and eloquent vindicators of colonial rights.

The journey may be said to have been a continual council of war between Washington and the two generals. The contrast in character of the two latter made them regard questions from different points of view. Schuyler, a warm-hearted patriot, with everything staked on the cause; Lee, a soldier of fortune, indifferent to the ties of home and country, drawing his sword without enthusiasm; more through resentment against a government which had disappointed him, than zeal for liberty or for colonial rights. One of the most frequent subjects of conversation was the province of New York. Its position rendered it the great link of the confederacy; what measures were necessary for its defence, and most calculated to secure its adherence to the cause? A lingering attachment to the Crown, kept up by the influence of British merchants, and military and civil functionaries in royal pay, had rendered it slow in coming into the colonial compact.

The population of New York was more varied in its elements than that of almost any other of the provinces, and had to be cautiously studied. The descendants of the old Dutch and Hu-

guenot families, the earliest settlers, were still among the soundest and best of the population. They inherited the love of liberty, civil and religious, of their forefathers, and were those who stood foremost in the present struggle for popular rights. Many of the more modern families, dating from the downfall of the Dutch government in 1664, were English and Scotch, and among these were many loyal adherents to the Crown. There was a power, too, within the interior of the province, which was an object of much solicitude. This was the "Johnson Family." We have already had occasion to speak of Sir William Johnson, His Majesty's general agent for Indian affairs: of his great wealth, and his almost sovereign sway over the Six Nations. He had originally received that appointment through the influence of the Schuyler family, and both Schuyler and Lee, when young men, had campaigned with him. Sir William naturally favored the government which had enriched and honored him, but he had viewed with deep concern the acts of Parliament which were goading the colonists to armed resistance. In the height of his solicitude, he received dispatches ordering him, in case of hostilities, to enlist the Indians in the cause of government. To the agitation of feelings produced by these orders many have attributed a stroke of apoplexy, of which he died, on the 11th of July, 1774, about a year before the time of which we are treating.

His son and heir, Sir John Johnson, and his sons-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson and Colonel Claus, felt none of the reluctance of Sir William to use harsh measures in support of royalty. They lived in a rude feudal style in stone mansions capable of defence, situated on the Mohawk river and in its vicinity; they had many Scottish Highlanders for tenants; and among their adherents were violent men, such as the Butlers of Tryon County, and Brant, the famous Mohawk sachem. They had gone about with armed retainers, overawing and breaking up patriotic assemblages. Recent accounts stated that Sir John was fortifying the old family hall at Johnstown with swivels, and had a hundred and fifty Highlanders quartered in and about it, all armed and ready to obey his orders.

Colonel Guy Johnson had fortified his stone mansion on the

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Mohawk, called Guy's Park, and assembled there his adherents, to the number of five hundred. He held a great Indian council there likewise, in which the chiefs of the Six Nations recalled the friendship of the late Sir William, and avowed their determination to stand by and defend every branch of his family. As yet it was uncertain whether Colonel Guy really intended to take an open part in the appeal to arms. Should he do so, he would carry with him a great force of the native tribes, and might almost domineer over the frontier. Tryon, the governor of New York, was a Tory, and his talents and address gave him great influence over an important part of the community. Should he and the Johnsons co-operate, the one controlling the bay and harbor of New York and the waters of the Hudson by means of ships and land forces; the others overrunning the valley of the Mohawk and the regions beyond Albany with savage hordes, this great central province might be wrested from the confederacy, and all intercourse broken off between the eastern and southern colonies.

All these circumstances rendered the command of New York a post of especial importance, and determined Washington to confide it to General Schuyler. He was peculiarly fitted for it by his military talents, his intimate knowledge of the province and its concerns, and his experience in Indian affairs.

At New York, Washington learned the details of the battle of Bunker Hill; they quickened his impatience to arrive at the camp. The provincial Congress of Massachusetts, then in session at Watertown, sent on a deputation which met him at Springfield, and provided escorts and accommodations for him along the road. Thus honorably attended from town to town, he arrived at Watertown on the 2d of July, and presently proceeded to the head-quarters provided for him at Cambridge, three miles distant. As he entered the confines of the camp, the shouts of the multitude and the thundering of artillery gave note to the enemy beleaguered in Boston of his arrival.

On the next morning, the 3d of July, Washington took formal command of the army. It was drawn up on the common about half a mile from head-quarters. A multitude had assembled there,

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for as yet military spectacles were novelties, and the camp was full of visitors who had relatives among the yeoman soldiery. An ancient elm is still pointed out, under which Washington, as he arrived from head-quarters accompanied by General Lee and a numerous suite, wheeled his horse, and drew his sword as commander-in-chief of the armies. Accompanied by the soldier of fortune, on whose military judgment he placed too much reliance, Washington visited the different American posts, and rode to the heights, commanding views over Boston and its environs, being anxious to make himself acquainted with the strength and relative position of both armies: and here we will give a few particulars concerning the distinguished commanders with whom he was brought immediately in competition.

The first here alluded to was the Honorable William Howe, next in command to Gage. He was a man of fine presence, six feet high, and of graceful deportment. His affability of manner and generous disposition made him popular with both officers and soldiers. There was a sentiment in his favor even among Americans. It was remembered that he was brother to the gallant youth, Lord Howe, whose untimely death had been lamented throughout the colonies. A mournful feeling had gone through the country, when General Howe was cited as one of the British commanders who had most distinguished themselves in the bloody battle of Bunker Hill. Congress spoke of it with generous sensibility. "America is amazed," said they, "to find the name of Howe on the catalogue of her enemies — *she loved his brother!*"

Henry Clinton, next in command, was grandson of the Earl of Lincoln, and son of George Clinton, who had been governor of the province of New York for ten years, from 1743. The general had seen service on the continent in the Seven Years' War. He was of short stature, and inclined to corpulency; with a full face and prominent nose. His manners were reserved, and altogether he was in strong contrast with Howe, and by no means so popular.

Burgoyne, the other British general of note, was a natural son of Lord Bingley, and had entered the army at an early age. While yet a subaltern, he had made a runaway match with a daughter of

the Earl of Derby, who threatened never to admit the offenders to his presence. In 1758, Burgoyne was a lieutenant-colonel of light dragoons. In 1761, he was sent with a force to aid the Portuguese against the Spaniards, and signalized himself by surprising and capturing the town of Alcantara. He had since been elected to Parliament for the borough of Middlesex, and displayed considerable talents. In 1772, he was made a major-general. His taste, wit, and intelligence, and his aptness at devising and promoting elegant amusements, made him for a time a leader in the gay world; though Junius accuses him of unfair practices at the gaming table. His reputation for talents and services had gradually mollified the heart of his father-in-law, the Earl of Derby. In 1774, he gave celebrity to the marriage of a son of the Earl with Lady Betty Hamilton, by producing an elegant dramatic trifle, entitled, "The Maid of the Oaks," afterwards performed at Drury Lane, and honored with a biting sarcasm by Horace Walpole. "There is a new puppet-show at Drury Lane," writes the wit, "as fine as the scenes can make it, and as dull as the author could not help making it."

It is but justice to Burgoyne's memory to add, that in after years he produced a dramatic work, "The Heiress," which extorted even Walpole's approbation, who pronounced it the genteelest comedy in the English language.

Such were the three British commanders at Boston; and they had with them eleven thousand veteran troops, well appointed and well disciplined.

The American troops were irregularly distributed in a kind of semicircle eight or nine miles in extent; the left resting on Winter Hill, the most northern post; the right extending on the south to Roxbury and Dorchester Neck. The semi-circular line which linked the extreme posts, was formed of rudely constructed works, far too extensive for the troops which were at hand to man them. The camps were as different in their forms, as the owners in their dress; some of the tents made of boards, and some of sail-cloth; others were made of stone and turf, brick and brush; others curiously wrought with wreaths and withes. One of the encampments, however, was in striking contrast with the rest, and might

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vie with those of the British for order and exactness. Here were tents pitched in the English style; soldiers well drilled and well equipped; everything had an air of discipline and subordination. It was a body of Rhode Island troops, which had been raised, drilled, and brought to the camp by Brigadier-general Greene, of that province, whose subsequent renown entitles him to an introduction to the reader.

Nathaniel Greene was born in Rhode Island, on the 26th of May, 1742. His father was a miller, an anchor-smith, and a Quaker preacher. Greene, in his boyhood, followed the plough, and occasionally worked at the forge of his father. Having an early thirst for knowledge, he applied himself sedulously to various studies, while subsisting by the labor of his hands. Nature had endowed him with quick parts, and a sound judgment, and his assiduity was crowned with success. In the late turn of public affairs, he had caught the warlike spirit prevalent throughout the country. Plutarch, and Cæsar's Commentaries became his delight. He applied himself to military studies, for which he was prepared by some knowledge of mathematics. His ambition was to organize and discipline a corps of militia to which he belonged. For this purpose, during a visit to Boston, he had taken note of everything about the discipline of the British troops. In the month of May, he had been elected commander of the Rhode Island contingent of the army of observation, and in June had conducted to the lines before Boston three regiments, which were pronounced the best in the army.

Greene made a soldier-like address to Washington, welcoming him to the camp. His appearance and manner were calculated to make a favorable impression. He was thirty-three years of age, nearly six feet high, well built and vigorous, with an open, animated, intelligent countenance, and a frank, manly demeanor. He may be said to have stepped at once into the confidence of the commander-in-chief, which he never forfeited, but became one of his most attached, faithful, and efficient coadjutors throughout the war.

Colonel Mifflin was the first person who officiated as Washing-

ton's aide-de-camp. He was a Philadelphia gentleman of high respectability, who had accompanied him from that city, and received his appointment shortly after their arrival at Cambridge. The second aide-de-camp was John Trumbull,[1] son of the governor of Connecticut; he had caught the favorable notice of Washington by some drawings which he had made of the enemy's works.

The member of Washington's family most deserving of mention at present, was his secretary, Mr. Joseph Reed. With this gentleman he had formed an intimacy in the course of his visits to Philadelphia, to attend the sessions of the Continental Congress. Mr. Reed was an accomplished man, had studied law in America, and at the Temple in London, and had gained a high reputation at the Philadelphia bar. He had been highly instrumental in rousing the Philadelphians to co-operate with the patriots of Boston. Washington's friendship towards him was frank and cordial, and the confidence he reposed in him full and implicit.

The hazardous position of the army from the great extent and weakness of its lines, was what most pressed on the immediate attention of Washington; and he now hastened to improve the defences of the camp, strengthen the weak parts of the line, and throw up additional works round the main forts. About seven hundred men were distributed in the small towns and villages along the coast, to prevent depredations by water; and horses were kept ready saddled at various points of the widely extended lines, to convey to head-quarters intelligence of any special movement of the enemy. The army was distributed by Washington into three grand divisions. One, forming the right wing, and stationed on the heights of Roxbury, was commanded by Major-general Ward, who had under him Brigadier-generals Spencer and Thomas. Another, forming the left wing under Major-general Lee, having with him Brigadier-generals Sullivan and Greene, was stationed on Winter and Prospect Hills; while the centre, under Major-general Putnam and Brigadier-general Heath, was stationed at Cambridge. At Washington's recommendation, Joseph Trum-

[1] In after years distinguished as a historical painter.

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bull, the eldest son of the governor, received, on the 24th of July, the appointment of commissary-general of the continental army. Nothing excited more gaze and wonder among the rustic visitors to the camp, than the arrival of several rifle companies, fourteen hundred men in all, from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; such stalwart fellows as Washington had known in his early campaigns. Stark hunters and bush fighters; many of them upwards of six feet high, and of vigorous frame; dressed in fringed frocks, or rifle shirts, and round hats. Their displays of sharpshooting were soon among the marvels of the camp. We are told that while advancing at quick step, they could hit a mark of seven inches diameter, at the distance of two hundred and fifty yards. One of these companies was commanded by Captain Daniel Morgan, a native of New Jersey, whose first experience in war had been to accompany Braddock's army as a wagoner. He had since carried arms on the frontier and obtained a command. He and his riflemen in coming to the camp had marched six hundred miles in three weeks. They will be found of signal efficiency in the sharpest conflicts of the war.

Invasion of Canada. — The project of an invasion of Canada, urged by Allen and Arnold, had at first met with no favor, the Continental Congress having formally resolved to make no hostile attempts upon that province. Intelligence subsequently received induced it to change its plans. Carleton was said to be strengthening the fortifications and garrison at St. John, and preparing to launch vessels on the lake wherewith to regain command of it, and retake the captured posts. Powerful reinforcements were coming from England and elsewhere. Guy Johnson was stirring up the Six Nations to hostility. On the other hand, Canada was full of religious and political dissensions. The late exploits of the Americans on Lake Champlain had produced a favorable effect on the Canadians, who would flock to the patriot standard if unfurled among them by an imposing force. Now was the time to strike a blow to paralyze all hostility from this quarter; now, while Carleton's regular force was weak, and before the arrival of additional troops. Influenced by these considerations, Congress now deter-

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mined to extend the Revolution into Canada, but it was an enterprise too important to be intrusted to any but discreet hands. General Schuyler was accordingly ordered, on the 27th June, to proceed to Ticonderoga, and, "should he find it practicable and not disagreeable to the Canadians, immediately to take possession of St. John and Montreal, and pursue such other measures in Canada as might have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these provinces."

Schuyler was on the alert. He had learnt that there were about seven hundred king's troops in that province; three hundred of them at St. John, about fifty at Quebec, the remainder at Montreal, Chambly, and the upper posts. Colonel Guy Johnson was at Montreal with three hundred men, mostly his tenants, and a number of Indians. Now was the time, according to his informants, to carry Canada. It might be done with great ease and little cost. While awaiting further orders Schuyler repaired to Albany, to hold a conference with the warriors of the Six Nations, whom he had invited to meet him at that place. General Montgomery was to remain in command at Ticonderoga, during his absence, and to urge forward the military preparations.

Richard Montgomery was of a good family in the north of Ireland, where he was born in 1736. He entered the army when about eighteen years of age; served in America in the French war; won a lieutenancy by gallant conduct at Louisburg; followed General Amherst to Lake Champlain, and, after the conquest of Canada, was promoted to a captaincy for his services in the West Indies. After the peace of Versailles he resided in England; but, about three years before the breaking out of the Revolution, he sold out his commission in the army and migrated to New York. Here he married the eldest daughter of Robert Livingston, and took up his residence on an estate on the banks of the Hudson. Being known to be in favor of the popular cause, he was drawn reluctantly from his rural abode, to represent his county in the first convention of the province; and on the recent organization of the army, his military reputation gained him the unsought commission of brigadier-general. At this time Montgomery was about

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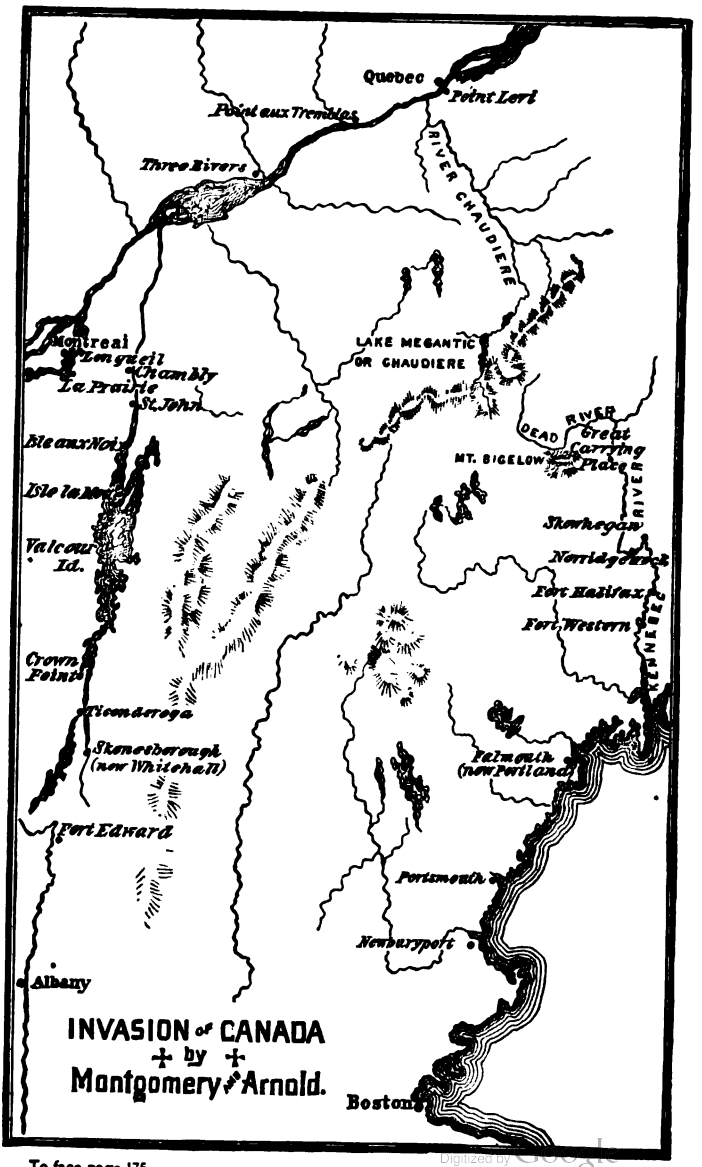

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thirty-nine years of age, and the *beau ideal* of a soldier. His form was well proportioned and vigorous; his countenance expressive and prepossessing; he was cool and discriminating in council, energetic and fearless in action. His principles commanded the respect of friends and foes, and he was noted for winning the affections of the soldiery.

Before Schuyler's return to Ticonderoga, Montgomery had received intelligence that Carleton had completed his armed vessels at St. John, and was about to send them into Lake Champlain by the Sorel river. No time, therefore, was to be lost in getting possession of the Isle aux Noix, which commanded the entrance to that river. Montgomery hastened to embark with about a thousand men, which were as many as the boats now ready could hold, taking with him two pieces of artillery; with this force he set off down the lake. A letter to General Schuyler explained the cause of his sudden departure, and entreated him to follow on in a whaleboat, leaving the residue of the artillery to come on as soon as conveyances could be procured. Schuyler arrived at Ticonderoga on the night of the 30th of August, but too ill of a bilious fever to push on in a whaleboat. He caused a bed to be prepared for him in a covered bateau, and, ill as he was, continued forward on the following day. On the 4th of September he overtook Montgomery at the Isle la Motte, where he had been detained by contrary weather, and, assuming command of the little army, kept on the same day to the Isle aux Noix, about twelve miles south of St. John.

In the meantime, as it was evident the enemy in Boston did not intend to come out, but were only strengthening their defences and preparing for winter, Washington was enabled to turn his attention to the expedition to be sent into Canada by the way of the Kennebec river. A detachment of about eleven hundred men, chosen for the purpose, was soon encamped on Cambridge Common. There were ten companies of New England infantry, some of them from General Greene's Rhode Island regiments; three rifle companies from Pennsylvania and Virginia, one of them Captain Morgan's famous company; and a number of volunteers;

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among whom was Aaron Burr, then but twenty years of age, and just commencing his brilliant but unfortunate career.

The proposed expedition was wild and perilous, and required a skilful and intrepid leader. Such a one was at hand. Benedict Arnold was at Cambridge, and Washington considered him the very man for the enterprise. He had shown aptness for military service, whether on land or water. He was acquainted, too, with Canada, and especially with Quebec, having, in the course of his checkered life, traded in horses between that place and the West Indies. With these considerations Washington intrusted him with the command of the expedition, giving him the commission of lieutenant-colonel in the continental army. In the general letter of instructions, Washington inserted the following clause. "If Lord Chatham's son should be in Canada, and in any way fall into your power, you are enjoined to treat him with all possible deference and respect. You cannot err in paying too much honor to the son of so illustrious a character and so true a friend to America." Arnold was furnished with handbills for distribution in Canada, setting forth the friendly objects of the present expedition, as well as of that under General Schuyler; and calling on the Canadians to furnish necessaries and accommodations of every kind; for which they were assured ample compensation.

On the 13th of September Arnold struck his tents, and set out in high spirits. Washington enjoined upon him to push forward, as rapidly as possible, success depending upon celerity; and counted the days as they elapsed after his departure, impatient to receive tidings of his progress up the Kennebec, and expecting that the expedition would reach Quebec about the middle of October. In the interim came letters from Schuyler, giving particulars of the main expedition.

For some time past General Schuyler had been struggling with a complication of maladies, but exerted himself to the utmost in the harassing business of the camp, still hoping to be able to move with the army. When everything was nearly ready, he was attacked in the night by a severe access of his disorder, which confined him to his bed, and compelled him to surrender the

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conduct of the expedition to General Montgomery. Since he could be of no further use, therefore, in this quarter, he caused his bed to be placed on board a covered bateau, and set off for Ticonderoga, to hasten forward reinforcements and supplies. On the 16th of September, the day after his departure, Montgomery proceeded to carry out the plans which had been concerted between them. Detaching a force of five hundred men, among whom were three hundred Green Mountain Boys under Seth Warner, to take a position at the junction of two roads leading to Montreal and Chambly, so as to intercept relief from these points, he now proceeded to invest St. John. A battery was erected on a point of land commanding the fort, the ship-yards, and the armed schooner. Another was thrown up in the woods on the east side of the fort, at six hundred yards' distance, and furnished with two small mortars. All this was done under an incessant fire from the enemy, which, as yet, was but feebly returned. St. John had a garrison of five or six hundred regulars and two hundred Canadian militia. Its commander, Major Preston, made a brave resistance. Montgomery had not proper battering cannon; his mortars were defective; his artillerists unpractised, and the engineer ignorant of the first principles of his art. The siege went on slowly, until the arrival of an artillery company under Captain Lamb, expedited from Saratoga by General Schuyler. Lamb, who was an able officer, immediately bedded a thirteen-inch mortar, and commenced a fire of shot and shells upon the fort. The distance, however, was too great, and the positions of the batteries were ill chosen. A flourishing letter was received by the General from Ethan Allen, giving hope of further reinforcement. "I am now," writes he, "at the Parish of St. Ours, four leagues from Sorel to the south. I have two hundred and fifty Canadians under arms. As I march, they gather fast. You may rely on it, that I shall join you in about three days, with five hundred or more Canadian volunteers. I could raise one or two thousand in a week's time; but I will first visit the army with a less number, and, if necessary, go again recruiting. Those that used to be enemies to our cause come, cap in hand, to me; and I swear by the Lord, I can raise three

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times the number of our army in Canada, provided you continue the siege. . . . The eyes of all America, nay, of Europe, are or will be on the economy of this army and the consequences attending it."

Allen was actually on his way toward St. John, when, between Longueil and La Prairie, he met Major Brown with a party of Americans and Canadians. Brown assured him that the garrison at Montreal did not exceed thirty men, and might easily be surprised. Allen's partisan spirit was instantly excited. Here was a chance for another bold stroke equal to that at Ticonderoga. A plan was forthwith agreed upon. Allen was to return to Longueil, which is nearly opposite Montreal, and cross the St. Lawrence in canoes in the night, so as to land a little below the town. Brown, with two hundred men, was to cross above, and Montreal was to be attacked simultaneously at opposite points. All this was arranged and put in action without the consent or knowledge of Montgomery; Allen was again the partisan leader, acting from individual impulse. His late letter to Montgomery would seem to have partaken of fanfaronade; for the whole force with which he undertook his part of this inconsiderate enterprise was thirty Americans and eighty Canadians. With these he crossed the river on the night of the 24th of September, the few canoes found at Longueil having to pass to and fro repeatedly, before his petty force could be landed. Guards were stationed on the roads to prevent any one passing and giving the alarm in Montreal. Day dawned, but there was no signal of Major Brown having performed his part of the scheme. The enterprise seems to have been as ill concerted as it was ill advised. The day advanced, but still no signal; it was evident Major Brown had not crossed. Allen would gladly have recrossed the river, but it was too late. An alarm had been given to the town, and he soon found himself encountered by about forty regular soldiers and a hasty levy of Canadians and Indians. A smart action ensued; most of Allen's Canadian recruits gave way and fled, a number of Americans were slain, and he at length surrendered to the British officer, Major Campbell, being promised honorable terms for himself and thirty-eight of his

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men, who remained with him, seven of whom were wounded. The prisoners were marched into the town and delivered over to General Prescott, the commandant. Their rough appearance and rude equipments were not likely to gain them favor in the eyes of the military tactician, who doubtless considered them as little better than a band of freebooters on a maraud. Their leader, albeit a colonel, must have seemed worthy of the band; for Allen was arrayed in rough frontier style — a deer-skin jacket, a vest and breeches of coarse serge, worsted stockings, stout shoes, and a red woollen cap.

We give Allen's own account of his reception by the British officer. "He asked me my name, which I told him. He then asked me whether I was that Colonel Allen who took Ticonderoga. I told him I was the very man. Then he shook his cane over my head, calling me many hard names, among which he frequently used the word rebel, and put himself in a great rage."

Ethan Allen, according to his own account, answered with becoming spirit. Indeed he gives somewhat of a melodramatic scene, which ended by his being sent on board of the *Gaspee* schooner of war, heavily ironed, to be transported to England for trial; Prescott giving him the parting assurance, sealed with an emphatic oath, that he would grace a halter at Tyburn.

The conduct of Allen was severely censured by Washington. "His misfortune," said he, "will, I hope, teach a lesson of prudence and subordination to others who may be ambitious to outshine their general officers, and, regardless of order and duty, rush into enterprises which have unfavorable effects on the public, and are destructive to themselves."

Shortly after writing the above, and while he was full of solicitude about the fate of Arnold, Washington received a dispatch from the latter dated October 13, from the great portage or carrying-place between the Kennebec and Dead river. "Your Excellency," writes Arnold, "may possibly think we have been tardy in our march, as we have gained so little; but when you consider the badness and weight of the bateaux, and large quantities of provisions, etc., we have been obliged to force up against a very rapid

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stream, where you would have taken the men for amphibious animals, as they were a great part of the time under water: add to this the great fatigue in the portage, you will think I have pushed the men as fast as they could possibly bear."

The toils of the expedition up the Kennebec river had indeed been excessive. Part of the men of each division managed the boats — part marched along the banks. Those on board had to labor against swift currents; to unload at rapids; transport the cargoes, and sometimes the boats themselves, for some distance on their shoulders, and then to reload. They were days in making their way round stupendous cataracts; several times their boats were upset and filled with water, to the loss or damage of arms, ammunition, and provisions. Those on land had to scramble over rocks and precipices, to struggle through swamps and fenny streams; or cut their way through tangled thickets, which reduced their clothes to rags. With all their efforts, their progress was but from four to ten miles a day. At night, the men of each division encamped together. By the time they arrived at the place whence the letter was written, fatigue, swamp fevers, and desertion had reduced their numbers to about nine hundred and fifty effective men. Arnold, however, wrote in good heart. "The last division," said he, "is just arrived; three divisions are over the first carrying-place, and as the men are in high spirits, I make no doubt of reaching the river Chaudière in eight or ten days, the greatest difficulty being, I hope, already past." He had some days previously dispatched an Indian, whom he considered trusty, with a letter for Schuyler, apprising him of his whereabouts, but as yet had received no intelligence either of or from the general, nor did he expect to receive any until he should reach Chaudière Pond. There he calculated to meet the return of his express, and then to determine his plan of operations.

Burning of Falmouth. — While the two expeditions were threatening Canada from different quarters, the war was going on along the seaboard. The British in Boston, cut off from supplies by land, fitted out small armed vessels to seek them along the coast of New England. The inhabitants drove their cattle into

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the interior, or boldly resisted the aggressors. Parties landing to forage were often repulsed by hasty levies of the yeomanry. Scenes of ravage and violence occurred. Stonington was cannonaded, and further measures of vengeance were threatened by Captain Wallace of the *Rose* man-of-war, a naval officer, who had acquired an almost piratical reputation along the coast, and had his rendezvous in the harbor of Newport, domineering over the waters of Rhode Island. To check these maraudings, and to capture the enemy's transports laden with supplies, the provinces of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, fitted out two armed vessels each, at their own expense, without seeking the sanction or aid of Congress. Washington, also, on his own responsibility, ordered several to be equipped for like purpose, which were to be manned by hardy mariners, and commanded by able sea captains, actually serving in the army. One of these vessels was dispatched as soon as ready, to cruise between Cape Ann and Cape Cod. . Two others were fitted out with all haste, and sent to cruise in the waters of the St. Lawrence, to intercept two unarmed brigantines which Congress had been informed had sailed from England for Quebec, with ammunition and military stores. Among the sturdy little New England seaports, which had become obnoxious to punishment by resistance to nautical exactions, was Falmouth (now Portland), in Maine.

On the evening of the 11th of October, Lieutenant Mowatt, of the royal navy, appeared before it with several armed vessels, and sent a letter on shore, apprising the inhabitants that he was come to execute a just punishment on them for their "premeditated attacks on the legal prerogatives of the best of sovereigns." Two hours were given them "to remove the human species out of the town," at the period of which, a red pendant hoisted at the main-top-gallant masthead, and a gun, would be the signal for destruction. The letter brought a deputation of three persons on board. The lieutenant informed them verbally, that he had orders from Admiral Graves to set fire to all the seaport towns between Boston and Halifax; and he expected New York, at the present moment, was in ashes. With much difficulty, and on the surrendering of

some arms, the committee obtained a respite until nine o'clock the next morning, and the inhabitants employed the interval in removing their families and effects. The next morning the committee returned on board before nine o'clock. The lieutenant now offered to spare the town on certain conditions, which were refused. About half-past nine o'clock the red pendant was run up to the masthead, and the signal gun fired. Within five minutes several houses were in flames, from a discharge of bombshells, which continued throughout the day. The inhabitants, "standing on the heights, were spectators of the conflagration, which reduced many of them to penury and despair." One hundred and thirty-nine dwelling-houses and two hundred and twenty-eight stores are said to have been burnt. All the vessels in the harbor, likewise, were destroyed or carried away as prizes. Having satisfied his sense of justice with respect to Falmouth, the gallant lieutenant left it a smoking ruin, and made sail, as was said, for Boston, to supply himself with more ammunition, having the intention to destroy Portsmouth also.

The conflagration of Falmouth was as a bale fire throughout the country. Under the feeling roused by it, the General Court of Massachusetts, exercising a sovereign power, passed an act for encouraging the fitting out of armed vessels to defend the sea-coast of America, and for erecting a court to try and condemn all vessels that should be found infesting the same. This act, granting letters of marque and reprisal, anticipated any measure of the kind on the part of the General Government, and was pronounced by John Adams, "one of the most important documents in history."

Whatever part General Gage may have had in this discreditable measure, he did not remain long enough in the country to see it carried into effect. He sailed for England on the 10th of October, and never returned to America. The measures which his successor, General Howe, adopted after taking command in Boston rejoiced the royalists. He proceeded to strengthen the works on Bunker Hill and Boston Neck, and to clear away houses and throw up redoubts on eminences within the town. The patriot

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inhabitants were shocked by the desecration of the Old South Church, which for more than a hundred years had been a favorite place of worship, where some of the most eminent divines had officiated. The pulpit and pews were now removed, the floor was covered with earth, and the sacred edifice was converted into a riding-school for Burgoyne's light dragoons. To excuse its desecration, it was spoken of scoffingly as a "meeting-house, where sedition had often been preached." The North Church, another "meeting-house," was entirely demolished and used for fuel.

Washington had recently been incensed by the burning of Falmouth; the measures of General Howe seemed of the same harsh character, and he determined to retaliate by seizing Tories.

The season was fast approaching when the bay between the camp and Boston would be frozen over, and military operations might be conducted upon the ice. Washington felt the necessity, therefore, of guarding the camps wherever they were most assailable; he had been embarrassed throughout the siege by the want of artillery and ordnance stores; but never more so than at the present moment. In this juncture, Mr. Henry Knox stepped forward, and offered to proceed to the frontier forts on Champlain in quest of a supply. Knox was one of those providential characters which spring up in emergencies, as if they were formed by and for the occasion. A thriving bookseller in Boston, he had left his business to take up arms for the liberties of his country. He had fought on Bunker Hill, and had since aided in planning the defences of the camp before Boston. The talent here displayed by him as an artillerist, had induced Washington to recommend him to Congress for the command of the artillery in place of the veteran Gridley, who was considered too old for active employment. In the mean time Washington availed himself of the offered services of Knox in the present instance. He was instructed to hasten to New York, procure and forward all the artillery and ammunition that could be had there; and thence proceed to the head-quarters of General Schuyler, who was requested to aid him in obtaining further supplies from the forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Knox set off on his errand with promptness

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and alacrity, and shortly afterwards the commission of colonel of the regiment of artillery which Washington had advised, was forwarded to him by Congress.

The re-enlistment of troops actually in service was now attempted, and proved a fruitful source of perplexity. Half of the officers of the rank of captain were inclined to retire; and it was probable their example would influence their men. Of those who were disposed to remain, the officers of one colony were unwilling to mix in the same regiment with those of another. The difficulties were still greater with the soldiers. They would not enlist unless they knew their colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and captain; Connecticut men being unwilling to serve under officers from Massachusetts, and Massachusetts men under officers from Rhode Island; so that it was necessary to appoint the officers first.

"Such dearth of public spirit," wrote Washington to Reed, "and such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing, and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantage of one kind or another in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and I pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again. What will be the end of these manœuvres is beyond my scan. I tremble at the prospect. We have been till this time (Nov. 28) enlisting about three thousand five hundred men. To engage these, I have been obliged to allow furloughs as far as fifty men to a regiment, and the officers I am persuaded indulge many more. The Connecticut troops will not be prevailed upon to stay longer than their term, saving those who have enlisted for the next campaign, and are mostly on furlough; and such a mercenary spirit pervades the whole, that I should not be surprised at any disaster that may happen. . . . Could I have foreseen what I have experienced and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command."

Arnold's March through the Wilderness. — The transportation of troops and effects across the carrying-place between the Kennebec and Dead rivers, had been a work of severe toil to Arnold and his men, but was performed with admirable spirit. There were ponds and streams full of trout and salmon, which furnished them

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with fresh provisions. Launching their boats on the sluggish waters of the Dead river, they navigated it in divisions to the foot of snow-crowned mountains. Here, while Arnold and the first division were encamped to repose themselves, heavy rains set in, and they came near being swept away by sudden torrents from the mountains. Several of their boats were overturned, much of their food was lost, the sick list increased, and the good spirits which had hitherto sustained them began to give way. They were on scanty allowance, with a prospect of harder times, for there were still twelve or fifteen days of wilderness before them, where no supplies were to be had. A council of war was now held, in which it was determined to send back the sick and disabled. Arnold wrote to the commanders of the other divisions to press on with as many of their men as they could furnish with provisions for fifteen days, and to send the rest back to a place on the route called Norridgewock. This order was misunderstood, or misinterpreted, by Colonel Enos, who commanded the rear division; he gave all the provisions he could spare to Colonel Greene of the third division, retaining merely enough to supply his own corps of three hundred men, on their way back to Norridgewock, whither he immediately returned.

Letters from Arnold and Enos apprised Washington of this grievous flaw in the enterprise. He regarded it, however, as usual, with a hopeful eye. "Notwithstanding this great defection," said he, "I do not despair of Colonel Arnold's success. He will have, in all probability, many more difficulties to encounter, than if he had been a fortnight sooner; as it is likely that Governor Carleton, will, with what forces he can collect after the surrender of the rest of Canada, throw himself into Quebec, and there make his last effort."

Washington was not mistaken in the confidence he had placed in the energy of Arnold. Though the latter found his petty force greatly reduced by the retrograde move of Enos and his party, and although snow and ice rendered his march still more bleak among the mountains, he kept on with unflinching spirit until he arrived at the ridge which divides the streams of New England

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and Canada. Here, at Lake Megantic, the source of the Chaudière, he met an emissary whom he had sent in advance to ascertain the feelings of the French yeomanry, in the fertile valley of that stream. His report being favorable, Arnold shared out among the different companies the scanty provisions which remained, directing them to make the best of their way for the Chaudière settlements; while he, with a light foraging party, would push rapidly ahead, to procure and send back supplies. He accordingly embarked with his little party in five bateaux and a birch canoe, and launched forth without a guide on the swift current of the Chaudière. It was little better than a mountain torrent, full of rocks and rapids. Three of their boats were dashed to pieces, the cargoes lost, and the crews saved with difficulty. At one time, the whole party came near being precipitated over a cataract, where all might have perished; at length they reached Sertigan, the first French settlement, where they were cordially received. Here Arnold bought provisions, which he sent back by the Canadians and Indians to his troops. The latter were in a state of starvation. Some had not tasted food for eight-and-forty hours; others had cooked two dogs, followers of the camp; and others had boiled their moccasins, cartouch boxes, and other articles of leather, in the hope of rendering them eatable.

Arnold halted for a short time in the hospitable valley of the Chaudière, to give his troops repose, and distributed among the inhabitants the printed manifesto with which he had been furnished by Washington. Here he was joined by about forty Norridgewock Indians. On the 9th of November, the little army emerged from the woods at Point Levi, on the St. Lawrence, opposite to Quebec. A letter written by an inhabitant of that place, speaks of their sudden apparition.

"There are about five hundred provincials arrived at Point Levi, opposite to the town, by the way of Chaudière across the woods. Surely a miracle must have been wrought in their favor. It is an undertaking above the common race of men in this debauched age."

Meanwhile Montgomery, having captured St. John, appeared

before Montreal on the 12th of November. General Carleton had embarked with his little garrison, and several of the civil officers of the place, and made sail in the night, carrying away with him the powder and other important stores. The town capitulated, of course; and Montgomery took quiet possession. His urbanity and kindness soon won the good will of the inhabitants and made them sensible that he really came to secure their rights, not to molest them. Intercepted letters acquainted him with Arnold's arrival in the neighborhood of Quebec, and the great alarm of "the king's friends," who expected to be besieged: "which, with the blessing of God, they shall be," said Montgomery, "if the severe season holds off, and I can prevail on the troops to accompany me."

His immediate object was the capture of Carleton, which would form a triumphal close to the enterprise, and might decide the fate of Canada. The flotilla in which the general was embarked, had made repeated attempts to escape down the St. Lawrence; but had as often been driven back by batteries thrown up by the Americans at the mouth of the Sorel. It now lay anchored about fifteen miles above that river, and Montgomery prepared to attack it with bateaux and light artillery, so as to force it down upon the batteries. Carleton saw his imminent peril. Disguising himself as a Canadian voyager, he set off on a dark night accompanied by six peasants, in a boat with muffled oars, slipped quietly past the batteries and guard-boats, and effected his escape to Three Rivers, where he embarked in a vessel for Quebec. After his departure the flotilla surrendered, and all those who had taken refuge on board were made prisoners of war, among them General Prescott, late commander of Montreal.

Montgomery now prepared to descend the St. Lawrence, and co-operate with Arnold against Quebec. To his disappointment and deep chagrin, he found but a handful of his troops disposed to accompany him. Some pleaded ill health; the term of enlistment of many had expired, and they were bent on returning home; others, who had no such excuses to make, became turbulent and mutinous. While Montgomery was thus detained at Montreal,

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Arnold was meditating an attack on Quebec. Could he have crossed the river without delay he might have carried the town by a sudden assault; for terror as well as disaffection prevailed among the inhabitants. At Point Levi, however, he was brought to a stand; not a boat was to be found there. Letters which he had dispatched some days previously, by two Indians, to Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, had been carried by his faithless messengers to the lieutenant-governor, who, thus apprised of the impending danger, had caused all the boats at Point Levi to be either removed or destroyed.

Arnold was not a man to be disheartened by difficulties. With great exertions he procured about forty birch canoes from the Canadians and Indians, with forty of the latter to navigate them; but stormy winds arose, and for some days the river was too boisterous for such frail craft. In the meantime the garrison at Quebec was gaining strength. The *Lizard* frigate, the *Hornet* sloop-of-war, and two armed schooners were stationed in the river, and guard-boats patrolled at night. The prospect of a successful attack upon the place was growing desperate.

On the 13th of November, Arnold received intelligence that Montgomery had captured St. John. He was instantly roused to emulation. His men, too, were inspirited by the news. The wind had abated: he was determined to cross the river that very night. At a late hour in the evening he embarked with the first division, principally riflemen. The river was wide; the current rapid; the birch canoes, easy to be upset, required skilful management. By four o'clock in the morning, a large part of his force had crossed without being perceived, and landed about a mile and a half above Cape Diamond, at Wolfe's Cove, so called from being the landing-place of that gallant commander. Just then a guard-boat belonging to the *Lizard*, came slowly along shore and discovered them. They hailed it, and ordered it to land. Not complying it was fired into, and three men were killed. The boat instantly pulled for the frigate, giving vociferous alarm. Without waiting the arrival of the residue of his men, for whom the canoes had been dispatched, Arnold led those who had landed to the foot

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of the cragged defile, once scaled by the intrepid Wolfe, and scrambled up it in all haste. By daylight he had planted his daring flag on the far-famed Heights of Abraham.

Here the main difficulty stared him in the face. A strong line of walls and bastions traversed the promontory from one of its precipitous sides to the other, inclosing the upper and lower towns. On the right, the great bastion of Cape Diamond crowned the rocky height of that name. On the left was the bastion of La Potasse, close by the gate of St. John opening upon the barracks; the gate where Wolfe's antagonist, the gallant Montcalm, received his death wound.

A council of war was now held. Arnold, who had some knowledge of the place, was for dashing forward at once and storming the gate of St. John. Had they done so, they might have been successful. The gate was open and unguarded. Through some blunder and delay, a message from the commander of the *Lizard* to the lieutenant-governor had not yet been delivered, and no alarm had reached the fortress. The formidable aspect of the place, however, awed Arnold's associates in council. They considered that their whole force was but between seven and eight hundred men; that nearly one-third of their fire-arms had been rendered useless, and much of their ammunition damaged in their march through the wilderness; they had no artillery, and the fortress looked too strong to be carried by a *coup de main*. Cautious counsel is often fatal to a daring enterprise. While the council of war deliberated, the favorable moment passed away. The lieutenant-governor received the tardy message. The din of arms resounded through the streets. The cry was up — "The enemy are on the Heights of Abraham! The gate of St. John is open!" There was an attempt to shut it. The keys were not to be found. It was hastily secured by ropes and handspikes, and the walls looking upon the heights were soon manned by the military and thronged by the populace.

Arnold paraded his men within a hundred yards of the walls, and caused them to give three hearty cheers; hoping to excite a revolt in the place, or to provoke the scanty garrison to a sally.

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There were a few scattered cheerings in return; but the taunting bravado failed to produce a sortie; the governor dared not venture beyond the walls with part of his garrison, having too little confidence in the loyalty of those who would remain behind. In the evening Arnold sent a flag, demanding in the name of the United Colonies the surrender of the place. Some of the disaffected and faint-hearted were inclined to open the gates, but were held in check by the mastiff loyalty of Colonel Maclean, who guarded the gate with his Highlanders, forbade all communication with the besiegers, and fired upon their flag as an ensign of rebellion.

Several days elapsed. Arnold's flags of truce were repeatedly insulted, but he saw the futility of resenting it, and attacking the place with his present means. The inhabitants gradually recovered from their alarm, and armed themselves to defend their property. The sailors and marines proved a valuable addition to the garrison, which now really meditated a sortie.

Arnold received information of all this from friends within the walls; he heard about the same time of the capture of Montreal, and that General Carleton, having escaped from that place, was on his way down to Quebec. He thought at present, therefore, to draw off on the 19th to *Point aux Trembles* (Aspen-tree Point), twenty miles above Quebec, there to await the arrival of Montgomery with troops and artillery. As his little army wended its way along the high bank of the river towards its destined encampment, a vessel passed below, which had just touched at Point aux Trembles. On board of it was General Carleton, hurrying on to Quebec. It was not long before the distant booming of artillery told of his arrival at his post, where he resumed a stern command. He was unpopular among the inhabitants; even the British merchants and other men of business were offended by the coldness of his manners, and his confining his intimacy to the military and the Canadian noblesse. He was aware of his unpopularity, and looked round him with distrust; his first measure was to turn out of the place all suspected persons, and all who refused to aid in its defence. This caused a great "trooping out of town," but what

was lost in numbers was gained in strength. With the loyally disposed who remained, he busied himself in improving the defences.

Of the constant anxiety, yet enduring hope, with which Washington watched this hazardous enterprise, we have evidence in his various letters. To Arnold, at Point Levi, he writes: "It is not in the power of any man to command success, but you have done more, you have deserved it; and before this time (Dec. 5th), I hope you have met with the laurels which are due to your toils, in the possession of Quebec."

Attack on Quebec. — Montgomery had arrived at Point aux Trembles on the 1st of December, and next day the army set off in face of a driving snow-storm for Quebec, and arrived before it on the 5th. The works, from their great extent, appeared to him incapable of being defended by the actual garrison; made up, as he said, of "Maclean's banditti," the sailors from the frigates and other vessels, together with the citizens obliged to take up arms; most of whom were impatient of the fatigues of a siege, and wished to see matters accommodated amicably. "I propose," added he, "amusing Mr. Carleton with a formal attack, erecting batteries, etc., but mean to assault the works, I believe towards the lower town, which is the weakest part."

According to his own account, his whole force did not exceed nine hundred effective men, three hundred of whom he had brought with him; the rest he found with Colonel Arnold. The latter he pronounced an exceedingly fine corps. "There is a style of discipline among them," says he, "much superior to what I have been used to see in this campaign. Arnold is active, intelligent, and enterprising. Fortune often baffles the sanguine expectations of poor mortals. I am not intoxicated with her favors, but I do think there is a fair prospect of success."

On the day of his arrival, he sent a flag with a summons to surrender. It was fired upon, and obliged to retire. Exasperated at this outrage, Montgomery prepared for an attack. The ground was frozen to a great depth, and covered with snow; he was scantily provided with entrenching tools, and had only a field train of artillery, with a few mortars. By dint of excessive labor a breast-

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work was thrown up, four hundred yards distant from the walls, and opposite the gate of St. Louis, which is nearly in the centre. It was formed of gabions, ranged side by side, and filled with snow, over which water was thrown until thoroughly frozen. Here Captain Lamb mounted five light pieces and a howitzer. Several mortars were placed in the suburbs of St. Roque, which extends on the left of the promontory, below the heights, and nearly on a level with the river. From the "Ice Battery" Captain Lamb opened a well-sustained and well-directed fire upon the walls, but his field-pieces were too light to be effective. With his howitzer he threw shells into the town and set it on fire in several places. For five days and nights the garrison was kept on the alert by the teasing fire of this battery. The object of Montgomery was to harass the town, and increase the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants. His flag of truce being still fired upon, he caused the Indians in his camp to shoot arrows into the town, having letters attached to them, addressed to the inhabitants, representing Carleton's refusal to treat, and advising them to rise in a body and compel him. It was all in vain; whatever might have been the disposition of the inhabitants, they were completely under the control of the military.

On the evening of the fifth day, Montgomery paid a visit to the ice battery. The heavy artillery from the wall had repaid its ineffectual fire with ample usury. The brittle ramparts had been shivered like glass; several of the guns had been rendered useless. Just as they arrived at the battery, a shot from the fortress dismounted one of the guns, and disabled many of the men. A second shot immediately following, was almost as destructive. "This is warm work, sir," said Montgomery to Captain Lamb. "It is indeed, and certainly no place for you, sir." "Why so, Captain?" "Because there are enough of us here to be killed, without the loss of you, which would be irreparable." The general saw the insufficiency of the battery, and, on retiring, gave Captain Lamb permission to leave it whenever he thought proper. The veteran waited until after dark, when, securing all the guns, he abandoned the ruined redoubt.

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Nearly three weeks had been consumed in these futile operations. The army, ill-clothed and ill-provided, was becoming impatient of the rigors of a Canadian winter; the term for which part of the troops had enlisted would expire with the year, and they already talked of returning home. Montgomery was sadly conscious of the insufficiency of his means, but could not endure the thought of retiring from before the place without striking a blow. He determined, therefore, to attempt to carry the place by *escalade*. One-third of his men were to set fire to the houses and stockades of the suburb of St. Roque, and force the barriers of the lower town; while the main body should scale the bastion of Cape Diamond.

It was a hazardous, almost a desperate project, yet it has met with the approbation of military men. He calculated upon the devotion and daring spirit of his men; upon the discontent which prevailed among the Canadians, and upon the incompetency of the garrison for the defence of such extensive works. In regard to the devotion of his men, he was threatened with disappointment. When the plan of assault was submitted to a council of war, three of the captains in Arnold's division, the terms of whose companies were near expiring, declined to serve, unless they and their men could be transferred to another command. This almost mutinous movement, it is supposed, was fomented by Major Brown, a bitter enemy of Arnold, and it was with infinite difficulty Montgomery succeeded in overcoming it.

The ladders were now provided for the *escalade*, and Montgomery waited with impatience for a favorable night to put it into execution. Small-pox and desertion had reduced his little army to seven hundred and fifty men. From certain movements of the enemy, it was surmised that deserters had revealed his plan. He changed, therefore, the arrangement. Colonel Livingston was to make a false attack on the gate of St. John and set fire to it; Major Brown, with another detachment, was to menace the bastion of Cape Diamond. Arnold, with three hundred and fifty of the hardy fellows who had followed him through the wilderness, strengthened by Captain Lamb and forty of his company, was to

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assault the suburbs and batteries of St. Roque; while Montgomery, with the residue of his forces, was to pass below the bastion at Cape Diamond, defile along the river, carry the defences at Drummond's Wharf, and thus enter the lower town on one side, while Arnold forced his way into it on the other. These movements were all to be made at the same time, on the discharge of signal rockets, thus distracting the enemy, and calling their attention to four several points.

On the 31st of December, at two o'clock in the morning, the troops repaired to their several destinations, under cover of a violent snow-storm. By some accident or mistake, such as is apt to occur in complicated plans of attack, the signal rockets were let off before the lower divisions had time to get to their fighting-ground. They were descried by one of Maclean's Highland officers, who gave the alarm. Livingston, also, failed to make the false attack on the gate of St. John, which was to have caused a diversion favorable to Arnold's attack on the suburb below.

The feint by Major Brown, on the bastion of Cape Diamond, was successful, and concealed the march of General Montgomery. That gallant commander descended from the heights to Wolfe's Cove, and led his division along the shore of the St. Lawrence, round the beetling promontory of Cape Diamond. The narrow approach to the lower town in that direction was traversed by a picket or stockade, defended by Canadian militia; beyond which was a second defence, a kind of block-house, forming a battery of small pieces, manned by Canadian militia, and a few seamen, and commanded by the captain of a transport. The aim of Montgomery was to come upon these barriers by surprise. The pass which they defended is formidable at all times, having a swift river on one side, and overhanging precipices on the other; but at this time it was rendered peculiarly difficult by drifting snow, and by great masses of ice piled on each other at the foot of the cliffs.

The troops made their way painfully, in extended and straggling files, along the narrow footway, and over the slippery piles of ice. Among the foremost, were some of the first New York regiment, led by Captain Cheeseman. "Forward, men of New York!"

cried Montgomery. "You are not the men to flinch when your general leads you on!" In his eagerness, he threw himself far in the advance, with his pioneers and a few officers, and made a dash at the first barrier. The Canadians stationed there made a few random shots, then threw down their muskets and fled. Montgomery sprang forward, aided with his own hand to pluck down the pickets, which the pioneers were sawing, and having made a breach sufficiently wide to admit three or four men abreast, entered sword in hand, followed by his staff, Captain Cheeseman, and some of his men. The Canadians had fled from the picket to the battery or block-house, but seemed to have carried the panic with them, for the battery remained silent. Montgomery felt for a moment as if the surprise had been complete. He paused in the breach to rally on the troops, who were stumbling along the difficult pass. "Push on, my brave boys," cried he, "Quebec is ours!"

He again dashed forward, but, when within forty paces of the battery, a discharge of grape-shot from a single cannon, made deadly havoc. Montgomery and one of his aides were killed on the spot. Captain Cheeseman received a canister shot through the body; made an effort to rise and push forward, but fell back a corpse; with him fell his orderly sergeant and several of his men. This slaughter, and the death of their general, threw everything into confusion. The officer next in rank was far in the rear; in this emergency Colonel Campbell took command, but, instead of rallying the men to effect the junction with Arnold, ordered a retreat, and abandoned the half-won field, leaving behind him the bodies of the slain.

While all this was occurring on the side of Cape Diamond, Arnold led his division against the opposite side of the lower town along the suburb and street of St. Roque. Like Montgomery, he took the advance at the head of a forlorn hope of twenty-five men. Captain Lamb and his artillery company came next, with a field-piece mounted on a sledge. Then came a company with ladders and scaling implements, followed by Morgan and his riflemen. In the rear of all these came the main body. A battery on a wharf

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commanded the narrow pass by which they had to advance. This was to be attacked with the field-piece, and then scaled with ladders by the forlorn hope, while Captain Morgan with his riflemen, was to pass round the wharf on the ice.

The false attack which was to have been made by Livingston on the gate of St. John by way of diversion, had not taken place; there was nothing, therefore, to call off the attention of the enemy in this quarter from the detachment. The troops, as they straggled along in lengthened file through the drifting snow, were sadly galled by a flanking fire on the right, from wall and pickets. The field-piece at length became so deeply embedded in a snow-drift, that it could not be moved. Lamb sent word to Arnold of the impediment; in the meantime, he and his artillery company were brought to a halt. The company with the scaling ladders would have halted also, having been told to keep in the rear of the artillery; but they were urged on by Morgan with a thundering oath, who pushed on after them with his riflemen, the artillery company opening to the right and left to let them pass.

They arrived in the advance, just as Arnold was leading on his forlorn hope to attack the barrier. Before he reached it, a severe wound in the right leg with a musket-ball completely disabled him, and he had to be borne from the field. Morgan instantly took command. Just then Lamb came up with his company, armed with muskets and bayonets, having received orders to abandon the field-piece, and support the advance. The battery which commanded the defile mounted two pieces of cannon. There was a discharge of grape-shot when the assailants were close under the muzzles of the guns, yet but one man was killed. Before there could be a second discharge, the battery was carried by assault, some firing into the embrasures, others scaling the walls. The captain and thirty of his men were taken prisoners.

The day was just dawning as Morgan led on to attack the second barrier, and his men had to advance under a fire from the town walls on their right, which incessantly thinned their ranks. The second barrier was reached; they applied their scaling ladders to storm it. The defence was brave and obstinate, but the defenders

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were at length driven from their guns, and the battery was gained. At the last moment one of the gunners ran back, linstock in hand, to give one more shot. Captain Lamb snapped a fusee at him. It missed fire. The cannon was discharged, and a grape-shot wounded Lamb in the head, carrying away part of the cheek-bone. He was borne off senseless, to a neighboring shed.

The two barriers being now taken, the way on this side into the lower town seemed open. Morgan prepared to enter it with the victorious vanguard, first stationing Captain Dearborn and some provincials at Palace Gate, which opened down into the defile from the upper town. By this time, however, the death of Montgomery and retreat of Campbell had enabled the enemy to turn all their attention in this direction. A large detachment sent by General Carleton, sallied out of Palace Gate after Morgan had passed it, surprised and captured Dearborn and the guard, and completely cut off the advanced party. The main body, informed of the death of Montgomery, and giving up the game as lost, retreated to the camp, leaving behind the field-piece which Lamb's company had abandoned, and the mortars in the battery of St. Roque.

Morgan and his men were now hemmed in on all sides, and obliged to take refuge in a stone house from the inveterate fire which assailed them. From the windows they kept up a desperate defence, until cannon were brought to bear upon it. Then hearing of the death of Montgomery, and seeing there was no prospect of relief, Morgan and his gallant handful of followers were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Thus foiled at every point, the wrecks of the little army abandoned their camp, and retreated about three miles from the town; where they hastily fortified themselves, apprehending a pursuit by the garrison. General Carleton, however, contented himself with having secured the safety of the place, and remained cautiously passive until he should be properly reinforced, distrusting the good faith of the motley inhabitants. He is said to have treated the prisoners with a humanity the more honorable, considering the "habitual military severity of his temper"; their heroic daring,

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displayed in the assault upon the lower town, having excited his admiration.

The remains of the gallant Montgomery received a soldier's grave, within the fortifications of Quebec. Arnold, wounded and disabled, had been assisted back to the camp, dragging one foot after the other for nearly a mile in great agony, and exposed continually to the musketry from the walls at fifty yards' distance, which shot down several at his side. He took temporary command of the shattered army, until General Wooster should arrive from Montreal, to whom he sent an express, urging him to bring on succor. "On this occasion," says a contemporary writer, "he discovered the utmost vigor of a determined mind, and a genius full of resources. Defeated and wounded, as he was, he put his troops into such a situation as to keep them still formidable. With a mere handful of men, at one time not exceeding five hundred, he maintained a blockade of the strong fortress from which he had just been repulsed." "I have no thoughts," writes he, "of leaving this proud town until I enter it in triumph. *I am in the way of my duty, and I know no fear!*"

Happy for him had he fallen at this moment. Happy for him had he found a soldier's and a patriot's grave, beneath the rock-built walls of Quebec. Those walls would have remained enduring monuments of his renown. His name, like that of Montgomery, would have been treasured up among the dearest recollections of his country, and that country would have been spared the traitorous blot that dims the bright page of its revolutionary history.

The British driven from Boston.—The siege of Boston continued through the winter, without any striking incident to enliven its monotony. The British remained within their works, leaving the beleaguering army slowly to augment its forces. The country was dissatisfied with the inaction of the latter. Congress was anxious for some successful blow that might revive popular enthusiasm. Washington shared this anxiety, and had repeatedly, in councils of war, suggested an attack upon the town, but had found a majority of his general officers opposed to it. He had hoped some favorable opportunity would present, when, the harbor being

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frozen, the troops might approach the town upon the ice. The winter, however, though severe at first, proved a mild one, and the bay continued open. A cannonade and bombardment were considered advisable, as soon as there should be a sufficiency of powder; in the meantime, preparations might be made for taking possession of Dorchester Heights, and Noddle's Island.

At length the camp was rejoiced by the arrival of Colonel Knox, with his long train of sledges drawn by oxen all the way from Ticonderoga, bringing more than fifty cannon, mortars, and howitzers, beside supplies of lead and flints. The zeal and perseverance which he had displayed in his wintry expedition across frozen lakes and snowy wastes, and the intelligence with which he had fulfilled his instructions, won him the entire confidence of Washington. His conduct in this enterprise was but an earnest of that energy and ability which he displayed throughout the war. Further ammunition being received from the royal arsenal at New York, and other quarters, and a reinforcement of ten regiments of militia, Washington no longer met with opposition to his warlike measures. Lechmere Point, which Putnam had fortified, was immediately to be supplied with mortars and heavy cannon, so as to command Boston on the north; and Dorchester Heights, on the south of the town, were forthwith to be taken possession of. "If anything," said Washington, "will induce the enemy to hazard an engagement, it will be our attempting to fortify those heights, as, in that event taking place, we shall be able to command a great part of the town, and almost the whole harbor." Their possession, moreover, would enable him to push his works to Nook's Hill, and other points opposite Boston, whence a cannonade and bombardment must drive the enemy from the city. The council of Massachusetts, at his request, ordered the militia of the towns contiguous to Dorchester and Roxbury, to hold themselves in readiness to repair to the lines at those places with arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, on receiving a preconcerted signal.

Washington felt painfully aware how much depended upon the success of this attempt. There was a cloud of gloom and distrust lowering upon the public mind. Danger threatened on the north

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and on the south. Montgomery had fallen before the walls of Quebec. The army in Canada was shattered. Tryon and the Tories were plotting mischief in New York. Dunmore was harassing the lower part of Virginia, and Clinton and his fleet were prowling along the coast, on a secret errand of mischief.

In the general plan it was concerted that, should the enemy detach a large force to dislodge our men from Dorchester Heights, as had been done in the affair of Bunker Hill, an attack upon the opposite side of the town should forthwith be made by Putnam. For this purpose he was to have four thousand picked men in readiness, in two divisions, under Sullivan and Greene. At a concerted signal from Roxbury, they were to embark in boats near the mouth of Charles river, cross under cover of the fire of three floating batteries, land in two places in Boston, secure its strong posts, force the gates and works at the Neck, and let in the Roxbury troops.

The evening of Monday, the 4th of March, was fixed upon for the occupation of Dorchester Heights. The ground was frozen too hard to be easily entrenched; fascines, therefore, and gabions, and bundles of screwed hay, were collected during the two preceding nights, with which to form breastworks and redoubts. During these two busy nights the enemy's batteries were cannonaded from opposite points, to occupy their attention. They replied with spirit, and the incessant roar of artillery covered completely the rumbling of wagons and ordnance.

On Monday evening as soon as the firing commenced, a strong detachment under General Thomas set out on its cautious march from the lines of Roxbury and Dorchester. Everything was conducted as quietly as possible. A covering party of eight hundred men preceded the carts with the entrenching tools; then came General Thomas with the working party, twelve hundred strong, followed by a train of three hundred wagons, laden with fascines, gabions, and hay screwed into bundles of seven or eight hundred weight. A great number of such bundles were ranged in a line along Dorchester Neck on the side next the enemy, to protect the troops, while passing, from being raked by the fire of the enemy.

Fortunately, although the moon was shining in its full lustre, the flash and roar of cannonry from opposite points, and the bursting of bombshells high in the air, so engaged and diverted the attention of the enemy, that the detachment reached the heights about eight o'clock, without being heard or perceived. The covering party then divided; one half proceeded to the point nearest Boston, the other to the one nearest to Castle William. The working party began to fortify, under the directions of Gridley, the veteran engineer who had planned the works on Bunker Hill. It was severe labor, for the earth was frozen eighteen inches deep; but the men worked with more than their usual spirit, for the eye of the commander-in-chief was upon them. Though not called there by his duties, Washington could not be absent from this eventful operation. When a relief party arrived at four o'clock in the morning, two forts were in sufficient forwardness to furnish protection against small-arms and grape-shot; and such use was made of the fascines and bundles of screwed hay, that, at dawn, a formidable-looking fortress frowned along the height. "This morning at daybreak," writes a British officer, "we discovered two redoubts on Dorchester Point, and two smaller ones on their flanks. They were all raised during the last night, with an expedition equal to that of the genii belonging to Aladdin's wonderful lamp. From these hills they command the whole town, so that we must drive them from their post, or desert the place."

Howe gazed at the mushroom fortress with astonishment, as it loomed indistinctly, but grandly, through a morning fog. "The rebels," exclaimed he, "have done more work in one night, than my whole army would have done in one month."

Washington watched, with intense anxiety, the effect of the revelation at daybreak. "When the enemy first discovered our works in the morning," writes he, "they seemed to be in great confusion, and from their movements, to intend an attack." General Thomas was reinforced with two thousand men. Putnam stood ready to make a descent upon the north side of the town, with his four thousand picked men, as soon as the heights on the south should be assailed: "All the forenoon," says an American

eye-witness, "we were in momentary expectation of witnessing an awful scene; nothing less than the carnage of Breed's Hill battle was expected." As Washington rode about the heights, he reminded the troops that it was the 5th of March, the anniversary of the Boston massacre, and called on them to revenge the slaughter of their brethren. They answered him with shouts. "Our officers and men," writes he, "appeared impatient for the appeal. The event, I think, must have been fortunate; nothing less than success and victory on our side."

Howe, in the meantime, was perplexed between his pride and the hazards of his position. In his letters to the ministry, he had scouted the idea of "being in danger from the rebels." He had "hoped they would attack him." Apparently they were about to fulfil his hopes, and with formidable advantages of position. He must dislodge them from Dorchester Heights, or evacuate Boston. The latter was an alternative too mortifying to be readily adopted. He resolved on an attack, but it was to be a night one. Twenty-five hundred men under Lord Percy were embarked in transports, which were to convey them to the rendezvous at Castle William. A violent storm set in from the east. The transports could not reach their place of destination. The men-of-war could not cover and support them. A furious surf beat on the shore where the boats would have to land. The attack was consequently postponed until the following day, which turned out equally unpropitious. The storm continued with torrents of rain, and meanwhile the Americans went on strengthening their works until General Howe deemed them too strong to be carried.

What was to be done? The shells thrown from the heights into the town proved that it was no longer tenable. The fleet was equally exposed. It was determined, therefore, in a council of war, to evacuate Boston as soon as possible. But now came on a humiliating perplexity. The troops, in embarking, would be exposed to a destructive fire. How was this to be prevented? General Howe endeavored to work on the fears of the Bostonians, by hinting that if his troops were molested while embarking, he might be obliged to cover their retreat, by setting fire to the town.

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The hint had its effect. Several of the principal inhabitants communicated with him, and a paper was concocted and signed by the selectmen, stating the fears they had entertained of the destruction of the town, but that those fears had been quieted by General Howe's declaration that it should remain uninjured, provided his troops were unmolested while embarking; the selectmen, therefore, begged "some assurance that so dreadful a calamity might not be brought on, by any measures from without."

This paper was sent out from Boston, on the evening of the 8th, with a flag of truce, which bore it to the American lines at Roxbury. There it was received by Colonel Learned, and carried to head-quarters. Washington consulted with such of the general officers as he could immediately assemble. The paper was not addressed to him, nor to any one else. It was not authenticated by the signature of General Howe; nor was there any other act obliging that commander to fulfil the promise asserted to have been made by him. It was deemed proper, therefore, that Washington should give no answer to the paper; but that Colonel Learned should signify in a letter his having laid it before the commander-in-chief and the reasons assigned for not answering it.

With this uncompromising letter, the flag returned to Boston. The Americans suspended their fire, but continued to fortify their positions. Daily preparations were made by the enemy for departure. By proclamation, the inhabitants were ordered to deliver up all linen and woollen goods, and all other goods, that, in possession of the rebels, would aid them in carrying on the war. Crean Bush, a New York Tory, was authorized to take possession of such goods, and put them on board of two of the transports. Under cover of his commission, he and his myrmidons broke open stores, and stripped them of their contents. Marauding gangs from the fleet and army followed their example, and extended their depredations to private houses. On the 14th, Howe, in a general order, declared that the first soldier caught plundering should be hanged on the spot. Still on the 16th houses were broken open, goods destroyed, and furniture defaced by the troops.

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For some days the embarkation was delayed by adverse winds. Washington, who was imperfectly informed of affairs in Boston, feared that the movements there might be a feint. Determined to bring things to a crisis, he detached a force to Nook's Hill on Saturday, the sixteenth, which threw up a breastwork in the night regardless of the cannonading of the enemy. This commanded Boston Neck, and the south part of the town, and a deserter brought a false report to the British that a general assault was intended. The embarkation, so long delayed, began with hurry and confusion at four o'clock in the morning. The harbor of Boston soon presented a striking and tumultuous scene. There were seventy-eight ships and transports casting loose for sea, and eleven or twelve thousand men, soldiers, sailors, and refugees, hurrying to embark; many, especially of the latter, with their families and personal effects. By ten o'clock, the enemy were all embarked and under way; Putnam had taken command of the city, and occupied the important points, and the flag of thirteen stripes, the standard of the Union floated above all the forts. To add to the mortification of General Howe, he received, while sailing out of the harbor, dispatches from the ministry, approving the resolution he had strenuously expressed of maintaining his post until he should receive reinforcements.

The eminent services of Washington throughout this arduous siege, his admirable management, by which, "in the course of a few months, *an undisciplined band of husbandmen* became soldiers, and were enabled to invest, for nearly a year, and finally to expel a brave army of veterans, commanded by the most experienced generals," drew forth the enthusiastic applause of the nation. On motion of John Adams, who had first moved his nomination as commander-in-chief, a unanimous vote of thanks to him was passed in Congress; and it was ordered that a gold medal be struck, commemorating the evacuation of Boston, bearing the effigy of Washington as its deliverer.

Retreat from Canada.—We left Arnold before the walls of Quebec, defeated and wounded, yet not disheartened. With a force less than half the number of the garrison he kept up the

siege throughout the entire winter. For his gallant services Congress promoted him in January to the rank of brigadier-general. In May, still suffering from his wound, he took command at Montreal, while the operations at Quebec were carried on by General Thomas. The golden opportunity for capturing the citadel of Canada had, however, passed away. So many fresh troops arrived from England and Germany that Carleton was able to assume the offensive with an army of thirteen thousand men. Against such overwhelming numbers the Americans could not make a stand; the retreat was ably conducted by General Sullivan, who took the command after the death of Thomas by small-pox; and by the end of June the Americans had withdrawn to Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The New England people were very hostile to General Schuyler because he supported the claim of New York to jurisdiction over the Green Mountain country. It was now sought to lay upon him the blame for the failure of the invasion of Canada, on the ground that he had not properly supported the generals who conducted it. The absurd charge was summarily refuted, but a miserable set of intrigues was now begun against Schuyler, which did not end until he was driven from the army. Foremost among the intriguers was Gates, who had lately been made major-general and placed in command of Ticonderoga. By flattering the prejudices of the New Englanders, he became very popular in that part of the country; and he worked zealously and insidiously to effect the ruin of the noble Schuyler. The fortunes of Arnold also were by and by dragged into the meshes of these intrigues; for as the steadfast friend of Schuyler he incurred the bitter enmity of Gates and his party in Congress.

Declaration of Independence. — During the winter and spring of 1776 the feeling in favor of an entire separation from Great Britain grew stronger and stronger. Perhaps no act of the British government went further to strengthen it than the hiring of foreign troops from Germany to fight against its own subjects in America. Massachusetts had for some time been ripe for independence, having formed a new government for herself in the summer of 1775. In the winter there was civil war between Whigs and Tories in North

Carolina, in which the Tories were completely defeated. In Virginia, also, there was an outbreak of war in which the Tories were worsted, and the royal governor, Lord Dunmore, was driven to take refuge on the British fleet. Dunmore sought to avenge himself by bombarding and completely destroying Norfolk, then the principal town in Virginia, with nine thousand inhabitants. This act went far toward determining the attitude of Virginia, and in May, 1776, her delegates in Congress were instructed to move that the thirteen colonies should be declared free and independent states. The motion was made on the 7th of June by Richard Henry Lee, and seconded by John Adams. Action was postponed for three weeks to take the sense of the middle colonies, where parties were more evenly balanced.

Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina were not in favor of the declaration, but joined in it on the ground that it was necessary for all the colonies to act together. New York hesitated as to what line of conduct to pursue. Mr. Lee's motion was at last carried unanimously by twelve states on the 2d of July; and on the 4th the Declaration of Independence, drafted by Thomas Jefferson, was formally adopted. On the 9th of July the state of New York concurred in adopting it.

Battle of Fort Moultrie. — While these things were going on, Sir Henry Clinton was aiming at the conquest of South Carolina. He had started in the winter with a small fleet, before the British had been driven from Boston, and had sailed for Albemarle Sound, hoping to assist the Tories in North Carolina and secure that state for the king. Sir Peter Parker's fleet was to come over from the coasts of Ireland and co-operate with him; but the scheme failed. The North Carolina Tories were crushed, and Parker was delayed until May, when he arrived in Albemarle Sound, bringing with him Lord Cornwallis. This very able general was now in his thirty-eighth year, and had served in Germany in the Seven Years' War. He had now reached the grade of lieutenant-general, and was regarded as one of the best officers in the British service, as he was one of the most honorable and high-minded public servants England has ever had. After the close of our Revolutionary War he

served with great distinction as governor-general of India, reached the grade of field-marshal, the highest in the British army, was made a knight of the garter and raised in the peerage to a marquisate. In our Revolutionary War he played the most important part among the British generals, though he did not hold the chief command. It is worthy of note that, like General Howe, he felt great sympathy for the Americans, and disapproved of the harsh measures of the British government which had driven them to rebellion.

On the arrival of Parker's fleet it was decided to capture the city of Charleston and overrun South Carolina. To ward off the blow General Charles Lee had been sent to Charleston, but did little more than to meddle and hinder. He laughed loudly at a fortress of palmetto logs which Colonel William Moultrie built on Sullivan's Island and manned with twelve hundred troops. Lee had never seen anything of the sort in Europe, and would have ordered Moultrie to dismantle and abandon it, but Governor Rutledge overruled him. On the 28th of June a furious attack was made by the fleet, and kept up for ten hours, but the palmetto fort was victorious. At the end of the fight only one of its guns had been dismounted, while the British ships were badly cut up, and several of them rendered quite unseaworthy. Clinton then sailed away to take part in the operations around New York, and the southern states were left unmolested for two years. By many of the people, especially at the North, Lee got all the credit for this brilliant victory, and his reputation was much increased thereby.

§ 5. First Great Defensive Campaign.

Arrival of Lord Howe. — When General Howe was driven from Boston, he steered for Halifax, there to await the arrival of reinforcements from England, and the fleet of his brother Richard, Earl Howe, who had been appointed admiral of the fleet for North America, and commissioner to arrange matters peaceably, if possible, and prevent the further continuance of the war. The two brothers were widely different in their habits and dispositions.

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William was easy and indolent; Richard was energetic and enterprising. His name ranks high in the list of England's great sailors. He was a skilful seaman and brave commander, and his men used to say of him, "Give us Black Dick, and we fear nothing."

Lord Howe arrived in New York harbor on the 12th of July. His brother had arrived a few days before, with twenty-five thousand troops, whose white tents might now be seen dotted about over the picturesque hills of Staten Island. It had been expected that New York would be the first point to be attacked by the British, and Washington had moved his army thither from Boston early in April. Fortifications had been erected by Lee, and the American troops, some eighteen thousand in number, were guarding as well as they could the exposed water front of New York Island. On the Hudson river there were garrisons at Forts Washington and Lee, and at Paulus Hook, now known as Jersey City. From across the East river the heights of Brooklyn commanded New York, just as Dorchester Heights commanded Boston, and here nine thousand men were posted under Putnam. General Howe decided to strike at this point, and disperse or capture this force.

Battle of Long Island. — The village of Brooklyn stood on a kind of peninsula, formed by the deep inlets of Wallabout Bay on the north, and Gowanus Cove on the south. A line of entrenchments and strong redoubts extended across the neck of the peninsula, from the bay to a swamp and creek emptying into the cove. To protect the rear of the works from the enemy's ships, a battery was erected at Red Hook, the southwest corner of the peninsula, and a fort on Governor's Island, nearly opposite. About two miles and a half in front of the line of entrenchments, a range of hills, densely wooded, extended from southwest to northeast, forming a natural barrier across the island. It was traversed by three roads. One, on the left of the works, stretched eastwardly to Bedford, and then by a pass through the Bedford Hills to the village of Jamaica; another, central and direct, led through the woody heights to Flatbush; a third, on the right of the lines, passed by Gowanus Cove to the Narrows and Gravesend Bay. The occupation of this range of hills, and the protection of its passes, was entrusted to General Sullivan.

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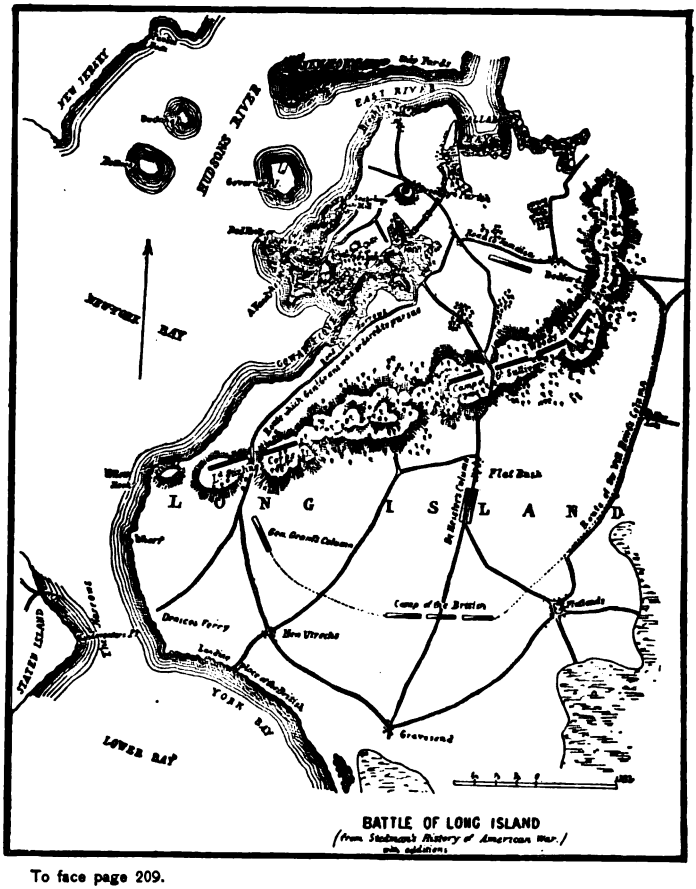

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From the 22d to the 25th of August, General Howe sent twenty thousand men over to Long Island, where they landed at Gravesend Bay and prepared to attack the American position. Sir Henry Clinton, with the vanguard, composed of the choicest troops, was by a circuitous march in the night, to throw himself into the road leading from Jamaica to Bedford, seize upon a pass through the Bedford Hills, within three miles of that village, and thus turn the left of the American advanced posts.

To divert the attention of the Americans from this stealthy march on their left, General Grant was to menace their right flank toward Gravesend before daybreak, and General von Heister to cannonade their centre, where Colonel Hand was stationed. Neither, however, was to press an attack until the guns of Sir Henry Clinton should give notice that he had effected his purpose, and turned the left flank of the Americans; then the latter were to be assailed at all points with the utmost vigor.

About nine o'clock in the evening of the 26th, Sir Henry Clinton began his march from Flatlands with the vanguard, composed of light infantry. Lord Percy followed with the grenadiers, artillery, and light dragoons, forming the centre. Lord Cornwallis brought up the rear-guard with the heavy ordnance. General Howe accompanied this division.

It was a silent march, without beat of drum or sound of trumpet, under guidance of a Long Island Tory, along by-roads traversing a swamp by a narrow causeway, and so across the country to the Jamaica road. About two hours before daybreak, they arrived within half a mile of the pass through the Bedford Hills, and halted to prepare for an attack. At this juncture they captured an American patrol, and learnt, to their surprise, that the Bedford pass was unoccupied. In fact, the whole road beyond Bedford, leading to Jamaica, was left unguarded, excepting by some light volunteer troops. Colonels Williams and Miles, who were stationed to the left of Colonel Hand, among the wooded hills, had been instructed to send out parties occasionally to patrol the road, but no troops had been stationed at the Bedford pass. The road and pass may have been thought too far out of the way to need special precau-

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tion. The neglect of them, however, proved fatal. Sir Henry Clinton immediately detached a battalion of light-infantry to secure the pass; and, advancing with his corps at the first break of day, possessed himself of the heights. He was now within three miles of Bedford, and his march had been undiscovered. Having passed the heights, therefore, he halted his division for the soldiers to take some refreshment, preparatory to the morning's hostilities.

About midnight General Grant moved from Gravesend Bay, with the left wing. He proceeded along the road leading past the Narrows and Gowanus Cove, toward the right of the American works. A picket guard of Pennsylvanian and New York militia, under Colonel Atlee, retired before him fighting to a position on the skirts of the wooded hills. In the meantime, scouts had brought in word to the American lines that the enemy were approaching in force upon the right. General Putnam ordered Lord Stirling[1] to hasten with the two regiments nearest at hand, and hold them in check. These were Haslet's Delaware, and Smallwood's Maryland regiments; the latter the *macaronis*, in scarlet and buff, who quite outshone their yeoman fellow-soldiers in homespun. They turned out with great alacrity, and Stirling pushed forward with them on the road toward the Narrows. By the time he had passed Gowanus Cove, daylight began to appear. Here, on a rising ground, he met Colonel Atlee with his Pennsylvania provincials, and learned that the enemy were near. Indeed, their front began to appear in the uncertain twilight. Stirling ordered Atlee to place himself in ambush in an orchard on the left of the road, and await their coming up, while he formed the Delaware and Maryland regiments along a ridge from the road, up to a piece of woods on the top of the hill. Atlee gave the enemy two or three volleys as they approached, and then retreated and formed in the wood on Lord Stirling's left. By this time his lordship was reinforced by Kichline's riflemen, part of whom he placed along a hedge at the foot of the hill, and part in front of the wood. General Grant threw his light troops in the advance, and posted them

[1] William Alexander, of New Jersey, claimed the title to the lapsed earldom of Stirling, and was always called Lord Stirling by the Americans.

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in an orchard and behind hedges, extending in front of the Americans, and about one hundred and fifty yards distant.

It was now broad daylight. A rattling fire commenced between the British light troops and the American riflemen, which continued for about two hours, when the former retired to their main body. In the meantime, Stirling's position had been strengthened by the arrival of Captain Carpenter with two field-pieces. These were placed on the side of the hill, so as to command the road and the approach for some hundred yards. General Grant, likewise, brought up his artillery within three hundred yards, and formed his brigades on opposite hills, about six hundred yards distant. There was occasional cannonading on both sides, but neither party sought a general action. Lord Stirling's object was merely to hold the enemy in check; and the instructions of General Grant, as we have shown, were not to press an attack until aware that Sir Henry Clinton was on the left flank of the Americans.

During this time, Heister had commenced his part of the plan by opening a cannonade from his camp at Flatbush, upon the redoubt, at the pass of the wooded hills, where Hand and his riflemen were stationed. On hearing this, General Sullivan rode forth to Colonel Hand's post to reconnoiter. Heister, however, according to the plan of operations, did not advance from Flatbush, but kept up a brisk fire from his artillery on the redoubt in front of the pass, which replied as briskly. At the same time, a cannonade from a British ship upon the battery at Red Hook contributed to distract the attention of the Americans.

In the meantime terror reigned in New York. The volleying of musketry and booming of cannon at early dawn had told of the fighting that had commenced. As the morning advanced, platoon firing and the occasional discharge of a field-piece were heard in different directions. Washington was still in doubt whether this was but part of a general attack, in which the city was to be included. Five ships of the line were endeavoring to beat up the bay. Were they to cannonade the city, or to land troops above it? Fortunately, a strong head-wind baffled all their

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efforts; but one vessel, of inferior force, got up far enough to open the fire already mentioned upon the fort at Red Hook. Seeing no likelihood of an immediate attack upon the city, Washington hastened over to Brooklyn in his barge, and galloped up to the works. He arrived there in time to witness the catastrophe for which all the movements of the enemy had been concerted.

The thundering of artillery in the direction of Bedford had given notice that Sir Henry had turned the left of the Americans. Heister immediately ordered Count Donop to advance with his Hessian regiment, and storm the redoubt, while he followed with his whole division. Sullivan did not remain to defend the redoubt. Sir Henry's cannon had apprised him of the fatal truth, that his flank was turned, and he in danger of being surrounded. He ordered a retreat to the lines, but it was already too late. Scarce had he descended from the height, and emerged into the plain, when he was met by the British light-infantry, and dragoons, and driven back into the woods. By this time Heister and his Hessians had come up, and now commenced a scene of confusion, consternation, and slaughter, in which the troops under Williams and Miles were involved. Hemmed in and entrapped between the British and Hessians, and driven from one to the other, the Americans fought for a time bravely, or rather desperately. Some were cut down and trampled by the cavalry, others bayoneted without mercy by the Hessians. Some rallied in groups, and made a brief stand with their rifles from rocks or behind trees. The whole pass was a scene of carnage, resounding with the clash of arms, the tramp of horses, the volleying of fire-arms, and the cries of the combatants, with now and then the dreary braying of the trumpet. At length some of the Americans, by a desperate effort, cut their way through the host of foes, and effected a retreat to the lines, fighting as they went. Others took refuge among the woods and fastnesses of the hills, but a great part were either killed or taken prisoners. Among the latter was General Sullivan.

Washington arrived in time to witness this catastrophe, but was unable to prevent it. He had heard the din of the battle in the

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woods, and seen the smoke rising from among the trees; but a deep column of the enemy was descending from the hills on the left; his choicest troops were all in action, and he had none but militia to man the works. His solicitude was now awakened for the safety of Lord Stirling and his corps, who had been all the morning exchanging cannonades with General Grant. Washington saw the danger to which these brave fellows were exposed, though they could not. Stationed on a hill within the lines, he commanded, with his telescope, a view of the whole field, and saw the enemy's reserve, under Cornwallis, marching down by a cross-road to get in their rear, and thus place them between two fires. With breathless anxiety he watched the result.

The sound of Clinton's cannon apprised Stirling that the enemy was between him and the lines. Grant, too, aware that the time had come for earnest action, was closing up, and had already taken Colonel Atlee prisoner. His lordship now thought to effect a circuitous retreat to the lines, by crossing the creek which empties into Gowanus Cove, near what was called the Yellow Mills. There was a bridge and milldam, and the creek might be forded at low water, but no time was to be lost, for the tide was rising. Leaving part of his men to keep face towards General Grant, Stirling advanced with the rest to pass the creek, but was suddenly checked by the appearance of Cornwallis and his grenadiers.

Washington, and some of his officers on the hill, who watched every movement, had supposed that Stirling and his troops, finding the case desperate, would surrender in a body, without firing. On the contrary, his lordship boldly attacked Cornwallis with half of Smallwood's battalion, while the rest of his troops retreated across the creek. It was a desperate fight; and now Smallwood's *macaronis* showed their game spirit. They were repeatedly broken, but as often rallied, and renewed the fight. "We were on the point of driving Lord Cornwallis from his station," writes Lord Stirling, "but large reinforcements arriving, rendered it impossible to do more than provide for safety."

"Being thus surrounded," writes a Maryland officer, "his lordship ordered me to retreat with the remaining part of our men, and

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force our way to our camp. We soon fell in with a party of the enemy, who clubbed their fire-locks, and waved their hats to us as if they meant to surrender as prisoners; but on our advancing within sixty yards, they presented their pieces and fired, which we returned with so much warmth that they soon quitted their post, and retired to a large body that was lying in ambuscade."

The enemy rallied, and returned to the combat with additional force. Only five companies of Smallwood's battalion were now in action. There was a warm and close engagement for nearly ten minutes. Broken and disordered, the Americans rallied in a piece of woods, and made a second attack. They were again overpowered with numbers. Some were surrounded and bayoneted in a field of Indian corn; others joined their comrades who were retreating across a marsh. Lord Stirling had encouraged and animated his young soldiers by his voice and example, but when all was lost, he sought out General von Heister, and surrendered himself as his prisoner.

More than two hundred and fifty brave fellows, most of them of Smallwood's regiment, perished in this deadly struggle, within sight of the lines of Brooklyn. That part of the Delaware troops who had first crossed the creek and swamp, made good their retreat to the lines with a trifling loss, and entered the camp covered with mud and drenched with water, but bringing with them twenty-three prisoners, and their standard tattered by grape-shot.

The enemy now concentrated their forces within a few hundred yards of the redoubts. The grenadiers were within musket shot. Washington expected they would storm the works, and prepared for a desperate defence, but the British commander was unwilling to risk the loss of life that must attend an assault, when the object might be attained at a cheaper rate by regular approaches. Checking the ardor of his men, therefore, he drew them off to a hollow way, in front of the lines, but out of reach of the musketry, and encamped there for the night.

The loss of the Americans in this disastrous battle has been variously stated, but is thought, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to have been nearly two thousand; a large number, considering

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that not above five thousand were engaged. The enemy acknowledged a loss of three hundred and eighty killed and wounded.

The success of the enemy was attributed, in some measure, to the doubt in which Washington was kept as to the nature of the intended attack, and at what point it would chiefly be made. This obliged him to keep a great part of his forces in New York, and to distribute those at Brooklyn over a wide extent of country, and at widely distant places. In fact, he knew not the superior number of the enemy encamped on Long Island, a majority of them having been furtively landed in the night, some days after the debarkation of the first division.

The fatal error, however, consisted in leaving the passes through the wooded hills too weakly fortified and guarded; and especially in neglecting the eastern road, by which Sir Henry Clinton got in the rear of the advanced troops, cut them off from the lines, and subjected them to a cross-fire of his own men and Heister's Hessians.

This scheme of the enemy might have been thwarted, had the army been provided with a few troops of light horse, to serve as videttes. With these to scour the roads and bring intelligence, the night march of Sir Henry Clinton, so decisive of the fortunes of the day, could hardly have failed to be discovered and reported.

Retreat from Long Island. — The night after the battle was a weary yet almost sleepless one to the Americans. Fatigued, dispirited, many of them sick and wounded, yet they were, for the most part, without tent or other shelter. To Washington it was a night of anxious vigil. Everything boded a close and deadly conflict. The enemy had pitched a number of tents about a mile distant. Their sentries were but a quarter of a mile off, and close to the American sentries. At four o'clock in the morning, Washington went the round of the works, to see that all was right, and to speak words of encouragement. The morning broke lowering and dreary. Large encampments were gradually descried; to appearance, the enemy were twenty thousand strong. As the day advanced, their ordnance began to play upon the works. They were proceeding to entrench themselves, but were driven into their tents by a drenching rain.

Early in the morning General Mifflin arrived in camp, with part of the troops which had been stationed at Fort Washington and King's Bridge. He brought with him Shee's prime Philadelphia regiment, and Magaw's Pennsylvania regiment, both well disciplined and officered, and accustomed to act together. They were so much reduced in number, however, by sickness, that they did not amount, in the whole, to more than eight hundred men. With Mifflin came also Colonel Glover's Massachusetts regiment, composed chiefly of Marblehead fishermen and sailors, hardy, adroit, and weather-proof; trimly clad in blue jackets and trousers. The detachment numbered, in the whole, about thirteen hundred men, all fresh and full of spirits. Every eye brightened as they marched briskly along the line with alert step and cheery aspect. They were posted at the left extremity of the entrenchments towards the Wallabout.

There were skirmishes throughout the day, between the riflemen on the advanced posts and the British "irregulars," which at times were quite severe; but no decided attack was attempted. The main body of the enemy kept within their tents until the latter part of the day; when they began to break ground at about five hundred yards distance from the works, as if preparing to carry them by regular approaches.

On the 29th, there was a dense fog over the island, that wrapped everything in mystery. In the course of the morning, General Mifflin, with Adjutant-general Reed, and Colonel Grayson of Virginia, one of Washington's aides-de-camp, rode to the western outposts, in the neighborhood of Red Hook. While they were there, a light breeze lifted the fog from a part of the New York Bay, and revealed the British ships at their anchorage opposite Staten Island. There appeared to be an unusual bustle among them. Boats were passing to and from the admiral's ship, as if seeking or carrying orders. Some movement was apparently in agitation. The idea occurred to the reconnoitering party that the fleet was preparing, should the wind hold and the fog clear away, to come up the bay at the turn of the tide, silence the feeble batteries at Red Hook and the city, and anchor in the East river.

In that case the army on Long Island would be completely surrounded and entrapped.

Alarmed at this perilous probability, they spurred back to headquarters to urge the immediate withdrawal of the army. Washington instantly summoned a council of war, and it was resolved to cross with the troops to the city that very night. Never did retreat require greater secrecy and circumspection. Ten thousand men, with all the munitions of war, were to be withdrawn from before a victorious army, encamped so near that every stroke of spade and pickaxe from their trenches could be heard. The retreating troops, moreover, were to be embarked and conveyed across a strait three-quarters of a mile wide, swept by rapid tides. The least alarm of their movement would bring the enemy upon them, and produce a terrible scene of confusion and carnage at the place of embarkation.

Washington made the preparatory arrangements with great alertness, yet profound secrecy. Verbal orders were sent to Colonel Hughes, who acted as quartermaster-general, to impress all water craft, large and small, from Spyt den Duivel on the Hudson round to Hell Gate on the Sound, and have them on the east side of the city by evening. The order was issued at noon, and so promptly executed, that, although some of the vessels had to be brought a distance of fifteen miles, they were all at Brooklyn at eight o'clock in the evening, and put under the management of Colonel Glover's amphibious Marblehead regiment.

To prepare the army for a general movement without betraying the object, orders were issued for the troops to hold themselves in readiness for a night attack upon the enemy. To keep the enemy from discovering the withdrawal of the Americans until their main body should have embarked in the boats and pushed off from the shore, General Mifflin was to remain at the lines with his Pennsylvania troops, and the gallant remains of Haslet, Smallwood, and Hand's regiments, with guards posted and sentinels alert, as if nothing extraordinary was taking place; when the main embarkation was effected, they were themselves to move off quietly, march briskly to the ferry, and embark.

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It was late in the evening when the troops began to retire from the breastworks. As one regiment quietly withdrew from their station on guard, the troops on the right and left moved up and filled the vacancy. There was a stifled murmur in the camp, unavoidable in a movement of the kind; but it gradually died away in the direction of the river, as the main body moved on in silence and order. The embarkation went on with all possible dispatch, under the vigilant eye of Washington, who stationed himself at the ferry, superintending every movement. In his anxiety for dispatch, he sent back Colonel Scammel, one of his aides-de-camp, to hasten forward all the troops that were on the march. Scammel blundered in executing his errand, and gave the order to Mifflin likewise. The general instantly called in his pickets and sentinels, and set off for the ferry. By this time the tide had turned; there was a strong wind from the northeast; the boats with oars were insufficient to convey the troops; those with sails could not make headway against wind and tide. There was some confusion at the ferry, and in the midst of it, General Mifflin came down with the whole covering party, adding to the embarrassment and uproar.

"Good God! General Mifflin!" cried Washington, "I am afraid you have ruined us by so unseasonably withdrawing the troops from the lines."

"I did so by your order," replied Mifflin with some warmth.

"It cannot be!" exclaimed Washington.

"By ——, I did!" was the blunt rejoinder. "Did Scammel act as aide-de-camp for the day, or did he not?"

"He did."

"Then," said Mifflin, "I had orders through him."

"It is a dreadful mistake," rejoined Washington, "and unless the troops can regain the lines before their absence is discovered by the enemy, the most disastrous consequences are to be apprehended."

Mifflin led back his men to the lines, which had been completely deserted for three-quarters of an hour. Fortunately, the dense fog had prevented the enemy from discovering that they were unoc-

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cupied. The men resumed their former posts, and remained at them until called off to cross the ferry.

The fog which prevailed all this time, seemed almost providential. While it hung over Long Island, and concealed the movements of the Americans, the atmosphere was clear on the New York side of the river. The adverse wind, too, died away; the river became so smooth that the row-boats could be laden almost to the gunwale, and a favoring breeze sprang up for the sail-boats. The whole embarkation of troops, artillery, ammunition, provisions, cattle, horses and carts, was happily effected, and by daybreak the greater part had safely reached the city, thanks to the aid of Glover's Marblehead men. Scarce anything was abandoned to the enemy, excepting a few heavy pieces of artillery. At a proper time, Mifflin with his covering party left the lines, and effected a silent retreat to the ferry. Washington, though repeatedly entreated, refused to enter a boat until all the troops were embarked, and crossed the river with the last.

A Long Island tradition tells how the British camp became aware of the march which had been stolen upon it. Near the ferry resided a Mrs. Rapelye, whose husband, suspected of favoring the enemy, had been removed to the interior of New Jersey. On seeing the embarkation of the first detachment, she, out of loyalty or revenge, sent off a black servant to inform the first British officer he could find of what was going on. The negro succeeded in passing the American sentinels, but arrived at a Hessian outpost, where he could not make himself understood, and was put under guard as a suspicious person. There he was kept until daybreak, when an officer visiting the post, examined him, and was astounded by his story. An alarm was given, the troops were called to arms; Captain Montresor, aide-de-camp of General Howe, followed by a handful of men, climbed cautiously over the crest of the works and found them deserted. Advanced parties were hurried down to the ferry. The fog had cleared away, sufficiently for them to see the rear boats of the retreating army half-way across the river. One boat, still within musket shot, was compelled to return; it was manned by three vagabonds, who had lingered behind to plunder.

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This extraordinary retreat was one of the most signal achievements of the war, and redounded greatly to the reputation of Washington, who for forty-eight hours scarce closed his eyes, and was the greater part of the time on horseback.

Lord Howe as Peacemaker. — The enemy had now possession of Long Island, but forbore to press further hostilities. Lord Howe sent off General Sullivan on parole, charged with an overture to Congress. In this he declared himself empowered and disposed to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, on the most favorable terms, and, though he could not treat with Congress as a legally organized body, he was desirous of a conference with some of its members. These, for the time he should consider only as private gentlemen, but if in the conference any probable scheme of accommodation should be agreed upon, the authority of Congress would afterwards be acknowledged, to render the compact complete.

The message caused some embarrassment in Congress. To accede to the interview might seem to waive the question of independence; to decline it was to shut the door on all hope of conciliation, and might alienate the co-operation of some worthy Whigs who still clung to that hope. After much debate, Congress replied, that, being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, they could not send any members to confer with his lordship in their private characters, but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body to ascertain what authority he had to treat with persons authorized by Congress, and what propositions he had to offer.

A committee was chosen on the 6th of September, composed of John Adams, Edward Rutledge, and Dr. Franklin. The conference took place on the 11th, at a house on Staten Island, opposite to Amboy. There the committee found Lord Howe's barge waiting to receive them; with a British officer of rank, who was to remain within the American lines during their absence, as a hostage. This guarantee of safety was promptly declined, and the parties crossed together to Staten Island. The admiral met them on their anding, and conducted them through his guards to his house.

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On opening the conference, his lordship again intimated that he could not treat with them as a committee of Congress, but only confer with them as private gentlemen of influence in the colonies, on the means of restoring peace between the two countries.

The commissioners replied that, as their business was to hear, he might consider them in what light he pleased; but that they should consider themselves in no other character than that in which they were placed by order of Congress.

Lord Howe then entered into a discourse of considerable length, but made no explicit proposition of peace, nor promise of redress of grievances, excepting on condition that the colonies should return to their allegiance.

This, the commissioners replied, was not now to be expected. Their repeated humble petitions to the king and Parliament having been treated with contempt, and answered by additional injuries, and war having been declared against them, the colonies had declared their independence, and it was not in the power of Congress to agree for them that they should return to their former dependent state.

His lordship expressed his sorrow that no accommodation was likely to take place; and, on breaking up the conference, assured his old friend, Dr. Franklin, that he should suffer great pain in being obliged to distress those for whom he had so much regard.

"I feel thankful to your lordship for your regard," replied Franklin good-humoredly; "the Americans, on their part, will endeavor to lessen the pain you may feel, by taking good care of themselves."

The result of this conference had a beneficial effect. It showed that his lordship had no power but what was given by the act of Parliament; and put an end to the popular notion that he was vested with secret powers to negotiate an adjustment of grievances.

The British take New York. — After the loss of Brooklyn Heights, the city of New York became untenable for the Americans. Convinced of the propriety of evacuation, Washington prepared for it by ordering the removal of all stores, excepting such as were indispensable for the subsistence of the troops while they remained.

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On the 13th of September, just after dinner, three frigates and a forty-gun ship sailed up the East river with a gentle breeze, toward Hell Gate, and kept up an incessant fire. On the 14th, Washington's baggage was removed to King's Bridge, whither head-quarters were to be transferred the same evening, it being clear that the enemy were preparing to encompass him on the Island.

About sunset of the same day, six more ships passed up the Sound and joined those above. Within half an hour came expresses spurring to head-quarters. Three or four thousand of the enemy were crossing at Hell Gate to the islands at the mouth of Harlem river, where numbers were already encamped. An immediate landing at Harlem, or Morrisania, was apprehended. Washington was instantly in the saddle, spurring to Harlem Heights. The night, however, passed away quietly. In the morning the enemy commenced operations. Three ships-of-war stood up the Hudson, "causing a most tremendous firing, assisted by the cannon of Governor's Island, which firing was returned from the city as well as the scarcity of heavy cannon would allow." The ships anchored opposite Bloomingdale, a few miles above the city. About eleven o'clock, the ships in the East river commenced a heavy cannonade upon the breastworks between Turtle Bay and the city. At the same time two divisions of the troops encamped on Long Island emerged in boats from the deep, woody recesses of Newton Inlet, and under cover of the fire from the ships, began to land at two points between Turtle and Kip's Bays. The breastworks were manned by militia who had recently served at Brooklyn. Disheartened by their late defeat, they fled at the first advance of the enemy. Two brigades of Putnam's Connecticut troops which had been sent that morning to support them caught the panic, and, regardless of the commands and entreaties of their officers, joined in the general scamper.

At this moment Washington, who had mounted his horse at the first sound of the cannonade, came galloping to the scene of confusion; riding in among the fugitives, he endeavored to rally and restore them to order. All in vain. At the first appearance of sixty or seventy red-coats, they broke again without firing a shot,

and fled in headlong terror. Losing all self-command at the sight of such dastardly conduct, he dashed his hat upon the ground in a transport of rage. "Are these the men," exclaimed he, "with whom I am to defend America!" In a paroxysm of passion and despair he snapped his pistols at some of them, threatened others with his sword, and was so heedless of his own danger, that he might have fallen into the hands of the enemy, who were not eighty yards distant, had not an aide-de-camp seized the bridle of his horse, and absolutely hurried him away.

It was one of the rare moments of his life, when the vehement element of his nature was stirred up from its deep recesses. He soon recovered his self-possession, and took measures against the general peril. The enemy might land another force about Hell Gate, seize upon Harlem Heights, the strong central portion of the island, cut off all retreat of the lower divisions, and effectually sever his army. In all haste, therefore, he sent off an express to the forces encamped above, directing them to secure that position immediately; while another express to Putnam ordered an immediate retreat from the city to those heights.

It was indeed a perilous moment. Had the enemy followed up their advantage, and seized upon the heights, before thus occupied; or had they extended themselves across the island, from the place where they had effected a landing, the result might have been most disastrous to the Americans. Fortunately, they contented themselves for the present with sending a strong detachment down the road along the East river, leading to the city, while the main body rested on their arms.

In the meantime Putnam, on receiving Washington's express, called in his pickets and guards, and abandoned the city in all haste, leaving behind him a large quantity of provisions and military stores, and most of the heavy cannon. To avoid the enemy he took the Bloomingdale road, though this exposed him to be raked by the enemy's ships anchored in the Hudson. It was a forced march, on a sultry day, under a burning sun, and amid clouds of dust. His army was encumbered with women and children, and all kinds of baggage. Many were overcome by fatigue

and thirst, some perished by hastily drinking cold water; but Putnam rode backward and forward hurrying every one on. Thus they joined the army after dark upon the heights of Harlem.

The fortified camp, where the main body of the army was now assembled, was upon that neck of land several miles long, and for the most part not above a mile wide, which forms the upper part of Manhattan or New York Island. It forms a chain of rocky heights, and is separated from the mainland by Harlem river, a narrow strait extending from Hell Gate on the Sound to Spyt den Duivel, a creek or inlet of the Hudson. Fort Washington occupied the crest of one of the rocky heights above mentioned, overlooking the Hudson, and about two miles north of it was King's Bridge, crossing Spyt den Duivel Creek, and forming at that time the only pass from Manhattan Island to the mainland.

About a mile and a half south of the fort, a double row of lines extended across the neck from Harlem river to the Hudson. They faced south towards New York, were about a quarter of a mile apart, and were defended by batteries. There were strong advanced posts about two miles south of the outer line. About a mile and a half beyond these posts the British lines extended across the island from Horen's Hook to the Hudson, being a continuous encampment, two miles in length, with both flanks covered by shipping. An open plain intervened between the hostile camps.

Washington had established his head-quarters about a quarter of a mile within the inner line, at a country seat, the owners of which were absent. While thus posted, he was incessantly occupied in fortifying the approaches to his camp by redoubts, abatis, and deep entrenchments. In the course of his rounds of inspection he was struck with the skill and science displayed in the construction of some of the works which were thrown up under the direction of a youthful captain of artillery, Alexander Hamilton. After some conversation with him, Washington invited him to his tent, and thus commenced that intercourse which has indissolubly linked their memories together.

On the morning of the 16th, the enemy made a vigorous attempt

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to break through the centre of the American lines on Harlem Heights, but were defeated with a loss of three hundred killed and wounded. This was the first gleam of success in the campaign, and revived the spirits of the army. What was the state of that army? The terms of engagement of many of the men would soon be at an end; most of them would terminate with the year; nor did Congress hold out offers to encourage re-enlistments. "We are now, as it were, upon the eve of a dissolution of the army," writes Washington, "and unless some speedy and effectual measures are adopted by Congress, our cause will be lost." Under these gloomy apprehensions, he borrowed, as he said, "a few moments from the hours allotted to sleep," and, on the night of the 24th of September, penned an admirable letter to the President of Congress, setting forth the inefficiency of the existing military system, the insubordination, waste, confusion, and discontent produced by it among the men, and the harassing cares and vexations to which it subjected the commanders. Nor did he content himself with complaining, but, in his full, clear, and sagacious manner, pointed out the remedies. To the achievements of his indefatigable pen, we may trace the most fortunate turns in the current of our revolutionary affairs. In the present instance his representations, illustrated by sad experience, produced at length a reorganization of the army, and the establishment of it on a permanent footing. It was decreed that eighty-eight battalions should be furnished in quotas, by the different states, according to their abilities. The pay of the officers was raised. The troops which engaged to serve throughout the war were to receive a bounty of twenty dollars and one hundred acres of land, besides a yearly suit of clothes while in service. Those who enlisted for but three years received no bounty in land. The bounty to officers was on a higher ratio. The states were to send commissioners to the army, to arrange with the commander-in-chief as to the appointment of officers in their quotas; but, as they might occasionally be slow in complying with this regulation, Washington was empowered to fill up all vacancies.

All this was a great relief to his mind. He was gratified, also,

by effecting, after a long correspondence with the British commander, an exchange of prisoners, in which those captured in Canada were included. Among those restored to the service were Sullivan, Stirling, and Morgan.

Movement to White Plains. — The security of the Hudson river was at this time an object of great solicitude with Congress, and much reliance was placed on Putnam's obstructions at Fort Washington. Four galleys, mounted with heavy guns and swivels, were stationed at the chevaux-de-frise, and two new ships were at hand, which, filled with stones, were to be sunk where they would block up the channel. A sloop was also at anchor, having on board a machine, invented by a Mr. Bushnell, for submarine explosion, with which to blow up the men-of-war; a favorite scheme with General Putnam. The obstructions were so commanded by batteries on each shore, that it was thought no hostile ship would be able to pass.

On the 9th of October, however, the *Roebuck* and *Phœnix*, each of forty-four guns, and the *Tartar* of twenty guns, which had been lying for some time opposite Bloomingdale, got under way at eight o'clock in the morning, and came up the river with an easy southern breeze. At their approach, the galleys and the two ships intended to be sunk got under way with all haste, as did a schooner laden with rum, sugar, and other supplies for the American army, and the sloop with Bushnell's submarine machine.

The *Roebuck*, *Phœnix*, and *Tartar* broke through the vaunted barriers as through a cobweb, and kept on their course, the American vessels scudding before them. The schooner was overhauled and captured; a well-aimed shot sent the sloop and Bushnell's submarine engine to the bottom of the river. The British had attained their object, which was to satisfy themselves that the Hudson was passable for their ships and transports, so that troops might be landed, if need be, above Fort Washington.

Having ascertained this point, Howe left Lord Percy in command at New York, and took a considerable part of his army up the East river to Throg's Neck, with the view of getting into the rear of the American army, cutting off its supplies, which were

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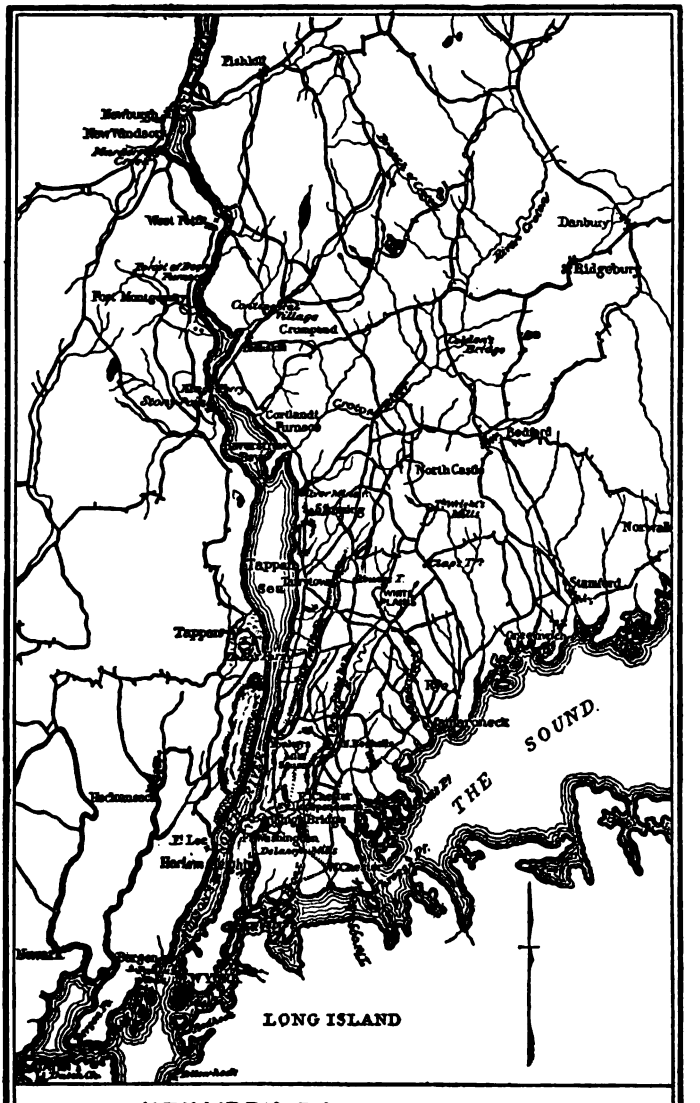

NEW YORK & VICINITY IN 1776.

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chiefly derived from the East, and interrupting its communication with the main country. Throg's Neck is a peninsula in Westchester County, stretching upwards of two miles into the Sound. It was separated from the mainland by a narrow creek and a marsh, and was surrounded by water every high tide. A bridge across a creek, connecting with a ruined causeway across the marsh, led to the mainland, and the upper end of the creek was fordable at low water. Early in the morning of October 12, eighty or ninety boats full of men had passed up the Sound and landed troops to the number of four thousand on Throg's Point, the extremity of the Neck. Thence their advance pushed forward toward the causeway and bridge, to secure that pass to the mainland. Washington had been too quick for them. Colonel Hand and his Philadelphia riflemen, the same who had checked the British advance on Long Island, had taken up the planks of the bridge, and posted themselves opposite the end of the causeway, whence they began firing with their rifles. They were soon so heavily reinforced that the enemy were brought to a stand. Washington ordered works to be thrown up at the passes from the Neck to the mainland. The British also threw up a work at the end of the causeway. In the afternoon nine ships, with a great number of schooners, sloops, and flat-bottomed boats full of men, passed through Hell Gate, towards Throg's Point; and information, received from two deserters, gave Washington reason to believe that the greater part of the enemy's forces were gathering in that quarter. It was plain the whole scene of action was changing.

On the 14th, General Lee arrived in camp, where he was welcomed as the harbinger of good luck. Washington was absent, visiting the posts beyond King's Bridge, and the passes leading from Throg's Neck; Lee immediately rode forth to join him. No one gave him a sincerer greeting than the commander-in-chief, who, diffident of his own military knowledge, had a high opinion of that of Lee. He immediately gave him command of the troops above King's Bridge, now the greatest part of the army, but desired that he would not exercise it for a day or two, until he had time to acquaint himself with the localities and arrangements of the

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post; Heath, in the interim, held the command. Lee was elevated by his success at the South, and disposed to criticise disparagingly the military operations of other commanders. In a letter, written on the day of his arrival to his old associate in arms, General Gates, he condemns the position of the army, and censures Washington for submitting to the dictation of Congress.

In the meantime Congress, on the 11th of October, having heard of the ingress of the *Phœnix*, *Roebuck*, and *Tartar*, passed a resolution that General Washington be desired, if it be practicable, by every art, and at whatever expense, to obstruct effectually the navigation of the North river between Fort Washington and Fort Lee, as well to prevent the regress of the enemy's vessels lately gone up, as to hinder them from receiving succors.

Washington now decided to abandon the island of New York, in order to preserve his communications. But as the resolve of Congress seemed imperative with regard to Fort Washington, that post, it was agreed, should be "retained as long as possible." A strong garrison was accordingly placed in it; Colonel Magaw was put in command of the post, and solemnly charged by Washington to defend it to the last extremity.

Previous to decamping from Manhattan Island, Washington formed four divisions of the army, which were respectively assigned to Generals Lee, Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln. Lee was stationed on Valentine's Hill on the mainland, immediately opposite King's Bridge, to cover the transportation of the military stores and heavy baggage. The other divisions were to form a chain of fortified posts, extending about thirteen miles, along a ridge of hills on the west side of the Bronx, from Lee's camp up to the village of White Plains. Washington's head-quarters continued to be on Harlem Heights for several days, during which time he was continually in the saddle, riding about a broken, woody, and half-wild country, forming posts, and choosing sites for breastworks and redoubts. By his skilful disposition of the army, it was protected in its whole length by the Bronx, a narrow but deep stream, fringed with trees, which ran along the foot of the ridge; at the same time his troops faced and outflanked the enemy, and covered the

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roads along which the stores and baggage had to be transported. On the 21st, he shifted his head-quarters to Valentine's Hill, and on the 23d to White Plains, where he stationed himself in a fortified camp. Meanwhile General Howe remained for six days passive in his camp on Throg's Point awaiting the arrival of supplies and reinforcements, instead of pushing across to the Hudson, and throwing himself between Washington's army and the upper country. His inaction lost him a golden opportunity. By the time his supplies arrived, the Americans had broken up the causeway leading to the mainland, and taken positions too strong to be easily forced. Finding himself headed in this direction, Howe re-embarked part of his troops in flat-boats on the 18th, crossed Eastchester Bay, and landed on Pell's Point, at the mouth of Hutchinson's river. Here he was joined in a few hours by the main body, with the baggage and artillery, and proceeded through the manor of Pelham towards New Rochelle; still with a view to get above Washington's army. On the 21st he was encamped about two miles north of New Rochelle, with his outposts extending to Mamaroneck on the Sound. While in this neighborhood he was reinforced by a second division of Hessians under General Knyphausen, and a regiment of Waldeckers, both of which had recently arrived in New York. On the 25th, Washington drew all his troops from the posts along the Bronx into the fortified camp at White Plains.

His camp was situated on high ground, facing the east. The right wing stretched towards the south along a rocky hill, at the foot of which the Bronx, making an elbow, protected it in flank and rear. The left wing rested on a small, deep lake among the hills. The camp was strongly entrenched in front. About a quarter of a mile to the right of the camp, and separated from the height on which it stood by the Bronx and a marshy interval, was a corresponding height called Chatterton's Hill. As this partly commanded the right flank, and as the intervening bend of the Bronx was easily passable, Washington had stationed on its summit a militia regiment.

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Battle of White Plains. — The whole encampment was a temporary one, to be changed as soon as the military stores collected there could be removed; and now that General Lee was arrived, Washington rode out with him, and other general officers who were off duty, to reconnoiter a height which appeared more eligible. When arrived at it, Lee pointed to another on the north, still more commanding. "Yonder," said he, "is the ground we ought to occupy." "Let us go, then, and view it," replied Washington. They were gently riding in that direction, when a trooper came spurring up his panting horse. "The British are in the camp, sir!" cried he. "Then, gentlemen," said Washington, "we have other business to attend to than reconnoitering." Putting spurs to his horse, he set off for the camp at full gallop, the others spurring after him. Arrived at head-quarters, he was informed by Adjutant-general Reed, that the pickets had been driven in, and the enemy were advancing: but that the whole American army was posted in order of battle.

Apprehensive that the enemy might attempt to get possession of Chatterton's Hill, Washington increased the force there to sixteen hundred men, and put General McDougall in command. This had scarcely been done when the enemy appeared glistening on the high grounds beyond the village of White Plains. They advanced in two columns, the right commanded by Sir Henry Clinton, the left by the Hessian general, Heister. There was also a troop of horse; formidable in the inexperienced eyes of the Americans.

For a time they halted in a wheat field, behind a rising ground, and the general officers rode up in the centre to hold a consultation. Washington supposed they were preparing to attack him in front, and such indeed was their intention; but the commanding height of Chatterton's Hill had caught the eye of General Howe, and he determined first to get possession of it. Colonel Rahl was accordingly detached with a brigade of Hessians, to cross the Bronx about a quarter of a mile below, and ascend the south side of the hill; while General Leslie, with a large force, should advance directly in front, throw a bridge across the stream, and charge up the hill.

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A furious cannonade was now opened by the British from fifteen or twenty pieces of artillery, placed on high ground opposite; under cover of which, Leslie's troops hastened to construct the bridge. In so doing, they were severely galled by two field-pieces, in charge of Alexander Hamilton, the youthful captain of artillery. As soon as the bridge was finished, they rushed over it, and charged up the hill to take Hamilton's two field-pieces. Three times the field-pieces were discharged, ploughing the ascending columns from hill-top to river, while Smallwood's "blue and buff" Marylanders kept up their volleys of musketry.

In the meantime, Rahl and his Hessian brigade forded the Bronx lower down, pushed up the south side of the hill, and endeavored to turn McDougall's right flank. The militia gave their general but little support. They had been dismayed at the opening of the engagement by a shot from a British cannon, which wounded one of them in the thigh, and nearly put the whole to flight. It was with the utmost difficulty McDougall had rallied them, and posted them behind a stone wall. Here they did some service, until a troop of British cavalry, having gained the crest of the hill, came on, brandishing their sabres. At their first charge the militia gave a random fire, then broke, and fled in confusion.

A brave stand was made on the summit of the hill by the Delaware and Maryland troops. Twice they repulsed the enemy, until, cramped for room and greatly outnumbered, they slowly retreated down the north side of the hill, where there was a bridge across the Bronx. Here they were met by General Putnam, who was coming to their assistance, and in the rear of his troops, they marched back into the camp.

The loss on both sides, in this short but severe action, was nearly equal, — some four hundred killed and wounded. The British army now rested with their left wing on the hill they had just taken, and which they were busy entrenching. They were extending their right wing to the left of the American lines so that their two wings and centre formed nearly a semicircle. It was evidently their design to outflank the American camp, and get in the rear of it. The day, however, being far advanced, was suffered

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to pass without any further attack; but the morrow was looked forward to for a deadly conflict. Washington availed himself of this interval to have the sick and wounded, and as much of the stores as possible, removed from the camp. The two armies lay looking at each other, within long cannon shot. In the night time the British lighted up a vast number of fires, the weather growing pretty cold. These fires, some on the level ground, some at the foot of the hills, and at all distances to their brows, some of which were lofty, seemed to the eye to mix with the stars. During this anxious night, Washington was assiduously occupied throwing back his right wing to stronger ground; doubling his entrenchments and constructing three redoubts, with a line in front, on the summit of his post. These works, principally intended for defence against small arms, were thrown up with a rapidity that to the enemy must have savored of magic. They were made of the stalks of Indian corn, pulled up with the earth clinging in masses to the large roots, so that they answered the purpose of sods and fascines. The tops being placed inwards, as the loose earth was thrown upon them, became as so many trees to the work, which was carried up with a dispatch scarcely conceivable.

In the morning of the 29th, when Howe beheld how greatly Washington had strengthened his position by what appeared to be solidly constructed works, he postponed his meditated assault, ordered up Lord Percy from Harlem with reinforcements, and proceeded to throw up lines and redoubts in front of the American camp, as if preparing to cannonade it. As the enemy were endeavoring to outflank him, especially on his right wing, Washington apprehended one of their objects might be to seize Pine's Bridge over Croton river, which would cut off his communication with the upper country. General Beall, with three Maryland regiments, was sent off with all expedition to secure that pass. It was Washington's idea that, having possession of Croton river and the passes in the Highlands, his army would be safe from further pursuit, and ready to harass the enemy should they think fit to winter up the country. At present nothing could exceed the war-worn condition of the troops. A scornful letter, written by a Brit-

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ish officer to his friend in London, gives a picture of the plight to which they were reduced, in this rainy and inclement season. "The rebel army are in so wretched a condition as to clothing and accoutrements, that I believe no nation ever saw such a set of tatterdemalions. There are few coats among them but what are out at the elbows, and in a whole regiment there is scarce a pair of breeches. Judge, then, how they must be pinched by a winter's campaign. We, who are warmly clothed and well equipped, already feel it severely; for it is even now much colder than I ever felt it in England."

Alas for the poor half-naked weather-beaten patriots, who had to cope with these well-fed and well-clad veterans! A letter written at the same date, by General George Clinton, shows what they had to grapple with.

"We had reason," writes he, "to apprehend an attack last night, or by daylight this morning. Our lines were manned all night in consequence; and a most horrid night it was to lie in cold trenches. Uncovered as we are, daily on fatigue, making redoubts and abatis, and retreating from them and the little temporary huts made for our comfort before they are all finished, I fear will ultimately destroy our army without fighting. However," adds he, honestly, "I would not be understood to condemn these measures. They may be right for aught I know. I do not understand much of the refined art of war; it is said to consist in stratagem and deception."

Clinton was an ardent patriot, of resolute spirit, and plain good sense; but an inexperienced soldier. His idea of warfare was straightforward fighting; and he was greatly perplexed by the continual strategy which Washington's situation required. One of the aides-de-camp of the latter had a truer notion on the subject. "The campaign hitherto," said Tench Tilghman, "has been a fair trial of generalship, in which I flatter myself we have had the advantage. If we, with our motley army, can keep Mr. Howe and his grand appointment at bay, I think we shall make no contemptible military figure."

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On the night of the 31st, Washington made another of those

moves which perplexed the worthy Clinton. In the course of the night he shifted his whole position, set fire to the barns and out-houses containing forage and stores, which there was no time to remove, and leaving a strong rear-guard on the heights, and in the neighboring woods, retired with his main army a distance of five miles, among the high, rocky hills about Northcastle. Here he immediately set to work to entrench and fortify himself; his policy at this time being, as he used to say, "to fight with the spade and mattock." General Howe did not attempt to dislodge him from this fastness. "All matters are as quiet as if the enemy were one hundred miles distant from us," writes one of Washington's aides on the 2d of November. During the night of the 4th, this quiet was interrupted. A mysterious sound was heard in the direction of the British camp, like the rumbling of wagons and artillery. At daybreak the meaning of it was discovered. The enemy were decamping. Long trains were observed, defiling across the hilly country, along the roads leading to Dobbs' Ferry on the Hudson. The movement continued for three successive days, until their whole force disappeared from White Plains.

Fort Washington in Danger. — Various were the speculations at head-quarters on the sudden movement of the enemy. Washington writes to William Livingston (governor of New Jersey): "They have gone towards the North river and King's Bridge. Some suppose they are going into winter quarters. I cannot subscribe wholly to this opinion. That they will invest Fort Washington, is a matter of which there can be no doubt; and I think there is a strong probability that General Howe will detach a part of his force to make an incursion into the Jerseys. He must attempt something on account of his reputation, for what has he done as yet, with his great army?" In the same letter he expressed his determination, as soon as it should appear that the present manœuvre was a real retreat, and not a feint, to throw over a body of troops into the Jerseys to assist in checking Howe's progress. He, moreover, recommended to the governor to have the militia of that state put on the best possible footing.

Affairs at Fort Washington soon settled the question of the

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enemy's intentions with regard to it. Lord Percy took his station with a body of troops before the lines to the south. Knyphausen advanced on the north, and crossing King's Bridge, took a position between it and Fort Washington. The approach to the fort, on this side, was exceedingly steep and rocky; as, indeed, were all its approaches excepting that on the south, where the country was more open, and the ascent gradual. The fort could not hold within its walls above one thousand men; the rest of the troops were distributed about the lines and outworks. While the fort was thus menaced, the chevaux-de-frise had again proved inefficient. On the night of the 5th, a frigate and two transports, bound up to Dobbs' Ferry, with supplies for Howe's army, had broken through; though not without being considerably shattered by the batteries.

Informed of these facts, Washington wrote on the 8th, to Greene, who was at Fort Lee in command both of that stronghold and of Fort Washington: "If we cannot prevent vessels from passing up the river, and the enemy are possessed of all the surrounding country, what valuable purpose can it answer to hold a post from which the expected benefit cannot be had? I am, therefore, inclined to think, that it will not be prudent to hazard the men and stores at Fort Washington; but, as you are on the spot, I leave it to you to give such orders as to evacuating the fort as you may judge best, and so far revoking the orders given to Colonel Magaw, to defend it to the last."

Greene, in reply (Nov. 9th), adhered with tenacity to the policy of maintaining Fort Washington. He did not consider the fort in immediate danger. Colonel Magaw thought it would take the enemy until the end of December to carry it. In the meantime, the garrison could at any time be brought off, and even the stores removed, should matters grow desperate. If the enemy should not find it an object of importance, they would not trouble themselves about it; if they should, it would be a proof that they felt an injury from its being maintained. The giving it up would open for them a free communication with the country by the way of King's Bridge. It is doubtful when or where Washington received this letter, as he left the camp at Northcastle at eleven o'clock of

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the following morning. There being still considerable uncertainty as to the intentions of the enemy, all his arrangements were made accordingly. All the troops belonging to the states west of the Hudson, were to be stationed in the Jerseys, under command of General Putnam. Lord Stirling had already been sent forward with the Maryland and Virginia troops to Peekskill, to cross the river at King's Ferry. Another division composed of Connecticut and Massachusetts troops, under General Heath, was to co-operate with the brigade of New York militia under General George Clinton, in securing the Highland posts on both sides of the river. The troops which would remain at Northcastle after the departure of Heath and his division, were to be commanded by Lee. Washington's letter of instructions to that general is characterized by his own modesty, and his deference for Lee's superior military experience. He suggests, rather than orders, yet his letter is sufficiently explicit. ". . . You will consider the post at Pine's Bridge as under your immediate care. . . . If the enemy should remove the whole, or the greater part of their force to the west side of Hudson's river, I have no doubt of your following with all possible dispatch, leaving the militia and invalids to cover the frontiers of Connecticut in case of need."

On the 10th of November Washington left the camp at Northcastle at eleven o'clock, and arrived at Peekskill at sunset; whither General Heath, with his division, had preceded him by a few hours. Lord Stirling was there, likewise, having effected the transportation of his troops across the river, and landed them at the ferry south of Stony Point. His lordship had thrown out a scouting party in the advance, and a hundred men to take possession of a gap in the mountain, through which a road passed toward the Jerseys.

Washington was now at the entrance of the Highlands, that grand defile of the Hudson, the object of so much precaution and solicitude. On the following morning he made a military visit in boats to the Highland posts. Fort Montgomery was in a considerable state of forwardness, and a work in the vicinity was projected to co-operate with it. Fort Constitution commanded a sud-

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den bend of the river, but Lord Stirling in his report of inspection had intimated that the fort itself was commanded by West Point opposite. A glance of the eye, without going on shore, was sufficient to convince Washington of the fact. A fortress, subsequently erected on that point, has been considered the Key of the Highlands. Having made these arrangements, Washington placed Heath in the general command of the Highlands, with written instructions to fortify the passes with all possible dispatch, and directions how the troops were to be distributed on both sides of the river.

Heath was now in the fortieth year of his age. He had been brought up in rural life, on a farm near Boston; yet he had from childhood a great relish for military affairs, and had studied every treatise on the subject in the English language. He describes himself as of middling stature, light complexion, very corpulent and bald-headed, so that the French officers who served in America, compared him to the Marquis of Granby. Such was the officer intrusted with the command of the Highland passes, and encamped at Peekskill, their portal.

Battle of Valcour Island. — During his brief sojourn at Peekskill, Washington received important intelligence from the northern army; especially that part of it on Lake Champlain, under the command of General Gates. A slight retrospect of affairs in that quarter is proper, before we proceed to narrate the eventful campaign in the Jerseys.

The preparations for the defence of Ticonderoga, and the nautical service on the lake had met with difficulties at every step. At length, by the middle of August, a small flotilla was completed, and the command given by Gates to Arnold, in compliance with the advice of Washington, who had a high opinion of that officer's energy, intrepidity, and fertility in expedients.

Sir Guy Carleton, in the meantime, was straining every nerve for the approaching conflict. The successes of the British forces on the sea-board had excited the zealous rivalry of the forces in Canada; they were fearful the war might be brought to a close, before they could have an opportunity to share in the glory. Hence the

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ardor with which they encountered and vanquished obstacles which otherwise might have appeared insuperable. Vessels were brought from England in pieces and put together at St. John, boats of various kinds and sizes were transported over land, or dragged up the rapids of the Sorel. Sir Guy was full of hope and ardor. Should he get command of Lakes Champlain and George, the northern part of New York would be at his mercy; before winter set in he might gain possession of Albany. He would then be able to co-operate with Howe in severing and subduing the northern and southern provinces, and bringing the war to a speedy and triumphant close.

In despite of every exertion, three months elapsed before his armament was completed. Winter was fast approaching. Before it arrived, the success of his brilliant plan required that he should fight his way across Lake Champlain; carry the strong posts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga; traverse Lake George, and pursue a long and dangerous march through a wild country, beset with forests and morasses, to Albany. That was the first post to the southward where he expected to find rest and winter quarters for his troops.

By the month of October, between twenty and thirty sail were afloat, and ready for action. The flag-ship (the *Inflexible*) mounted eighteen twelve-pounders; the rest were gunboats, a gondola and a flat-bottomed vessel, named the *Thunderer;* carrying a battery of six twenty-four and twelve six-pounders, besides howitzers. The gunboats mounted brass field-pieces and howitzers. Seven hundred seamen navigated the fleet, which was commanded by Captain Pringle, but Sir Guy Carleton was too full of zeal not to head the enterprise; he accordingly took his station on the deck of the flag-ship. They made sail early in October, in quest of the American squadron, which was said to be abroad upon the lake. Arnold, however, being ignorant of the strength of the enemy, and unwilling to encounter a superior force in the open lake, had taken his post under cover of Valcour Island, in the upper part of a deep channel, or strait between that island and the mainland. His force consisted of

three schooners, two sloops, three galleys and eight gondolas; carrying in all seventy guns, many of them eighteen-pounders.

The British ships, sweeping past Cumberland Head with a fair wind and flowing sail on the morning of the 11th, had left the southern end of Valcour Island astern, when they discovered Arnold's flotilla anchored behind it, in a line extending across the strait so as not to be outflanked. They immediately hauled close to the wind, and tried to beat up into the channel. The wind, however, did not permit the largest of them to enter. Arnold took advantage of the circumstance. He was on board of the galley *Congress*, and, leaving the line, advanced, with two other galleys and the schooner *Royal Savage*, to attack the smaller vessels as they entered, before the large ones could come up. About twelve o'clock the enemy's schooner *Carleton* opened a brisk fire upon the *Royal Savage* and the galleys. It was as briskly returned. Seeing the enemy's gunboats approaching, the Americans endeavored to return to the line. In so doing, the *Royal Savage* ran aground. Her crew set her on fire and abandoned her. In about an hour the British brought all their gunboats in a range across the lower part of the channel, within musket shot of the Americans, the schooner *Carleton* in the advance. They landed, also, a large number of Indians on the island, to keep up a galling fire from the shore upon the Americans with their rifles. The action now became general, and was severe and sanguinary. The Americans, finding themselves thus hemmed in by a superior force, fought with desperation. Arnold pressed with his galley into the hottest of the fight. The *Congress* was hulled several times, received seven shots between wind and water, was shattered in mast and rigging, and many of the crew were killed or wounded. The ardor of Arnold increased with his danger. He cheered on his men by voice and example, often pointing the guns with his own hands. The contest lasted throughout the day. Carried on as it was within a narrow compass, and on a tranquil lake, almost every shot took effect. The fire of the Indians from the shore was less deadly than had been expected; but their whoops and yells, mingling with the rattling of the musketry, and the thundering of the can-

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non, increased the horrors of the scene. Volumes of smoke rose above the woody shores, which echoed with the unusual din of war, and for a time this lovely recess of a beautiful and peaceful lake was a pandemonium.

The evening drew nigh, yet the contest was undecided. Captain Pringle called off the smaller vessels which had been engaged, and anchored his whole squadron in a line as near as possible to the Americans, so as to prevent their escape; trusting to capture the whole of them when the wind should prove favorable, so that he could bring his large vessels into action.

Arnold, however, sensible that with his inferior and crippled force all resistance would be unavailing, took advantage of a dark cloudy night and a strong north wind; his vessels slipped silently through the enemy's line without being discovered, one following a light on the stern of the other: and by daylight they were out of sight. They had to anchor, however, at Schuyler's Island, about ten miles up the lake, to stop leaks and make repairs. Two of the gondolas were here sunk, being past remedy. About noon the retreat was resumed, but the wind had become adverse; and they made little progress. Arnold's galley, the *Congress*, the *Washington* galley and four gondolas, all which had suffered severely in the late fight, fell astern of the rest of the squadron in the course of the night. In the morning, when the sun lifted a fog which had covered the lake, they beheld the enemy within a few miles of them in full chase, while their own comrades were nearly out of sight, making the best of their way for Crown Point.

It was now an anxious trial of speed and seamanship. Arnold, with the crippled relics of his squadron, managed by noon to get within a few leagues of Crown Point, when they were overtaken by the *Inflexible*, the *Carleton*, and the schooner *Maria*. As soon as they came up, they poured in a tremendous fire. The *Washington* galley, already shattered, and having lost most of her officers, was compelled to strike, and Arnold had now to bear the brunt of the action. For a long time he was engaged within musket shot with the *Inflexible* and the two schooners, until his galley was reduced to a wreck and one-third of the crew were killed. The gondolas

were nearly in the same desperate condition; yet the men stood stoutly to their guns. Seeing resistance vain, Arnold determined that neither vessels nor crew should fall into the hands of the enemy. He ordered the gondolas to run on shore, in a small creek in the neighborhood, the men to set fire to them as soon as they grounded, to wade on shore with their muskets, and keep off the enemy until they were consumed. He did the same with his own galley, remaining on board of her until she was in flames, lest the enemy should get possession and strike his flag, which was kept flying to the last.

He now set off with his gallant crew, many of whom were wounded, by a road through the woods to Crown Point, where he arrived at night, narrowly escaping an Indian ambush. Two schooners, two galleys, one sloop, and one gondola, the remnant which had escaped of this squadron, were at anchor at the Point. Seeing that the place must soon fall into the hands of the enemy, they set fire to the houses, destroyed everything they could not carry away, and embarking in the vessels made sail for Ticonderoga.

The conduct of Arnold in these naval affairs gained him new laurels. He was extolled for the judgment with which he chose his position, and brought his vessels into action; for his masterly retreat, and for the self-sacrificing devotion with which he exposed himself to the overwhelming force of the enemy in covering the retreat of part of his flotilla.

Sir Guy Carleton took possession of the ruined works at Crown Point, where he was soon joined by the army. He made several movements by land and water, as if meditating an attack upon Ticonderoga; yet, to the astonishment of everybody, he suddenly decided to postpone the enterprise. It seemed to him that the post, from its strength, and the apparent number and resolution of the garrison, could not be taken without great loss of life. If taken, the season was now too far advanced to think of passing Lake George, and exposing the army to the perils of a winter campaign in the inhospitable and impracticable wilds to the southward. If, however, the defence should be obstinate, the British army, even if successful, might sustain a loss sufficient to cripple its operations

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in the coming year. Accordingly, re-embarking his troops, Carleton returned to St. John, and cantoned them in Canada for the winter. All apprehensions of an attack upon Ticonderoga during the present year were at an end, and many of the troops stationed there were already on their march toward Albany.

Such was the purport of the news received by Washington at Peekskill. It relieved him for the present from all anxiety respecting affairs on Lake Champlain, and gave him the prospect of reinforcements from that quarter.

Fall of Fort Washington. — On the morning of the 12th of November, Washington crossed the Hudson, to the ferry below Stony Point, with the residue of the troops destined for the Jerseys. Far below were to be descried the *Phœnix*, the *Roebuck*, and the *Tartar*, at anchor in the broad waters of Haverstraw Bay and the Tappan Sea, guarding the lower ferries. The army, thus shut out from the nearer passes, was slowly winding its way by a circuitous route through the gap in the mountains, which Lord Stirling had secured. Leaving the troops which had just landed, to pursue the same route to the Hackensack, Washington struck a direct course for Fort Lee, being anxious about affairs at Fort Washington. He arrived there on the following day, and found, to his disappointment, that General Greene had taken no measures for the evacuation of that fortress; but on the contrary, had reinforced it, so that its garrison now numbered nearly three thousand men. Colonel Magaw, its brave commander, still thought it was in no immediate danger.

At this very moment General Howe was encamped on Fordham Heights, not far from King's Bridge. In the night of the 14th, thirty flat-bottomed boats stole quietly up the Hudson, passed the American forts undiscovered, and made their way through Spyt den Duivel Creek into Harlem river. The means were thus provided for crossing that river and landing before unprotected parts of the American works. On the 15th, General Howe sent in a summons to surrender, with a threat of extremities should he have to carry the place by assault. Magaw, in his reply, intimated a doubt that General Howe would execute a threat "so unworthy of himself and

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the British nation; but give me leave," added he, "to assure his Excellency, that, actuated by the most glorious cause that mankind ever fought in, I am determined to defend this post to the very last extremity."

Apprised by the colonel of his peril, General Greene sent over reinforcements, with an exhortation to him to persist in his defence; and dispatched an express to Washington, who was at Hackensack, where the troops which had crossed from Peekskill were encamped. It was nightfall when Washington arrived at Fort Lee. Greene and Putnam were over at the besieged fortress. He threw himself into a boat; and had partly crossed the river, when he met those generals returning. They informed him of the garrison's having been reinforced, and assured him that it was in high spirits, and capable of making a good defence. It was with difficulty, however, they could prevail on him to return with them to the Jersey shore, for he was excessively excited.

Early the next morning (16th), Magaw made his dispositions for the expected attack.

Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, with eight hundred Pennsylvanians, was posted in the outer lines, about two miles south of the fort, the side menaced by Lord Percy with sixteen hundred men. Colonel Rawlings, with a body of Maryland riflemen, was stationed by a three-gun battery, on a rocky, precipitous hill, north of the fort, and between it and Spyt den Duivel Creek. Colonel Baxter, with his regiment of Pennsylvania militia, was posted east of the fort, on rough, woody heights, bordering the Harlem river, to watch the motions of the enemy, who had thrown up redoubts on commanding ground, on the opposite side of the river, apparently to cover the crossing and landing of troops.

General Howe had planned four simultaneous attacks; one on the north by Knyphausen, who was encamped on the York side of King's Bridge, within cannon-shot of Fort Washington, but separated from it by high and rough hills, covered with almost impenetrable woods. He was to advance in two columns, formed by detachments made from the Hessians of his corps, the brigade of Rahl, and the regiment of Waldeckers. The second attack was to

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be by two battalions of light infantry, and two battalions of guards, under Brigadier-general Matthews, who was to cross Harlem river in flat-boats, under cover of the redoubts above mentioned, and to land on the right of the fort. This attack was to be supported by the first and second grenadiers, and a regiment of light infantry under command of Lord Cornwallis. The third attack, intended as a feint to distract the attention of the Americans, was to be by Colonel Sterling, with the forty-second regiment, who was to drop down the Harlem river in bateaux, to the left of the American lines, facing New York. The fourth attack was to be on the south, by Lord Percy, with the English and Hessian troops under his command, on the right flank of the American entrenchments.

About noon, a heavy cannonade thundering along the rocky hills, and sharp volleys of musketry, proclaimed that the action was commenced. Knyphausen's division was pushing on from the north in two columns, as had been arranged. The right was led by Colonel Rahl, the left by himself. Rahl essayed to mount a steep, broken height called Cock Hill, which rises from Spyt den Duivel Creek, and was covered with woods. Knyphausen undertook a hill rising from the King's Bridge road, but soon found himself entangled in a woody defile, difficult to penetrate, and where his Hessians were exposed to the fire of the three-gun battery, and Rawlings' riflemen.

While this was going on at the north of the fort, General Matthews, with his light infantry and guards, crossed the Harlem river in the flat-boats, under cover of a heavy fire from the redoubts. He made good his landing, after being severely handled by Baxter and his men, from behind rocks and trees, and the breastworks thrown up on the steep river bank. A short contest ensued. Baxter, while bravely encouraging his men, was killed by a British officer. His troops, overpowered by numbers, retreated to the fort. General Matthews now pushed on with his guards and light infantry to cut off Cadwalader. That officer had gallantly defended the lines against the attack of Lord Percy, until informed that Colonel Sterling was dropping down Harlem river in bateaux to flank the lines, and take him in the rear. He

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sent off a detachment to oppose his landing. They did it manfully. About ninety of Sterling's men were killed or wounded in their boats, but he persevered, landed, and forced his way up a steep height, which was well defended, gained the summit, forced a redoubt, and took nearly two hundred prisoners. Thus doubly assailed, Cadwalader was obliged to retreat to the fort. He was closely pursued by Percy, but turned repeatedly on his pursuers. Thus he fought his way to the fort, with the loss of several killed and more taken prisoners; but marking his track by the number of Hessians slain.

The defence on the north side of the fort was equally obstinate and unsuccessful. Rawlings had for some time kept the left column under Knyphausen at bay. At length Colonel Rahl, having forced his way directly up the north side of the steep hill at Spyt den Duivel Creek, came upon Rawlings' men, whose rifles from frequent discharges had become foul and almost useless, drove them from their strong post, and followed them until within a hundred yards of the fort, where he was joined by Knyphausen, who slowly made his way through a dense forest and over felled trees. Here they took post behind a large stone house, and sent in a flag, with a second summons to surrender.

Washington, surrounded by several of his officers, had been an anxious spectator of the battle from the opposite side of the Hudson. Much of it was hidden from him by intervening hills and forest; but the roar of cannonry from the valley of Harlem river, the sharp and incessant reports of rifles, and the smoke rising above the tree tops, told him of the spirit with which the assault was received at various points, and gave him for a time a hope that the defence might be successful. The action about the lines to the south lay open to him, and could be distinctly seen through a telescope; and nothing encouraged him more than the gallant style in which Cadwalader with an inferior force maintained his position. When he saw him, however, assailed in flank, the line broken, and his troops, overpowered by numbers, retreating to the fort, he gave up the game as lost. The worst sight of all, was to behold his men cut down and bayoneted by the Hessians while

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begging quarter. It is said so completely to have overcome him, that he wept "with the tenderness of a child."

Seeing the flag go into the fort from Knyphausen's division, and surmising it to be a summons to surrender, he wrote a note to Magaw, telling him that if he could hold out until evening and the place could not be maintained, he would endeavor to bring off the garrison in the night. Captain Gooch, of Boston, a brave and daring man, offered to be the bearer of the note. He ran down to the river, jumped into a small boat, pushed over the river, landed under the bank, ran up to the fort and delivered the message, came out, ran and jumped over the broken ground, dodging the Hessians, some of whom struck at him with their pieces, and others attempted to thrust him with their bayonets; escaping through them, he got to his boat and returned to Fort Lee.

Washington's message arrived too late. The fort was so crowded by the garrison, and the troops which had retreated into it, that it was difficult to move about. The enemy, too, were in possession of the little redoubts around, and could have poured in showers of shells and ricochet balls that would have made dreadful slaughter. It was no longer possible for Magaw to get his troops to man the lines; he was compelled, therefore, to yield himself and his garrison prisoners of war. The only terms granted them were, that the men should retain their baggage and the officers their swords.

The sight of the American flag hauled down, and the British flag waving in its place, told Washington of the surrender.

Retreat through New Jersey. — With the capture of Fort Washington, the project of obstructing the navigation of the Hudson, at that point, was at an end. Fort Lee, consequently, became useless, and Washington ordered all the ammunition and stores to be removed, preparatory to its abandonment. This was partially effected when, early in the morning of the 20th, intelligence was brought that the enemy, with two hundred boats, had crossed the river and landed a few miles above. General Greene immediately ordered the garrison under arms, sent out troops to hold the enemy in check, and dispatched an express to Washington at Hackensack.

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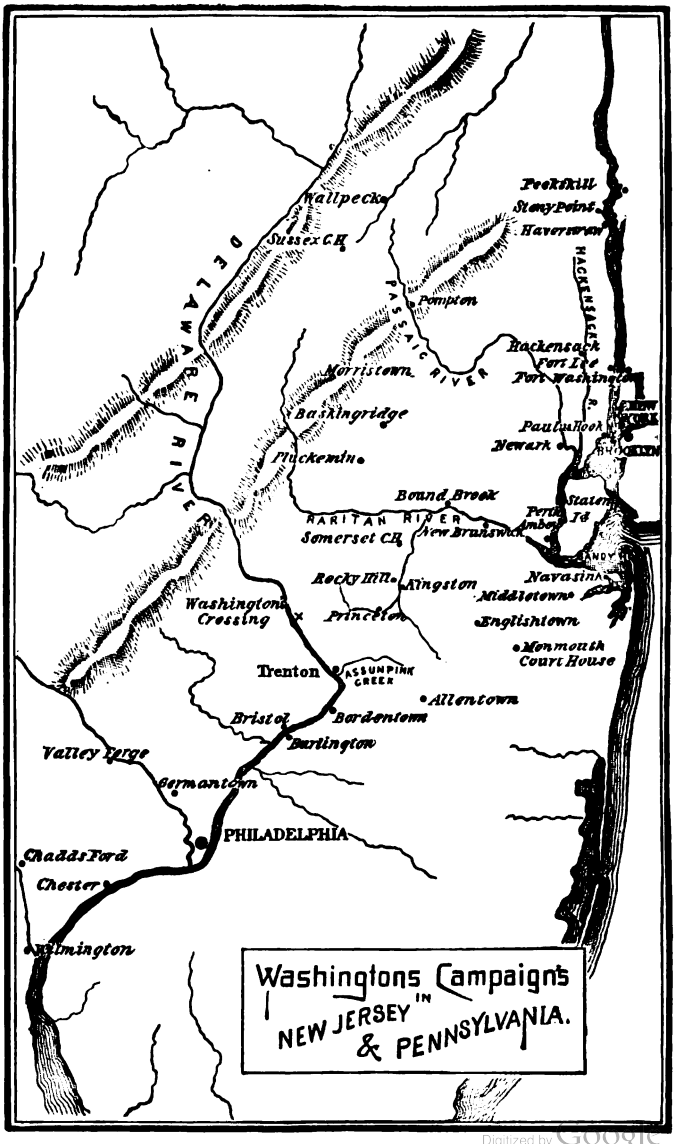

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The enemy — six thousand strong — had crossed the Hudson, on a very rainy night, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, and landed at a place called Closter Dock, five or six miles above Fort Lee, and under that line of lofty and perpendicular cliffs known as the Palisades.

Washington arrived at the fort in three-quarters of an hour. Being told that the enemy were extending themselves across the country, he at once saw that they intended to form a line from the Hudson to the Hackensack, and hem the whole garrison in between the two rivers. Nothing would save it but a prompt retreat to secure the bridge over the Hackensack. No time was to be lost. The troops sent out to check the enemy were recalled. The retreat commenced in all haste. There was a want of horses and wagons; a great quantity of baggage, stores, and provisions, therefore, was abandoned. So was all the artillery excepting two twelve-pounders. Even the tents were left standing, and camp-kettles on the fire. At Hackensack the army did not exceed three thousand men, dispirited by ill success, and the loss of tents and baggage. They were without entrenching tools, in a flat country, where there were no natural fastnesses. Again, to avoid the danger of being inclosed between two rivers, a second move was necessary. Leaving three regiments to guard the passes of the Hackensack, and serve as covering parties, Washington again decamped, and threw himself on the west bank of the Passaic, in the neighborhood of Newark.

His army, small as it was, would soon be less. The term of enlistment of many of the soldiers was nearly expired; and it was not probable that, disheartened as they were by defeats and losses, exposed to inclement weather, and unaccustomed to military hardships, they would longer forego the comforts of their homes, to drag out the residue of a ruinous campaign. In addition, too, to the superiority of the force that was following him, the rivers gave the enemy facilities, by means of their shipping, to throw troops in his rear. The situation of the little army was daily becoming more perilous. In a council of war, several of the members urged a move to Morristown, to form a junction with troops expected

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from the Northern army. Washington, however, still cherished the idea of making a stand at Brunswick on the Raritan, or, at all events, of disputing the passage of the Delaware; and in this intrepid resolution he was warmly seconded by Greene. Breaking up his camp once more, therefore, he continued his retreat towards New Brunswick; but so close was Cornwallis upon him, that his advance entered one end of Newark, just as the American rear-guard had left the other.

From Brunswick, Washington wrote on the 29th to William Livingston, governor of the Jerseys, requesting him to have all boats and river craft, for seventy miles along the Delaware, removed to the western bank out of the reach of the enemy, and put under guard. He was disappointed in his hope of making a stand on the banks of the Raritan. All the force he could muster at Brunswick, including the New Jersey militia, did not exceed four thousand men. Colonel Reed had failed in procuring aid from the New Jersey legislature. That body, shifting from place to place, was on the eve of dissolution. The term of the Maryland and New Jersey troops in the flying camp had expired. General Mercer endeavored to detain them, representing the disgrace of turning their backs upon the cause when the enemy was at hand: his remonstrances were fruitless. As to the Pennsylvania levies, they deserted in such numbers, that guards were stationed on the roads and ferries to intercept them.

Ever since the retreat from the Hudson began, Washington had sent letters almost daily to Lee at Northcastle, ordering him to come with all possible speed to join him with the force left under his command, which now amounted to more than half of the army. But Lee had now made up his mind to use the loss of Fort Washington for his own advantage. He wished to see Washington ruined in order that he might himself obtain the chief command. So he wickedly disobeyed orders, and stayed at Northcastle until he thought Washington's case was quite hopeless. Meanwhile he was busily employed in writing treacherous letters to prominent men, in the hope of poisoning their minds against Washington. His motives were not fully understood at the time; but papers of his

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subsequently discovered have shown that he was an unmitigated scoundrel, — a traitor more base in character than Benedict Arnold, and not less dangerous.

Washington lingered at Brunswick until the 1st of December, in the vain hope of being reinforced. The enemy, in the meantime, advanced through the country, impressing wagons and horses, and collecting cattle and sheep, as if for a distant march. At length their vanguard appeared on the opposite side of the Raritan. Washington immediately broke down the end of the bridge next the village, and after nightfall resumed his retreat. At Princeton he left twelve hundred men under Lord Stirling, to cover the country, and watch the motions of the enemy. The harassed army reached Trenton on the 2d of December, and Washington immediately proceeded to remove his baggage and stores across the Delaware.

Lord Howe and his brother sought to profit by the general dismay and despondency. A proclamation, dated 30th of November, commanded all persons in arms against His Majesty's government to disband and return home, and all Congresses to desist from treasonable acts: offering a free pardon to all who should comply within fifty days. Many who had been prominent in the cause hastened to take advantage of this proclamation. Those who had most property to lose were the first to submit. The middle ranks remained generally steadfast.

In this dark day of peril to the cause and to himself, Washington remained firm and undaunted. In casting about for some stronghold where he might make a desperate stand for the liberties of his country, his thoughts reverted to the mountain regions of his early campaigns. General Mercer was at hand, who had shared his perils among these mountains, and his presence may have contributed to bring them to his mind. "What think you," said Washington; "if we should retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, would the Pennsylvanians support us?"

"If the lower counties give up, the back counties will do the same," was the discouraging reply.

"We must then retire to Augusta County in Virginia," said

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Washington. "Numbers will repair to us for safety, and we will try a predatory war. If overpowered, we must cross the Alleghanies."

Such was the indomitable spirit, rising under difficulties, and buoyant in the darkest moment, that kept our tempest-tost cause from foundering.

Lee taken Prisoner. — Notwithstanding the repeated and pressing orders and entreaties of the commander-in-chief, it was not until the 4th of December that Lee crossed the Hudson and began a laggard march, though aware of the imminent peril of Washington and his army. In the meantime, Washington had profited by a delay of the enemy at Brunswick, and removed most of the stores and baggage of the army across the Delaware; and being reinforced by fifteen hundred Pennsylvania militia, prepared to face about, and march back to Princeton with such of his troops as were fit for service, there to be governed by circumstances, and the movements of General Lee. Accordingly, on the 5th of December he sent about twelve hundred men in the advance, to reinforce Lord Stirling, and the next day set off himself with the residue. But Lee had no idea of conforming to a general plan; he had an independent plan of his own, and was at that moment at Pompton, indulging speculations on military greatness, and the lamentable want of it in his American contemporaries. In a letter from that place to Governor Cooke of Rhode Island, he imparts his notions on the subject. "Theory joined to practice, or a heaven-born genius, can alone constitute a general. As to the latter, God Almighty indulges the modern world very rarely with the spectacle; and I do not know, from what I have seen, that he has been more profuse of this ethereal spirit to the Americans, than to other nations."

While Lee was thus loitering and speculating, Cornwallis, knowing how far he was in the rear, and how weak was the situation of Washington's army, made a forced march from Brunswick and was within two miles of Princeton. Stirling, to avoid being surrounded, immediately set out for Trenton. Washington, too, receiving intelligence of these movements, hastened back to that

place, and caused boats to be collected from all quarters, and the stores and troops transported across the Delaware. He himself crossed with the rear-guard on Sunday morning, and took up his quarters about a mile from the river; causing the boats to be destroyed, and troops to be posted opposite the fords. He was conscious, however, as he said, that with his small force he could make no great opposition, should the enemy bring boats with them. Fortunately, they did not come thus provided.

The rear-guard had barely crossed the river, when Lord Cornwallis came marching down with all the pomp of war, in great expectation of getting boats, and immediately pursuing. Not one was to be had there or elsewhere; for Washington had caused the boats, for an extent of seventy miles up and down the river, to be secured on the right bank. His lordship was effectually brought to a stand. He made some moves with two columns, as if he would cross the Delaware above and below, either to push on to Philadelphia, or to entrap Washington in the acute angle made by the bend of the river opposite Bordentown. An able disposition of American troops along the upper part of the river, and of a number of galleys below, discouraged any attempt of the kind. Cornwallis, therefore, gave up the pursuit, distributed the German troops in cantonments along the left bank of the river, and stationed his main force at Brunswick, trusting to be able before long to cross the Delaware on the ice.

Putnam was now detached to take command of Philadelphia, and put it in a state of defence; and Congress hastily adjourned on the 12th of December, to meet again on the 20th, at Baltimore.

Washington's whole force at this time was about five thousand five hundred men; one thousand of them Jersey militia, fifteen hundred militia from Philadelphia, and a battalion of five hundred of the German yeomanry of Pennsylvania. Gates, however, was coming on with seven regiments detached by Schuyler from the northern department.

Three of these regiments descended the Hudson to Peekskill, and were ordered by Lee to Morristown. Gates had embarked with the remaining four, and landed with them at Esopus, whence he

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took a back route by the Delaware and the Minisink. On the 11th of December, he was detained by a heavy snow storm, in a sequestered valley near the Wallpeck in New Jersey. Being cut off from all information respecting the adverse armies, he detached Major Wilkinson to seek Washington's camp, with a letter, stating the force under his command, and inquiring what route he should take. Wilkinson crossed the hills on horseback to Sussex court-house, took a guide, and proceeded down the country. Washington, he soon learnt, had passed the Delaware several days before: the boats, he was told, had been removed from the ferries, so that he would find some difficulty in getting over, but Major-general Lee was at Morristown. Finding such obstacles in his way to the commander-in-chief, he determined to seek the second in command, and ask orders from him for General Gates. Lee had decamped from Morristown on the 12th of December, but had marched no further than Vealtown, barely eight miles distant. There he left General Sullivan with the troops, while he took up his quarters three miles off, at a tavern, at Baskingridge. As there was not a British cantonment within twenty miles, he took but a small guard for his protection, thinking himself perfectly secure.

At about four o'clock in the morning, Wilkinson arrived at his quarters. He was presented to the general as he lay in bed, and delivered into his hands the letter of General Gates. Lee, observing it was addressed to Washington, declined opening it, until apprised by Wilkinson of its contents, and the motives of his visit. He then broke the seal, and recommended Wilkinson to take repose. The latter lay down on his blanket, before a comfortable fire, among the officers of his suite; "for we were not encumbered in those days," says he, "with beds or baggage." Lee, naturally indolent, lingered in bed until eight o'clock. He then came down in his usual slovenly style, half-dressed, in slippers and blanket coat, his collar open, and his linen apparently of some days' wear. After some inquiries about the campaign in the North, he gave Wilkinson a brief account of the operations of the main army, which he condemned in strong terms, and in his usual sarcastic way. Colonel Scammel, the adjutant-general, called

from General Sullivan for orders concerning the morning march. After musing a moment or two, Lee asked him if he had a manuscript map of the country. It was produced, and spread upon the table. Wilkinson observed Lee trace with his finger the route from Vealtown to Pluckamin, thence to Somerset court-house, and on, by Rocky Hill, to Princeton; he then returned to Pluckamin, and traced the route in the same manner by Boundbrook to Brunswick, and after a close inspection carelessly said to Scammel, "Tell General Sullivan to move down towards Pluckamin; that I will soon be with him." This, observes Wilkinson, was off his route to Alexandria on the Delaware, where he had been ordered to cross, and directly on that towards Brunswick and Princeton. He was convinced, therefore, that Lee meditated an attack on the British post at the latter place. From these various delays they did not sit down to breakfast before ten o'clock. After breakfast Lee sat writing a reply to General Gates, in which, as usual, he indulged in sarcastic comments on the commander-in-chief. While Lee was writing, Wilkinson was looking out of a window down a lane, about a hundred yards in length, leading from the house to the main road. Suddenly a party of British dragoons turned a corner of the avenue at full charge. "Here, sir, are the British cavalry!" exclaimed Wilkinson.

"Where?" replied Lee, who had just signed his letter.

"Around the house!" — for they had opened file and surrounded it.

"Where is the guard? —— the guard, why don't they fire?" Then after a momentary pause — "Do, sir, see what has become of the guard."

The guards, alas, unwary as their general, and chilled by the air of a frosty morning, had stacked their arms, and repaired to the south side of a house on the opposite side of the road to sun themselves, and were now chased by the dragoons in different directions. In fact, a Tory, who had found where Lee was to lodge and breakfast, had ridden eighteen miles in the night, to Brunswick, and given the information, and had piloted back Colonel Harcourt with his dragoons.

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The women of the house would fain have concealed Lee in a bed, but he rejected the proposition with disdain. Wilkinson, according to his own account, posted himself in a place where only one person could approach at a time, and there took his stand, a pistol in each hand, resolved to shoot the first and second assailant, and then appeal to his sword. While in this "unpleasant situation," as he terms it, he heard a voice declare, "If the general does not surrender in five minutes, I will set fire to the house!" After a short pause the threat was repeated, with a solemn oath. Within two minutes he heard it proclaimed, "Here is the general, he has surrendered."

There was a shout of triumph, but a great hurry to make sure of the prize before the army should arrive to the rescue. A trumpet sounded the recall to the dragoons, who were chasing the scattered guards. The general, bareheaded, and in his slippers and blanket coat, was mounted on Wilkinson's horse, which stood at the door, and the troop clattered off with their prisoner to Brunswick. In three hours the booming of the cannon in that direction told the exultation of the enemy. They boasted of having taken the American Palladium; for they considered Lee the most scientific and experienced of the rebel generals.

On the departure of the troops, Wilkinson, finding the coast clear, ventured from his stronghold, repaired to the stable, mounted the first horse he could find, and rode full speed in quest of General Sullivan, whom he found under march toward Pluckamin. He handed him the letter to Gates, written by Lee the moment before his capture, and still open. Sullivan having read it, returned it to Wilkinson, and advised him to rejoin General Gates without delay: for his own part, being now in command, he changed his route, and pressed forward to join the commander-in-chief.

Wilkinson, who was at that time conversant with the cabals of the camp, points out what he considers the true secret of Lee's conduct. His military reputation, originally very high, had been enhanced of late, by its being generally believed that he had been opposed to the occupation of Fort Washington; while the fall of that fortress and other misfortunes of the campaign, though beyond

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the control of the commander-in-chief, had quickened the discontent which, according to Wilkinson, had been generated against him at Cambridge, and raised a party against him in Congress. In this temper of the times, if General Lee had anticipated General Washington in cutting the cordon of the enemy between New York and the Delaware, the commander-in-chief would probably have been superseded. In this case Lee would have succeeded him. What an unfortunate change would it have been for the country!

Victory at Trenton. — Congress, prior to their adjournment, had resolved that "until they should otherwise order, General Washington should be possessed of all power to order and direct all things relative to the department and to the operations of war." Thus empowered, he proceeded immediately to recruit three battalions of artillery. The promise of increased pay and bounties had kept together for a time the dissolving army. The local militia began to turn out freely. Colonel John Cadwalader, a gentleman of gallant spirit, and cultivated mind and manners, brought a large volunteer detachment, well equipped, and composed principally of Philadelphia troops. Washington, who held Cadwalader in high esteem, assigned him an important station at Bristol, with Colonel Reed, who was his intimate friend, as an associate. They had it in charge to keep a watchful eye upon Count Donop's Hessians, who were cantoned along the opposite shore from Bordentown to the Black Horse.

On the 20th of December arrived General Sullivan in camp, with the troops recently commanded by the unlucky Lee. They were in a miserable plight; destitute of almost everything; many of them fit only for the hospital, and those whose terms were nearly out, thinking of nothing but their discharge. About four hundred of them, who were Rhode Islanders, were sent down to reinforce Cadwalader, who was now styled brigadier-general by courtesy, lest the continental troops might object to act under his command.

On the same day arrived General Gates, with the remnants of four regiments from the Northern army. "When the divisions

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of Sullivan and Gates joined General Washington," writes Wilkinson, "he found his numbers increased, yet his difficulties were not sensibly diminished; ten days would disband his corps and leave him fourteen hundred men, miserably provided in all things. I saw him in that gloomy period; dined with him, and attentively marked his aspect; always grave and thoughtful, he appeared at that time pensive and solemn in the extreme."

There were vivid schemes forming under that solemn aspect. The time seemed now propitious for a *coup de main* which Washington had of late been meditating. Everything showed careless confidence on the part of the enemy. Howe was in winter quarters at New York. His troops were loosely cantoned about the Jerseys, from the Delaware to Brunswick, so that they could not readily be brought to act in concert on a sudden alarm. The Hessians were in the advance, stationed along the Delaware, facing the American lines, which were along the west bank. Cornwallis, thinking his work accomplished, had obtained leave of absence, and was likewise at New York, preparing to embark for England. Washington had now between five and six thousand men fit for service; with these he meditated crossing the river at night, at different points, and making simultaneous attacks upon the Hessian advance posts.

A brigade of three Hessian regiments was stationed at Trenton. Colonel Rahl had the command of the post at his own solicitation, and in consequence of the laurels he had gained at White Plains and Fort Washington. Rumors that the Americans meditated an attack had aroused the vigilance of the colonel, and on the 21st of December he had reconnoitered the banks of the Delaware, with a strong detachment, quite to Frankfort, to see if there were any movements of the Americans indicative of an intention to cross the river. He had returned without seeing any; but had since caused pickets and alarm posts to be stationed every night outside the town. Such was the posture of affairs at Trenton at the time the *coup de main* was meditated.

Whatever was to be done, however, must be done quickly, before the river was frozen. An intercepted letter had convinced Wash-

ington of what he had before suspected, that Howe was only waiting for that event to resume active operations, cross the river on the ice, and push triumphantly to Philadelphia.

He communicated his project to Gates, and wished him to go to Bristol, take command there, and co-operate from that quarter. Gates, however, pleaded ill health, and requested leave to proceed to Philadelphia. The request may have surprised Washington, considering the spirited enterprise that was on foot; but Gates, as has before been observed, had a disinclination to serve immediately under the commander-in-chief; like Lee, he had a disparaging opinion of him, or rather an impatience of his supremacy. He had, moreover, an ulterior object in view. Having been disappointed and chagrined, in finding himself subordinate to General Schuyler in the Northern campaign, he was now intent on making interest among the members of Congress for an independent command. He set out thence for Baltimore on the 24th of December, the very day before that of the intended *coup de main*. He prevailed on Wilkinson to accompany him as far as Philadelphia. On the road he appeared to be much depressed in spirits; but relieved himself, like Lee, by criticising the plans of the commander-in-chief. "He frequently," writes Wilkinson, "expressed the opinion that, while Washington was watching the enemy above Trenton, they would construct bateaux, pass the Delaware in his rear, and take possession of Philadelphia before he was aware; and that, instead of vainly attempting to stop General Howe at the Delaware, General Washington ought to retire to the south of the Susquehanna, and there form an army. *He said it was his intention to propose this measure to Congress at Baltimore*, and urged me to accompany him to that place; but my duty forbade the thought."

Here we have somewhat of a counterpart to Lee's project of eclipsing the commander-in-chief. Evidently the two military veterans who had once been in conclave with him at Mount Vernon considered the truncheon of command falling from his grasp.

The projected attack upon the Hessian posts was to be threefold.

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1st. Washington was to cross the Delaware with a considerable force, at McKonkey's Ferry (now Taylorsville), about nine miles above Trenton, and march down upon that place, where Rahl's cantonment comprised a brigade of fifteen hundred Hessians, a troop of British light horse, and a number of chasseurs.

2d. General Ewing, with a body of Pennsylvania militia, was to cross at a ferry about a mile below Trenton; secure the bridge over the Assunpink creek, a stream flowing along the south side of the town, and cut off any retreat of the enemy in that direction.

3d. General Putnam, with the troops occupied in fortifying Philadelphia, and those under General Cadwalader, was to cross below Burlington, and attack the lower posts under Count Donop. The several divisions were to cross the Delaware at night, so as to be ready for simultaneous action, by five o'clock in the morning.

Seldom is a combined plan carried into full operation. Symptoms of an insurrection in Philadelphia, obliged Putnam to remain with some force in that city; but he detached five or six hundred of the Pennsylvania militia under Colonel Griffin, his adjutant-general, who threw himself into the Jerseys, to be at hand to co-operate with Cadwalader.

Early on the eventful evening (Dec. 25th), the troops destined for Washington's part of the attack, about two thousand four hundred strong, with a train of twenty small pieces, were paraded near McKonkey's Ferry, ready to pass as soon as it grew dark, in the hope of being all on the other side by twelve o'clock. Washington repaired to the ground accompanied by Generals Greene, Sullivan, Mercer, Stephen, and Lord Stirling. Greene was full of ardor for the enterprise; eager, no doubt, to wipe out the recollection of Fort Washington. It was, indeed, an anxious moment for all.

We have here some circumstances furnished to us by the memoirs of Wilkinson. That officer had returned from Philadelphia, and brought a letter from Gates to Washington. There was some snow on the ground, and he had traced the march of the troops for the last few miles by the blood from the feet of those whose shoes were broken. Being directed to Washington's quarters, he

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found him, he says, alone, with his whip in his hand, prepared to mount his horse. "When I presented the letter of General Gates to him, before receiving it, he exclaimed with solemnity, — 'What a time is this to hand me letters!' I answered that I had been charged with it by General Gates. 'By General Gates! Where is he?' 'I left him this morning in Philadelphia.' 'What was he doing there?' 'I understood him that he was on his way to Congress.' He earnestly repeated, 'On his way to Congress!' then broke the seal, and I made my bow, and joined General St. Clair on the bank of the river."

Did Washington surmise the incipient intrigues and cabals, that were already aiming to undermine him? Had Gates' eagerness to push on to Congress, instead of remaining with the army in a moment of daring enterprise, suggested any doubts as to his object? Perhaps not. Washington's nature was too noble to be suspicious, and yet he had received sufficient cause to be distrustful.

Boats being in readiness, the troops began to cross about sunset. The weather was intensely cold; the wind was high, the current strong, the river full of floating ice. Colonel Glover, with his amphibious regiment of Marblehead fishermen, was in advance. They were men accustomed to battle with the elements, yet with all their skill and experience, the crossing was difficult and perilous. Washington, who had crossed with the troops, stood anxiously, yet patiently, on the eastern bank, while one precious hour after another elapsed, until the transportation of the artillery should be effected. The night was dark and tempestuous, the drifting ice drove the boats out of their course, and threatened them with destruction. Colonel Knox, who attended to the crossing of the artillery, assisted with his labors, but still more with his "stentorian lungs," giving orders and directions.

It was three o'clock before the artillery was landed, and nearly four before the troops took up their line of march. Trenton was nine miles distant, and not to be reached before daylight. Washington formed the troops into two columns. The first he led himself, accompanied by Greene, Stirling, Mercer, and Stephen;

it was to make a circuit by the upper or Pennington road, to the north of Trenton. The other, led by Sullivan, and including the brigade of St. Clair, was to take the lower river road, leading to the west end of the town. Sullivan's column was to halt a few moments at a cross-road leading to Howland's Ferry, to give Washington's column time to effect its circuit, so that the attack might be simultaneous. On arriving at Trenton, they were to force the outer guards, and push directly into the town before the enemy had time to form.

The situation of Washington was more critical than he was aware. Notwithstanding the secrecy with which his plans had been conducted, Colonel Rahl had received a warning from General Grant, at Princeton, of the intended attack, and of the very time it was to be made, but stating that it was to be made by a detachment under Lord Stirling. Rahl was accordingly put on the alert. But it so happened that about dusk of the preceding evening, alarm guns were fired at the Trenton outpost. The whole garrison was instantly drawn out under arms, and Colonel Rahl hastened to the outpost. It was found in confusion, and six men wounded. A body of men had emerged from the woods, fired upon the picket, and immediately retired. Colonel Rahl, with two companies and a field-piece, marched through the woods, and made the rounds of the outposts, but seeing and hearing nothing, and finding all quiet, returned. Supposing this to be the attack against which he had been warned, and that it was "a mere flash in the pan," he relapsed into his feeling of security; and, as the night was cold and stormy, permitted the troops to return to their quarters and lay aside their arms. Thus the garrison and its unwary commander slept in fancied security, at the very time that Washington and his troops were making their toilsome way across the Delaware.

It began to hail and snow as the troops commenced their march, and increased in violence as they advanced, the storm driving the sleet in their faces. So bitter was the cold that two of the men were frozen to death that night. The day dawned by the time Sullivan halted at the cross-road. It was discovered that the storm

had rendered many of the muskets wet and useless. "What is to be done?" inquired Sullivan of St. Clair. "You have nothing for it but to push on, and use the bayonet," was the reply. While some of the soldiers were endeavoring to clean their muskets, Sullivan dispatched an officer to apprise the commander-in-chief of the condition of their arms. He came back half dismayed by an indignant burst of Washington, who ordered him to return instantly and tell General Sullivan to "advance and charge."

It was about eight o'clock when Washington's column arrived in the vicinity of the village. The storm, which had rendered the march intolerable, had kept every one within doors, and the snow had deadened the tread of the troops and the rumbling of the artillery. As they approached the village, Washington, who was in front, came to a man who was chopping wood by the roadside, and inquired, "Which way is the Hessian picket?" "I don't know," was the surly reply. "You may tell," said Captain Forest of the artillery, "for that is General Washington." The aspect of the man changed in an instant. Raising his hands to heaven, "God bless and prosper you!" cried he. "The picket is in that house, and the sentry stands near that tree."

The advance guard was led by a brave young officer, Captain William Washington, seconded by Lieutenant James Monroe (in after years President of the United States). They received orders to dislodge the picket, who came very near being entrapped in the guard-house. He at first made a stand, thinking he had a mere marauding party to deal with; but seeing heavy battalions at hand, got out of the way as quickly as possible. By this time the American artillery was unlimbered; Washington kept beside it, and the column proceeded. The report of fire-arms told that Sullivan was at the lower end of the town. Colonel Stark led his advance guard, and did it in gallant style. The attacks, as concerted, were simultaneous. The outposts were driven in; they retreated, firing from behind houses. The Hessian drums beat to arms; the trumpets of the light horse sounded the alarm; the whole place was in an uproar. Some of the enemy made a wild and undirected fire from the windows of their quarters; others

rushed forth in disorder, and attempted to form in the main street, while dragoons hastily mounted, and galloping about, added to the confusion. Washington advanced with his column to the head of King Street, riding beside Captain Forest of the artillery. When Forest's battery of six guns was opened, the general kept on the left and advanced with it, giving directions to the fire. His position was an exposed one, and he was repeatedly entreated to fall back; but all such entreaties were useless, when once he became heated in action.

The enemy were training a couple of cannon in the main street to form a battery, which might have given the Americans a serious check; but Captain Washington and Lieutenant Monroe, with a part of the advanced guard, rushed forward, drove the artillerists from their guns, and took the two pieces when on the point of being fired. Both of these officers were wounded; the captain in the wrist, the lieutenant in the shoulder.

While Washington advanced on the north of the town, Sullivan approached on the west, and detached Stark to press on the lower or south end of the town. The British light horse, and about five hundred Hessians and chasseurs, had been quartered in the lower part of the town. Seeing Washington's column pressing in front, and hearing Stark thundering in their rear, they took headlong flight by the bridge across the Assunpink, and so along the banks of the Delaware toward Count Donop's encampment at Bordentown. Had Washington's plan been carried into full effect, their retreat would have been cut off by General Ewing; but that officer had been prevented from crossing the river by the ice.

Colonel Rahl completely lost his head in the confusion of the surprise. With some difficulty he succeeded in extricating his troops from the town, and leading them into an adjacent orchard. Now was the time, if ever, for him to have pushed for another place, there to make a stand. A rapid retreat by the Princeton road was apparently in his thoughts; but he lacked decision. The idea of flying before the rebels was intolerable. Some one too exclaimed at the ruinous loss of leaving all their baggage to be plundered by the enemy. Changing his mind, he made a rash

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resolve. "All who are my grenadiers, forward!" cried he, and went back like a storm upon the town. He led his grenadiers bravely but rashly on, when, in the midst of his career, he received a fatal wound from a musket ball, and fell from his horse. His men, left without their chief, were struck with dismay, and retreated by the right, — up the banks of the Assunpink, intending to escape to Princeton. Washington saw their design, and threw Colonel Hand's corps of Pennsylvania riflemen in their way; while a body of Virginia troops gained their left. Thus brought to a stand, and perfectly bewildered, the men grounded their arms and surrendered at discretion.

The number of prisoners taken in this affair was nearly one thousand, of whom thirty-two were officers. Washington's triumph, however, was impaired by the failure of the two simultaneous attacks. General Ewing, who was to have crossed before day at Trenton Ferry, and taken possession of the bridge leading out of the town, over which the light horse and Hessians retreated, was prevented by the quantity of ice in the river. Cadwalader was hindered by the same obstacle. He got part of his troops over, but found it impossible to embark his cannon, and was obliged, therefore, to return to the Pennsylvania side of the river. Had he and Ewing crossed, Donop's quarters would have been beaten up, and the fugitives from Trenton intercepted.

By the failure of this part of his plan, Washington had been exposed to imminent hazard. The force with which he had crossed, twenty-four hundred men, raw troops, was not enough to cope with the veteran garrison, had it been properly on its guard; and then there were the troops under Donop at hand to co-operate with it. Nothing saved him but the utter panic of the enemy, and their exaggerated idea of his forces; for one of their journals states that Washington had with him fifteen thousand men, and another, six thousand. Even now that the place was in his possession he dared not linger in it. There was a superior force under Donop below him, and a strong battalion of infantry at Princeton. His own troops were exhausted by the operations of the night and morning, and they had to guard about a thousand prisoners.

Washington, therefore, determined to recross the Delaware with his prisoners and captured artillery.

The cannonade in Trenton on the morning of the 26th had been distinctly heard at Cadwalader's camp at Bristol. Imperfect tidings of the result reached there about eleven o'clock, and produced the highest exultation and excitement. Cadwalader made another attempt to cross the river and join Washington, whom he supposed to be still in New Jersey, following up the blow he had struck. He could not effect the passage of the river until mid-day of the 27th, when he received from Washington a detailed account of his success, and of his having recrossed into Pennsylvania. Cadwalader was now in a dilemma. Donop's forces were equal, if not superior in number to his own, and veterans instead of raw militia. But then there was the glory of rivalling the exploit at Trenton, and the importance of following out the effort for the relief of the Jerseys, and the salvation of Philadelphia. Besides, Washington, in all probability, after disposing of his prisoners, had again crossed into the Jerseys and might be acting offensively.

Reed relieved Cadwalader from his dilemma, by proposing that they should push on to Burlington, and there determine, according to intelligence, whither to proceed next.

As they approached Burlington they found the place deserted. There was no smoke, nor any sign of a human being. From the country people in the neighborhood they received an explanation. As soon as Count Donop had heard of the disaster at Trenton, he immediately began a retreat in the utmost panic and confusion, calling in his guards and parties as he hurried forward. Colonel Reed, who was in the advance, sent back intelligence of this to Cadwalader, and still pushed on with his companions. As they rode along, they observed the inhabitants pulling down red rags which had been nailed to their doors; Tory signs to insure good will from the British. Arrived at Bordentown not an enemy was to be seen; the fugitives from Trenton had spread a panic on the 26th, and the Hessians and their refugee adherents had fled in confusion, leaving their sick behind them.

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Reed and Cadwalader now wrote to Washington, urging him to recross the river, and pursue the advantages already gained. Donop might be overtaken before he could reach Princeton or Brunswick, where the enemy were yet in force. Washington needed no prompting of the kind. Bent upon following up his blow, he had barely allowed his troops a day or two to recover from recent exposure and fatigue, that they might have strength and spirit to pursue the retreating enemy and entirely reverse affairs in New Jersey. He himself had crossed on the 29th of December, but it took two days more to get the troops and artillery over the icy river, and that with great labor and difficulty. And now came a perplexity. With the year expired the term of several regiments, which had seen most service, and become inured to danger. Knowing how indispensable were such troops to lead on those which were raw and undisciplined, Washington had them paraded and invited to re-enlist. It was a difficult task to persuade them. They were haggard with fatigue, and hardship and privation of every kind; and their hearts yearned for home. By the persuasions of their officers, however, and a bounty of ten dollars, the greater proportion of those from the eastward were induced to remain six weeks longer.

Hard money was necessary in this emergency. How was it to be furnished? On the 30th, Washington wrote by express to Robert Morris, the patriot financier at Philadelphia, whom he knew to be eager that the blow should be followed up. "If you could possibly collect a sum, if it were but one hundred, or hundred and fifty pounds, it would be of service." Morris received the letter in the evening. He was at his wit's end to raise the sum, for hard money was scarce. Fortunately a wealthy Quaker in this moment of exigency supplied the "sinews of war," and early the next morning the money was forwarded by the express.

At this critical moment, too, Washington received a letter from a committee of Congress, transmitting him resolves of that body dated the 27th of December, investing him with military powers of almost unlimited extent, though it is not accurate to speak of them — as some have done — as dictatorial.

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Victory at Princeton. — General Howe, in recognition of his successes, had just been made a Knight Commander of the Bath. He was taking his ease in winter-quarters at New York, waiting for the freezing of the Delaware to pursue his triumphant march to Philadelphia, when tidings were brought him of the surprise and capture of the Hessians at Trenton. He instantly stopped Lord Cornwallis, who was on the point of embarking for England, and sent him back in all haste to resume the command in New Jersey.

The ice in the Delaware impeded the crossing of the American troops, and gave the British time to draw in their scattered cantonments and assemble their whole force at Princeton. While his troops were yet crossing, Washington learned that Lord Cornwallis had joined General Grant the day before at Princeton, with a reinforcement of chosen troops. They had now seven or eight thousand men, and were pressing wagons for a march upon Trenton. It was also said that Sir William Howe was on the march with a thousand light troops, with which he had landed at Amboy.

The situation of Washington was growing critical. The enemy were beginning to advance their large pickets towards Trenton. Everything indicated an approaching attack. Washington accordingly chose a position for his main body on the east side of the Assunpink. There was a narrow stone bridge across it, where the water was very deep — the same bridge over which part of Rahl's brigade had escaped in the recent affair. He planted his artillery so as to command the bridge and the fords. His advance guard was stationed about three miles off in a wood, having in front a stream called Shabbakong Creek.

Early on the morning of the 2d, came certain word that Cornwallis was approaching with all his force. Strong parties were sent out under General Greene, who skirmished with the enemy and harassed them in their advance. By twelve o'clock they reached the Shabbakong, and halted for a time on its northern bank. Then crossing it, and moving forward with rapidity, they drove the advance guard out of the woods, and pushed on until they reached a high ground near the town. Here Hand's corps of several battalions was drawn up, and held them for a time in

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check. All the parties in advance ultimately retreated to the main body, on the east side of the Assunpink, and found some difficulty in crowding across the narrow bridge.

From all these checks and delays, it was nearly sunset before Cornwallis with the head of his army entered Trenton. His rear-guard under General Leslie rested about six miles distant, half way between Trenton and Princeton. Forming his troops into columns, he now made repeated attempts to cross the Assunpink at the bridge and the fords, but was as often repulsed by the artillery. For a part of the time Washington, mounted on a white horse, stationed himself at the south end of the bridge, issuing his orders. Each time the enemy was repulsed there was a shout along the American lines. At length they drew off, came to a halt, and lighted their camp fires. The Americans did the same, using the neighboring fences for the purpose. Sir William Erskine, who was with Cornwallis, urged him, it is said, to attack Washington that evening in his camp; but his lordship declined; he felt sure of the game which had so often escaped him; he had at length, he thought, got Washington into a situation from which he could not escape, but where he might make a desperate stand, and he was willing to give his wearied troops a night's repose to prepare them for the closing struggle. He would be sure, he said, to "bag the fox in the morning."

A cannonade was kept up on both sides until dark; but with little damage to the Americans. When night closed in, the two camps lay in sight of each other's fires, ruminating the bloody action of the following day. It was the most gloomy and anxious night that had yet closed in on the American army, throughout its series of perils and disasters; for there was no concealing the impending danger. What must have been the feelings of the commander-in-chief, as he anxiously patrolled his camp and considered his dangerous position? A small stream, fordable in several places, was all that separated his raw, inexperienced army, from an enemy vastly superior in numbers and discipline. A general action with them must be ruinous; but how was he to retreat? Behind him was the Delaware, impassable from floating

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ice. Granting even that a retreat across it could be effected, the consequences would be equally fatal. New Jersey would be left in possession of the enemy, endangering the immediate capture of Philadelphia, and sinking the public mind into deeper despondency than ever.

In this darkest of moments a gleam of hope flashed upon his mind: a bold expedient suggested itself. Almost the whole of the enemy's force must by this time be drawn out of Princeton, and advancing by detachments toward Trenton, while their baggage and principal stores must remain weakly guarded at Brunswick. Was it not possible by a rapid night-march along the Quaker road, a different road from that on which Leslie with the rear-guard was resting, to get past that force undiscovered, come by surprise upon those left at Princeton, capture or destroy what stores were left there, and then push on to Brunswick? This would save the army from being cut off, while some fortunate stroke might give additional reputation to the American arms. In pursuance of this daring scheme the baggage of the army was silently removed to Burlington, and every other preparation was made for a rapid march. To deceive the enemy, men were employed to dig trenches near the bridge within hearing of the British sentries, with orders to continue noisily at work until daybreak; others were to go the rounds; relieve guards at the bridge and fords; keep up the camp fires, and maintain all the appearance of a regular encampment. At daybreak they were to hasten after the army.

In the dead of the night, the army drew quietly out of the encampment and began its march. General Mercer, mounted on a favorite gray horse, was in the advance with about three hundred and fifty men, principally relics of the brave Delaware and Maryland regiments, with some of the Pennsylvania militia. The main body followed, under Washington's immediate command.

The Quaker road was a complete roundabout joining the main road about two miles from Princeton, where Washington expected to arrive before daybreak. The road, however, was new and rugged; cut through woods, where the stumps of trees broke the

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wheels of some of the baggage trains, and retarded the march of the troops; so that it was near sunrise of a bright, frosty morning, when Washington reached the bridge over Stony Brook, about three miles from Princeton. After crossing the bridge, he led his troops along the bank of the brook to the edge of a wood, where a by-road led off on the right through low grounds, and was said by the guides to be a short cut to Princeton, and less exposed to view. By this road Washington defiled with the main body, ordering Mercer to continue along the brook with his brigade, until he should arrive at the main road, where he was to secure, and if possible, destroy a bridge over which it passes; so as to intercept any fugitives from Princeton, and check any retrograde movements of the British troops which might have advanced towards Trenton.

Hitherto the movements of the Americans had been undiscovered by the enemy. Three regiments of the latter, the 17th, 40th, and 55th, with three troops of dragoons, had been quartered all night in Princeton, under marching orders to join Lord Cornwallis in the morning. The 17th regiment, under Colonel Mawhood, was already on the march; the 55th regiment was preparing to follow. Mawhood had crossed the bridge by which the main road to Trenton passes over Stony Brook, and was proceeding through a wood beyond, when, as he attained the summit of a hill about sunrise, the glittering of arms betrayed to him the movement of Mercer's troops to the left, who were filing along the Quaker road to secure the bridge, as they had been ordered. The woods prevented him from seeing their number. He supposed them to be some broken portion of the American army flying before Lord Cornwallis. With this idea, he faced about and made a retrograde movement, to intercept them or hold them in check; while messengers spurred off at all speed, to hasten forward the regiments still lingering at Princeton, so as completely to surround them.

The woods concealed him until he had recrossed the bridge of Stony Brook, when he came in full sight of the van of Mercer's brigade. Both parties pushed to get possession of a rising ground on the right near the house of a Mr. Clark, of the peaceful Society

of Friends. The Americans being nearest reached it first, and formed behind a hedge fence which extended along a slope in front of the house; whence being chiefly armed with rifles, they opened a destructive fire. It was returned with great spirit by the enemy. At the first discharge Mercer was dismounted, "his gallant gray" being crippled by a musket ball in the leg. One of his colonels, also, was mortally wounded and carried to the rear. Availing themselves of the confusion thus occasioned, the British charged with the bayonet; the American riflemen were thrown into disorder and retreated. Mercer, who was on foot, endeavored to rally them, when a blow from the butt end of a musket felled him to the ground. He rose and defended himself with his sword, but was surrounded, bayoneted repeatedly, and left for dead.

Mawhood pursued the broken and retreating troops to the brow of the rising ground, on which Clark's house was situated, when he beheld a large force emerging from a wood and advancing to the rescue. It was a body of Pennsylvania militia, which Washington, on hearing the firing, had detached to the support of Mercer. Mawhood instantly ceased pursuit, drew up his artillery, and by a heavy discharge brought the militia to a stand.

At this moment Washington himself arrived at the scene of action, having galloped from the by-road in advance of his troops. From a rising ground he beheld Mercer's troops retreating in confusion, and the detachment of militia checked by Mawhood's artillery. Everything was at peril. Putting spurs to his horse, he dashed past the hesitating militia, waving his hat and cheering them on. His commanding figure and white horse made him a conspicuous object for the enemy's marksmen, but he heeded it not. Galloping forward under the fire of Mawhood's battery, he called upon Mercer's broken brigade. The Pennsylvanians rallied at the sound of his voice, and caught fire from his example. At the same time the 7th Virginia regiment emerged from the wood, and moved forward with loud cheers, while a fire of grape-shot was opened by the American artillery, from the brow of a ridge to the south. Mawhood, who a moment before had thought his triumph secure, found himself assailed on every side, and separated

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from the other British regiments. He fought, however, with great bravery, and forcing his way, at the point of the bayonet, through gathering foes, retreated in disorder and with heavy loss towards Trenton to join Cornwallis. In the meantime the 55th regiment, which had been on the left and nearer Princeton, had been encountered by the American advance guard under General St. Clair, and after some sharp fighting in a ravine had given way, and was retreating across fields and along a by-road to Brunswick. The remaining regiment, the 40th, had not been able to come up in time for the action; a part of it fled toward Brunswick; the residue took refuge in the college at Princeton, recently occupied by them as barracks. Artillery was now brought to bear on the college, and a few shot compelled those within to surrender.

In this brief but brilliant action, about one hundred of the British were left dead on the field, and nearly three hundred taken prisoners, fourteen of whom were officers. The loss of the Americans was about twenty-five or thirty men and several officers. Among the latter was the brave and noble General Mercer, who died a few days afterward in the house of Mr. Clark, whither he had been conveyed by his aide-de-camp.

In the pursuit of the routed regiments which were making a headlong retreat to Brunswick, Washington took the lead at the head of a detachment of cavalry. At Kingston, however, three miles to the northeast of Princeton, he pulled up, restrained his ardor, and held a council of war on horseback. Should he keep on to Brunswick or not? The capture of the British stores and baggage would make his triumph complete; but, on the other hand, his troops were excessively fatigued by their rapid march all night and hard fight in the morning. All of them had been one night without sleep, and some of them two, and many were half-starved. They were without blankets, thinly clad, some of them barefooted, and this in freezing weather. Cornwallis would be upon them before they could reach Brunswick. His rear-guard, under Leslie, had been quartered but six miles from Princeton, and the retreating troops must have roused them. Under these considerations, it was determined to discontinue the pursuit and

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push for Morristown. There they would be in a mountainous country, heavily wooded, in an abundant neighborhood, and on the flank of the enemy, with various defiles by which they might change their position according to his movements.

Filing off to the left, therefore, from Kingston, and breaking down the bridges behind him, Washington took the narrow road by Rocky Hill to Pluckamin. His troops were so exhausted, that many in the course of the march would lie down in the woods on the frozen ground and fall asleep, and were with difficulty roused and cheered forward. At Pluckamin he halted for a time, to allow them a little repose and refreshment. While they are taking breath we will cast our eyes back to the camp of Cornwallis, to see what was the effect upon him of this masterly movement of Washington. His lordship had retired to rest at Trenton with the sportsman's vaunt that he would "bag the fox in the morning." Nothing could surpass his surprise and chagrin when at daybreak the expiring watchfires and deserted camp of the Americans told him that he was outgeneralled and the prize had once more evaded his grasp.

For a time he could not learn whither the army, which had stolen away so silently, had directed its stealthy march. By sunrise, however, there was the booming of cannon, like the rumbling of distant thunder, in the direction of Princeton. The idea flashed upon him that Washington had not merely escaped, but was about to make a dash at the British magazines at Brunswick. Alarmed for the safety of his military stores, his lordship forthwith broke up his camp, and made a rapid march towards Princeton. As he arrived in sight of the bridge over Stony Brook, he beheld a party of American troops busy in its destruction. A distant discharge of round shot from his field-pieces drove them away, but the bridge was already broken. It would take time to repair it for the passage of the artillery; so Cornwallis in his impatience urged his troops breast-high through the turbulent and icy stream, and again pushed forward. Crossing the bridge at Kingston, he kept on along the Brunswick road, supposing Washington still before him. The latter had got far in the advance, during the

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delay caused by the broken bridge at Stony Brook, and the alteration of his course at Kingston had carried him completely out of the way of Cornwallis. His lordship reached Brunswick towards evening, and endeavored to console himself, by the safety of the military stores, for being so completely foiled and outmanœuvred.

Washington in the meantime continued forward to Morristown, where at length he came to a halt from his incessant and harassing marchings. Colonel Reed was ordered to send out rangers and bodies of militia to scour the country, waylay foraging parties, cut off supplies, and keep the cantonments of the enemy in a state of siege. "I would not suffer a man to stir beyond their lines," writes Washington, "nor suffer them to have the least communication with the country." The situation of Cornwallis became daily more and more irksome. Spies were in his camp, to give notice of every movement, and foes without to take advantage of it; so that not a foraging party could sally forth without being waylaid. By degrees he drew in his troops which were posted about the country, and collected them at New Brunswick and Amboy, so as to have a communication by water with New York, whence he was now compelled to draw nearly all his supplies.

The recent operations in the Jerseys had suddenly changed the whole aspect of the war, and given a triumphant close to what had been a disastrous campaign. The troops, which had so long been driven from post to post, had all at once turned upon their pursuers, and astounded them by brilliant stratagems and daring exploits. The commander, whose cautious policy had been sneered at by enemies, and regarded with impatience by misjudging friends, had all at once shown that he possessed enterprise as well as circumspection, energy as well as endurance, and that beneath his wary coldness lurked a fire quick to break forth at the proper moment. This year's campaign, the most critical one of the war, and especially the part of it which occurred in New Jersey, was the ordeal that made his great qualities fully appreciated by his countrymen, and gained for him from the statesmen and generals of Europe the appellation of the AMERICAN FABIUS.

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§ 6. The Northern Invasion.

Winter and Spring of 1777. — The British government was astonished at the issue of the campaigns which had just closed. The plan had been to capture or disperse the American armies and to get complete control of Ticonderoga and the city of New York, and of the Hudson river between them. There were a great many Tories in the city and state of New York; and it was thought that if this state could be thus conquered, it might be easily held, and would effectually separate New England and Virginia, the two chief centres of the rebellion. The success of the British had fallen far short of their expectations. The furious resistance of Arnold had so discouraged Carleton that he had refrained from attacking Ticonderoga and had withdrawn into winter-quarters. At the other end of the line, the army of Washington, instead of being captured or dispersed, had ended the campaign with two important victories, and now held Sir William Howe in check. The new year would call for greater efforts on the part of the British. Burgoyne went home to England and spent the winter making plans with the king and his ministers. In the spring he returned with instructions to conduct the expedition against Ticonderoga and down the Hudson, while his superior officer General Carleton should stay in Canada. An expedition under Colonel Barry St. Leger was to ascend the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, land at Oswego, and come down the Mohawk valley, gathering Tory and Indian recruits, driving the patriots from that part of the country, and finally uniting with Burgoyne. Sir William Howe was at the same time to ascend the Hudson, capture the American forts in the Highlands, and effect a junction with Burgoyne. Such was the British plan for the summer campaign. It failed, mainly because Howe never received full and positive instructions, and being left to act upon his own discretion, failed to co-operate with Burgoyne.

General Charles Lee was kept in New York as a prisoner during the whole of the year 1777, while the king made up his mind what should be done with him. As he had once been lieutenant-colonel

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in the British army, he was regarded as a deserter, and would probably have been shot but for Washington's interference. Washington informed Howe that he had selected five of the Hessian officers captured at Trenton, and should keep them as hostages for Lee's safety. The British government then did not dare to put Lee to death for fear of harm to the Hessian officers, which would be likely to cause serious disaffection among the German troops. But meanwhile Lee, alarmed for his personal safety, tried to set himself right with the British by acting the part of a traitor toward the Americans. During the winter and spring he plotted with Howe and gave him the benefit of all the information he possessed, such as might help him in conquering the Americans in the course of the summer. As usual, the advice of this shallow knave was far from sound. He assured Howe that Philadelphia was an object of more military importance than the Hudson river. In June, Howe tried to reach Philadelphia by crossing the state of New Jersey; but in a wonderful campaign of three weeks' duration, with an inferior force and without any serious fighting, Washington completely outgeneralled him. Baffled at every turn, Howe evacuated New Jersey, and, still guided by the advice of the traitor Lee, embarked his army on transports and sailed off to Chesapeake Bay, to approach Philadelphia from the south. In this way he wasted a great part of the summer, and when he had got into Pennsylvania, Washington gave him so much work to do that he was never able to be of any use to Burgoyne, who was allowed to rush upon his fate unaided.

During the winter Gates was busy with his intrigues, and the enemies of Schuyler and Washington played into his hands. Blows were as yet aimed not directly against Washington, but against his favorite officers, and the first one fell upon Arnold. In February, when five new major-generals were to be appointed, Congress passed over Arnold, who was the senior brigadier, and selected five officers who were not only his juniors, but conspicuously inferior to him in ability. The reason alleged for this gross affront was that Connecticut had already two major-generals (Putnam and Wooster), and ought not in fairness to have any more! But the

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real reason was the unwillingness of the Gates party to increase the power of the friends of Schuyler and Washington. Though proud and irascible in temper, Arnold behaved very well, and expressed himself willing to serve under his juniors, but demanded an explanation.

In April, Howe sent a force of two thousand men under General Tryon to seize the military stores at Danbury in Connecticut. The militia turned out under General Wooster, and a skirmish ensued in which that veteran officer was slain. Then Arnold came to the rescue with six hundred fresh men; and at Ridgefield there was a desperate fight in which Arnold had two horses shot under him. The British were defeated and driven to their ships just in time to escape capture. Arnold was now made a major-general, and was presented by Congress with a fine horse, but his relative rank in the army was not yet restored.

With these preliminaries, we shall understand the state of things at the time when Burgoyne started from Canada on his way to Albany. On the 16th of June he set out from St. Johns with an army of about nine thousand men, nearly half of them Germans from the duchy of Brunswick. Among the officers, generals Phillips, Fraser, and the Baron Riedesel were of distinguished ability. Some five hundred Indians, mostly Wyandots and Ottawas, and as many Canadian provincial troops, accompanied the army. With this force Burgoyne advanced southward up Lake Champlain.

On the 21st of June he encamped at the river Bouquet, several miles north of Crown Point; here he gave a war feast to his savage allies, and made them a speech in that pompous and half poetical vein in which it was the absurd practice to address our savages, and which was commonly reduced to flat prose by their interpreters. At the same time he was strenuous in enjoining humanity toward prisoners, dwelling on the difference between ordinary wars carried on against a common enemy, and this against a country in rebellion, where the hostile parties were of the same blood, and loyal subjects of the Crown might be confounded with the rebellious. It was a speech intended to excite their ardor,

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but restrain their cruelty, a difficult medium to attain with Indian warriors.

The garrison at Ticonderoga, meanwhile, were anxiously on the look-out. Their fortress, built on a hill, commanded an extensive prospect over the bright and beautiful lake and its surrounding forests, but there were long points and promontories at a distance to intercept the view.

Fall of Ticonderoga. — The enemy came advancing up the lake on the 30th, their main body under Burgoyne on the west side, the German reserve under Baron Riedesel on the east; communication being maintained by frigates and gunboats, which, in a manner, kept pace between them. On the 1st of July, Burgoyne encamped four miles north of Ticonderoga, and began to entrench, and to throw a boom across the lake. His advanced guard under General Fraser took post at Three Mile Point, and the ships anchored just out of gunshot of the fort. Here he issued a proclamation still more magniloquent than his speech to the Indians, denouncing woe to all who should persist in rebellion, and laying particular stress upon his means, with the aid of the Indians, to overtake the hardiest enemies of Great Britain and America, wherever they might lurk.

General St. Clair, who commanded at Ticonderoga, was a gallant Scotchman, who had seen service in the old French war as well as in this, and beheld the force arrayed against him without dismay. It is true his garrison did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, of whom nine hundred were militia. They were badly equipped also, and few had bayonets. St. Clair confided, however, in the strength of his position and the works which had been constructed in connection with it, and trusted he should be able to resist any attempt to take it by storm. Schuyler at this time was at Albany, sending up reinforcements of continental troops and militia, and awaiting the arrival of further reinforcements, for which sloops had been sent down to Peekskill.

Such was the state of affairs in the north, of which Washington from time to time had been informed. An attack on Ticonderoga appeared to be impending; but as the garrison was in good heart,

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the commander resolute, and troops were on the way to reinforce him, a spirited, and perhaps successful resistance was anticipated by Washington. His surprise may therefore be imagined, on receiving a letter from Schuyler dated July 7th, conveying the astounding intelligence that Ticonderoga was evacuated!

Schuyler had just received the news at Stillwater on the Hudson when on his way with reinforcements for the fortress. The first account was so vague that Washington hoped it might prove incorrect. It was confirmed by another letter from Schuyler, dated on the 9th at Fort Edward. A part of the garrison had been pursued by a detachment of the enemy as far as Fort Anne in that neighborhood, where the latter had been repulsed; as to St. Clair himself and the main part of his forces, they had thrown themselves into the forest, and nothing was known of what had become of them!

"I am here," writes Schuyler, "at the head of a handful of men, not above fifteen hundred, with little ammunition, not above five rounds to a man, having neither balls, nor lead to make any. The country is in the deepest consternation; no carriages to remove the stores from Fort George, which I expect every moment to hear is attacked; and what adds to my distress is, that a report prevails that I had given orders for the evacuation of Ticonderoga."

Washington was totally at loss to account for St. Clair's movement. To abandon a fortress which he had recently pronounced so defensible: and to abandon it apparently without firing a gun! and then the strange uncertainty as to his subsequent fortunes, and the whereabouts of himself and the main body of his troops! "The affair," writes Washington, "is so mysterious that it baffles conjecture."

His first attention was to supply the wants of General Schuyler. An express was sent to Springfield for musket cartridges, gunpowder, lead, and cartridge papers. Ten pieces of artillery with harness and proper officers were to be forwarded from Peekskill, as well as entrenching tools. Of tents he had none to furnish, neither could heavy cannon be spared from the defence of the Highlands.

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Six hundred recruits, on their march from Massachusetts to Peekskill, were ordered to repair to the reinforcement of Schuyler; this was all the force that Washington could venture at this moment to send to his aid; but this addition to his troops, supposing those under St. Clair should have come in, and any number of militia have turned out, would probably form an army equal, if not superior, to that said to be under Burgoyne. Besides, it was Washington's idea that the latter would suspend his operations until General Howe should make a movement in concert. Supposing that movement would be an immediate attempt against the Highlands, he ordered Sullivan with his division to Peekskill to reinforce General Putnam. At the same time he advanced with his main army to Pompton, and thence to the Clove, a rugged defile through the Highlands on the west side of the Hudson. Here he encamped within eighteen miles of the river, to watch, and be at hand to oppose the designs of Sir William Howe, whatever might be their direction; and here we will leave him for the present, while we explain the mysterious retreat of General St. Clair.

With all the pains and expense lavished by the Americans to render the works at Ticonderoga impregnable, they had strangely neglected the master key by which they were all commanded. This was Sugar Hill, a rugged height, the termination of a mountain ridge which separates Lake Champlain from Lake George. It stood to the south of Ticonderoga, beyond the narrow channel which connected the two lakes, and rose precipitously from the waters of Champlain to the height of six hundred feet. It had been pronounced by the Americans too distant to be dangerous. Colonel Trumbull had proved the contrary in the preceding year, by throwing a shot from a six-pounder in the fort nearly to the summit. It was then pronounced inaccessible to an enemy. This Trumbull had likewise proved to be an error, by clambering with Arnold and Wayne to the top, whence they perceived that a practicable road for artillery might easily and readily be made. Trumbull had insisted that this was the true point for the fort, commanding the neighboring heights, the narrow parts of both

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lakes, and the communication between. A small, but strong fort here, with twenty-five heavy guns and five hundred men, would be as efficient as one hundred guns and ten thousand men on the extensive works of Ticonderoga. His suggestions were disregarded by General Gates who was then in command; their wisdom was now to be proved.

The British General Phillips, on taking his position, had regarded the hill with a practised eye, and measures were instantly taken to plant a battery on that height. The British troops were busy throughout the day and night cutting a road through rocks and trees and up rugged defiles. Guns, ammunition, and stores, were carried up the hill in the night; the cannon were hauled up from tree to tree, and before morning the ground was levelled for the battery on which they were to be mounted. To this work, thus achieved by a *coup de main*, they gave the name of Fort Defiance. On the 5th of July, to their astonishment and consternation, the garrison beheld a legion of red-coats on the summit of this hill, constructing works which must soon lay the fortress at their mercy.

In this sudden and appalling emergency, General St. Clair called a council of war. What was to be done? The batteries from this new fort would probably be opened the next day: by that time Ticonderoga might be completely invested, and the whole garrison exposed to capture. They had not force sufficient for one-half the works, and General Schuyler, supposed to be at Albany, could afford them no relief. The danger was imminent; delay might prove fatal. It was unanimously determined to evacuate Ticonderoga that very night, and retreat to Skenesborough (now Whitehall), at the upper part of the lake, about thirty miles distant, where there was a stockaded fort. The main body of the army, led by General St. Clair, were to cross to Mount Independence and push for Skenesborough by land, taking a circuitous route through the woods on the east side of the lake, by way of Castleton. The cannon, stores, and provisions, together with the wounded and the women, were to be embarked on board of two hundred bateaux, and conducted to the upper extremity of the

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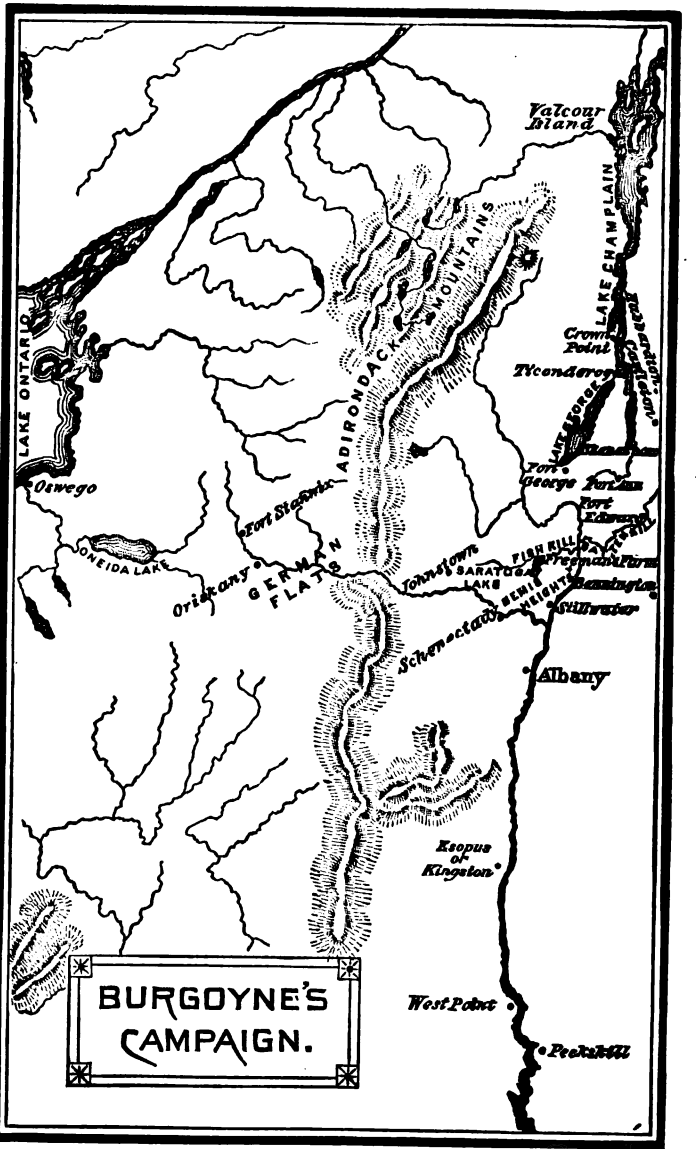

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lake, by Colonel Long with six hundred men; two hundred of whom in five armed galleys were to form a rear-guard.

It was now three o'clock in the afternoon; yet all the preparations were to be made for the coming night, and that with as little bustle and movement as possible; for they were overlooked by Fort Defiance, and their intentions might be suspected. Everything was done quietly, but alertly; in the meantime, to amuse the enemy, a cannonade was kept up every half hour toward the new battery on the hill. As soon as the evening closed, and their movements could not be discovered, they began in all haste to load the boats. Such of the cannon as could not be taken were ordered to be spiked. In the hurry several were left uninjured. The lights in the garrison being previously extinguished, their tents were struck and put on board of the boats, and the women and the sick embarked. Everything was conducted with such silence and address, that, although it was a moonlight night, the flotilla departed undiscovered, and was soon under the shadows of the mountains and overhanging forests.

The retreat by land was not conducted with equal discretion and mystery. General St. Clair had crossed over the bridge to the Vermont side of the lake by three o'clock in the morning, and set forward with his advance through the woods toward Hubbardton; but, before the rear-guard under Colonel Francis got in motion, a house took fire — and the British sentries were astonished by a conflagration suddenly lighting up Mount Independence, and revealing the American troops in full retreat.

The drums beat to arms in the British camp. Alarm guns were fired. By daybreak Fraser had hoisted the British flag over the deserted fortress; before sunrise he had passed the bridge, and was in full pursuit of the American rear-guard. Burgoyne was roused from his morning slumbers on board of the frigate *Royal George* by the alarm guns, and a message from Fraser. His measures were prompt. General Riedesel was ordered to follow and support Fraser with a part of the German troops; garrisons were thrown into Ticonderoga and Mount Independence; the main part of the army was embarked on board of the frigates and gun-

boats; and by nine o'clock Burgoyne set out with his squadron in pursuit of the flotilla.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the British gunboats having pushed on in advance of the frigates, had overtaken the galleys. The latter defended themselves for a while, but at length two struck, and three were blown up. The American fugitives had succeeded in disembarking, and after some skirmishing effected their retreat to Fort Edward, where they gave the alarm that the main force of the enemy was close after them, and that no one knew what had become of General St. Clair.

Meanwhile the retreat of the latter through the woods continued the first day until night, when he arrived at Castleton, thirty miles from Ticonderoga. His rear-guard halted about six miles short, at Hubbardton, to await the arrival of stragglers. It was composed of three regiments under colonels Seth Warner, Francis, and Hale; in all about thirteen hundred men. Early the next morning, while they were taking their breakfast, they were startled by the report of fire-arms. Their sentries had discharged their muskets, and came running in with word that the enemy were at hand.

It was General Fraser, with his advance of eight hundred and fifty men, who had pressed forward in the latter part of the night, and now attacked the Americans with great spirit, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers. The Americans met the British with equal spirit; but at the very commencement of the action, Colonel Hale, with a detachment placed under his command to protect the rear, gave way, leaving Warner and Francis with but seven hundred men to bear the brunt of the battle. These posted themselves behind logs and trees in "backwoods" style, whence they kept up a destructive fire, and were evidently gaining the advantage, when General Riedesel came pressing into the action with his German troops, drums beating, and colors flying. There was now an impetuous charge with the bayonet. Colonel Francis was among the first who fell, gallantly fighting at the head of his men. The Americans gave way and fled, leaving the ground covered with their dead and wounded. Their whole loss was up-

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wards of three hundred; that of the enemy one hundred and eighty-three.

The noise of the firing had reached General St. Clair at Castleton. He immediately sent orders to two militia regiments which were in his rear, and within two miles of the battle-ground, to hasten to the assistance of his rear-guard. They refused to obey, and hurried forward to Castleton. At this juncture St. Clair received information of Burgoyne's arrival at Skenesborough: fearing to be intercepted at Fort Anne, he immediately changed his route, struck into the woods on his left, and directed his march to Rutland, leaving word for Warner to follow him. The latter overtook him two days afterwards, with his shattered force reduced to ninety men. On the 12th they reached Fort Edward, haggard and exhausted by their long retreat through the woods. Such is the story of the catastrophe at Ticonderoga, which caused so much surprise and concern to Washington, and of the seven days' mysterious disappearance of St. Clair, which kept every one in the most painful suspense.

The loss of artillery, ammunition, provisions, and stores, in consequence of the evacuation of these northern posts, was prodigious; but the worst effect was the consternation spread throughout the country. A panic prevailed at Albany, the people running about as if distracted, sending off their goods and furniture. The great barriers of the North, it was said, were broken through, and there was nothing to check the triumphant career of the enemy. The invading army, both officers and men, were highly elated with their fortune, and deemed their prowess to be irresistible. They regarded their enemy with the greatest contempt, and considered their own toils to be nearly at an end, and Albany already in their hands. In England, too, the joy and exultation were extreme.

Washington's Precautions.—Washington continued his anxious exertions to counteract the operations of the enemy; forwarding artillery and ammunition to Schuyler, with all the camp furniture that could be spared from his own encampment and from Peekskill. A part of Nixon's brigade was all the reinforcement he could

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afford in his present situation. "To weaken this army more than is prudent," writes he, "would perhaps bring destruction upon it, and I look upon the keeping it upon a respectable footing as the only means of preventing a junction of Howe's and Burgoyne's armies, which, if effected, may have the most fatal consequences."

Schuyler had earnestly desired the assistance of an active officer well acquainted with the country. Washington sent him Arnold. "I need not," writes he, "enlarge upon his well-known activity, conduct, and bravery. The proofs he has given of all these have gained him the confidence of the public and of the army, the Eastern troops in particular." The question of rank, about which Arnold was so tenacious, was yet unsettled, and though, had his promotion been regular, he would have been superior in command to St. Clair, he assured Washington that, on the present occasion, his claim should create no dispute.

Schuyler, in the meantime, aided by Kosciuszko the Pole, who was engineer in his department, had selected two positions on Moses Creek, four miles below Fort Edward, where the troops which had retreated from Ticonderoga, and part of the militia, were throwing up works. To impede the advance of the enemy, he had caused trees to be felled into Wood Creek, so as to render it unnavigable, and the roads between Fort Edward and Fort Anne to be broken up, the cattle in that direction to be brought away, and the forage destroyed.

Washington ordered that all the vessels and river craft, not required at Albany, should be sent down to New Windsor and Fishkill, and kept in readiness; for he knew not how soon the movements of General Howe might render it suddenly necessary to transport part or the whole of his forces up the Hudson.

He highly approved of a measure suggested by Schuyler, of stationing a body of troops somewhere about the Hampshire Grants (Vermont), so as to be in the rear or on the flank of Burgoyne, should he advance. It would keep him in continual anxiety for his rear, and oblige him to leave the posts behind him much stronger than he would otherwise do. He advised that General Lincoln should have the command of the corps thus posted.

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But now the attention of the commander-in-chief was called to the seaboard. On the 23d of July, Lord Howe's fleet, so long the object of watchful solicitude, actually put to sea. The force embarked amounted to eighteen thousand men, while seven thousand were left with Sir Henry Clinton for the protection of New York. The destination of the fleet was still a matter of conjecture, but Washington believed it to be Philadelphia, and accordingly he now set out with his army for the Delaware, ordering Sullivan and Stirling with their divisions to cross the Hudson from Peekskill, and proceed towards Philadelphia. Every movement and order showed his doubt and perplexity, and the circumspection with which he had to proceed. By the first of August he had moved his camp to Germantown, about six miles from Philadelphia, to be at hand for the defence of that city. For several days he remained there in painful uncertainty about the British fleet; whether it had gone to the south or to the east. During this time he was frequently in Philadelphia, making himself acquainted with the military capabilities of the place and its surrounding country, and directing the construction of fortifications on the river. In one of these visits he became acquainted with the young Marquis de Lafayette, who had recently arrived from France, in company with a number of French, Polish, and German officers, among whom was the Baron de Kalb. The marquis was not quite twenty years of age, yet had already been married nearly three years to a lady of rank and fortune. Full of the romance of liberty, he had torn himself from his youthful bride, turned his back upon the gayeties and splendors of a court, and made his way to America to join its hazardous fortunes. He sent in his letters of recommendation to Mr. Lovell, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and applied the next day at the door of Congress to know his success. Mr. Lovell came forth, and gave him but little encouragement; Congress, in fact, was embarrassed by the number of foreign applications, many without merit. Lafayette immediately sent in the following note: "After my sacrifices, I have the right to ask two favors; one is to serve at my own expense; the other, to begin by serving as a volunteer."

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This simple appeal had its effect: it called attention to his peculiar case, and Congress resolved on the 31st of July, that in consideration of his zeal, his illustrious family and connections, he should have the rank of major-general in the army of the United States.

It was at a public dinner, where a number of members of Congress were present, that Lafayette first saw Washington. He immediately knew him, he said, from the officers who surrounded him, by his commanding air and person. When the party was breaking up, Washington took him aside, complimented him in a gracious manner on his disinterested zeal and the generosity of his conduct, and invited him to make head-quarters his home. "I cannot promise you the luxuries of a court," said he, "but as you have become an American soldier, you will, doubtless, accommodate yourself to the fare of an American army."

Many days had now elapsed without further tidings of the fleet. What had become of it? Had Howe gone against Charleston? If so, the distance was too great to think of following him. Before the army, debilitated and wasted by a long march, under a summer sun, in an unhealthy climate, could reach there, he might accomplish every purpose he had in view, and re-embark his troops to turn his arms against Philadelphia, or any other point, without the army being at hand to oppose him.

What, under these uncertainties, was to be done? Remain inactive, in the remote probability of Howe's returning this way; or proceed to the Hudson with a view either to oppose Burgoyne, or make an attempt upon New York? A successful stroke with respect to either, might make up for any losses sustained in the South. The latter was unanimously determined in a council of war, in which the Marquis de Lafayette took part. Congress approved the decision of the council, and the army was about to be put in march, when all these tormenting uncertainties were brought to an end by intelligence that the fleet had actually entered the Chesapeake, and anchored at Swan Point, at least two hundred miles within the capes. "By General Howe's coming so far up the Chesapeake," writes Washington, "he must mean to reach

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Philadelphia by that route, though to be sure it is a strange one."

The several divisions of the army had been summoned to the immediate neighborhood of Philadelphia, and the militia of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the northern parts of Virginia were called out. Many of the militia had been ordered to rendezvous at Chester on the Delaware, about twelve miles below Philadelphia; and General Wayne repaired to Chester, to arrange the troops assembling there. As there had been much disaffection to the cause evinced in Philadelphia, Washington, in order to encourage its friends and dishearten its enemies, marched with the whole army through the city, down Front and up Chestnut Street. Great pains were taken to make the display as imposing as possible.

Having marched through Philadelphia, the army continued on to Wilmington, at the confluence of Christiana Creek and the Brandywine, where Washington set up his head-quarters, his troops being encamped on the neighboring heights.

Battle of Oriskany. — Burgoyne's progress, after reaching Skenesborough, was no longer easy or triumphant. His progress toward the Hudson was slow and difficult, because of the obstacles which Schuyler had put in the way. Bridges had to be rebuilt, and huge trees to be removed which had been felled across the roads. The end of July had come when Burgoyne arrived at Fort Edward. As he approached this place, Schuyler slowly retreated to Bemis Heights, near Saratoga, and about thirty miles above Albany. Burgoyne's perplexities increased with his advance. Very few Tories joined him. To his surprise, he found the people quite hostile, while his Indian allies were worse than useless. Their cruelties enraged the people. In particular the violent death of Miss McCrea, which has given rise to a romantic legend, seemed to call for vengeance. It might almost be said that armies sprang from the blood of this unfortunate girl, while Burgoyne's attempts to restrain the depredations of his savage allies disgusted them and led them to desert him.

At Fort Edward he was beset by new difficulties, and heard bad

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news from the column of St. Leger which was coming down the Mohawk valley to join him. St. Leger had arrived at Fort Stanwix, a stronghold built in 1756 on the bank of the Mohawk river and commanding the westerly route between New York and Canada. The fort had been repaired by order of General Schuyler, and was garrisoned by seven hundred and fifty continental troops from New York and Massachusetts, under the command of Colonel Gansevoort of the New York line, a stout-hearted officer of Dutch descent.

It was a motley force which appeared before it; British, Hessian, Royalist, Canadian, and Indian, about seventeen hundred in all. Among them were St. Leger's rangers and Sir John Johnson's loyalist corps, called "Greens." The Indians, their worthy allies, were led by the famous Brant.

On the 3d of August, St. Leger sent in a flag with a summons to surrender; and, on Gansevoort's refusal, he began making preparations for a siege. On the 6th of August, three men made their way into the fort through a swamp, which the enemy had deemed impassable. They brought the cheering intelligence that General Herkimer, the veteran commander of the militia of Tryon County, was at Oriskany, about eight miles distant, with upwards of eight hundred men. The people of that county were many of them of German origin; some of them Germans by birth. Herkimer was among the former; a large and powerful man, about sixty-five years of age. He requested Colonel Gansevoort, through his two messengers, to fire three signal-guns on receiving word of his vicinage; upon hearing which, he would endeavor to force his way to the fort, depending upon the co-operation of the garrison.

The messengers had been dispatched by Herkimer on the evening of the 5th, and he had calculated that they would reach the fort at a very early hour in the morning. Through some delay, they did not reach it until between ten and eleven o'clock. Gansevoort instantly complied with the message. Three signal-guns were fired, and Colonel Willett, of the New York Continentals, with two hundred and fifty men and an iron three-pounder

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was detached to make a diversion, by attacking that part of the enemy's camp occupied by Johnson and his loyalists.

The delay of the messengers in the night, however, disconcerted the plan of Herkimer. He marshalled his troops by day-break and waited for the signal-guns. Hour after hour elapsed, but no gun was heard. His officers became impatient of delay, and urged an immediate march. Herkimer represented that they were too weak to force their way to the fort without reinforcements, or without being sure of co-operation from the garrison, and was still for awaiting the preconcerted signals. High words ensued between him and two of his officers, colonels Cox and Paris. The latter, losing his temper in the dispute, accused Herkimer of being either a Tory or a coward. "No," replied the brave old man, "I feel toward you all as a father, and will not lead you into a scrape from which I cannot extricate you." His discretion, however, was overpowered by repeated taunts, and he at length, about nine o'clock, gave the word to march; intimating, however, that those who were the most eager to advance, would be the first to run away.

About ten o'clock they came to a place where the road was carried on a causeway of logs across a deep marshy ravine, between high level banks. The main division descended into the ravine, followed by the baggage-wagons. They had scarcely crossed it, when enemies suddenly sprang up in front and on either side, with deadly volleys of musketry, and deafening yells and warwhoops. St. Leger, apprised by his scouts of their approach, had sent a force to waylay them. This was composed of a division of Johnson's "Greens," led by his brother-in-law, Major Watts; a company of rangers under Colonel Butler, a refugee from this neighborhood, and a strong body of Indians under Brant. The troops were stationed in front just beyond the ravine, the Indians along each side of the road. The plan of the ambuscade was to let the van of the Americans pass the ravine and advance between the concealed parties, when the attack was to be commenced by the troops in front, after which, the Indians were to fall on the Americans in rear and cut off all retreat.

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The savages, however, could not restrain their natural ferocity and hold back as ordered, but discharged their rifles simultaneously with the troops, and instantly rushed forward with spears and tomahawks, yelling like demons, and commencing a dreadful butchery. The rear-guard, which had not entered the ravine, retreated. The main body, though thrown into confusion, defended themselves bravely. One of those severe conflicts ensued, common in Indian warfare, where the combatants take post with their rifles, behind rock and tree, or come to deadly struggle with knife and tomahawk. The veteran Herkimer was wounded early in the action. A musket ball shattered his leg just below the knee, killing his horse at the same time. He made his men place him on his saddle at the foot of a large beech-tree, against the trunk of which he leaned, continuing to give his orders.

The regulars attempted to charge with the bayonet; but the Americans formed themselves in circles back to back, and repelled them. A heavy storm of thunder and rain caused a temporary lull in the fight, during which the patriots changed their ground. Some of them stationed themselves in pairs behind trees, so that when one had fired the other could cover him until he had reloaded; for the savages were apt to rush up with knife and tomahawk the moment a man had discharged his piece. Johnson's "Greens" came up to sustain the Indians, who were giving way; and now was the fiercest part of the fight. Old neighbors met in deadly feud; former intimacy gave bitterness to present hate, and war was literally carried to the knife. The Indians, at length, having lost many of their bravest warriors, gave the retreating cry, "Oonah! Oonah!" and fled to the woods. The "Greens" and rangers, hearing a firing in the direction of the fort, feared an attack upon their camp, and hastened to its defence, carrying off with them many prisoners. The Americans did not pursue them, but placing their wounded on litters made of branches of trees, returned to Oriskany. Both parties have claimed the victory; but it does not appear that either was entitled to it. Each side lost nearly four hundred in killed and wounded. We may add that those who had been most urgent

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with Herkimer for this movement, were among the first to suffer from it. Colonel Cox was shot down at the first fire; Colonel Paris was taken prisoner, and fell beneath the tomahawk of the famous Red Jacket.

As to Herkimer, he was conveyed to his residence on the Mohawk river, and died nine days after the battle, not so much from his wound as from bad surgery; sinking gradually through loss of blood from an unskilful amputation. He died like a philosopher and a Christian, smoking his pipe and reading his Bible to the last. His name has been given to a county in that part of the state.

The sortie of Colonel Willett had been spirited and successful. Sir John and his men were driven to the river, and the Indians fled to the woods. Willett sacked their camps; loaded wagons with camp equipage, clothing, blankets, and stores of all kinds, seized the baggage and papers of Sir John and of several of his officers, and retreated safely to the fort, just as St. Leger was coming up with a powerful reinforcement.

St. Leger now began to lose heart. The fort proved more capable of defence than he had anticipated. His artillery was too light, and the ramparts, being of sod, were not easily battered. He was obliged reluctantly to resort to the process of sapping and mining, and began to make regular approaches. Gansevoort resolved to send to Schuyler for succor. Colonel Willett volunteered to undertake the perilous errand. He was accompanied by Lieutenant Stockwell, an excellent woodsman, who served as guide. They left the fort on the 10th, after dark, by a sally-port, passed by the British sentinels and close by the Indian camp, without being discovered, and made their way through bog and morass and pathless forests, until they reached the German Flats on the Mohawk. Here Willett procured a couple of horses, and by dint of hoof arrived at the camp of General Schuyler at Stillwater.

Schuyler's first care was to send relief to Gansevoort and his beleaguered garrison. Eight hundred men were all that he could spare from his army in its present threatened state. A spirited

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and effective officer was wanted to lead them. Arnold was in camp; recently sent on as an efficient coadjutor, by Washington; he was in a state of exasperation against the government, having just learnt that the question of rank had been decided against him in Congress. It was hardly to be expected, that in his irritated mood he would accept the command of the detachment, if offered to him. Arnold, however, was a combustible character. The opportunity of an exploit flashed on his adventurous spirit. He stepped promptly forward and volunteered to lead the enterprise. "No public or private injury or insult," said he, "shall prevail on me to forsake the cause of my injured and oppressed country, until I see peace and liberty restored to her, or nobly die in the attempt."

Battle of Bennington. — Leaving Arnold marching toward Fort Stanwix, we will now treat of the expedition against Bennington. This was a central place, whither the live stock was driven from various parts of the Hampshire Grants, and whence the American army derived its supplies. It was a great place of deposit, also, of grain of various kinds, and of wheel carriages; the usual guard was militia, varying from day to day. Bennington was to be surprised. The country was to be scoured in quest of provisions for the army, horses and oxen for draft, and horses for the cavalry. All public magazines were to be sacked. All cattle belonging to royalists, and which could be spared by their owners, were to be paid for. All rebel flocks and herds were to be driven away.

Generals Phillips and Riedesel demurred strongly to the expedition, but their counsels were outweighed by those of Colonel Skene, the royalist. He knew, he said, all the country thereabout. The inhabitants were as five to one in favor of the royal cause, and would be prompt to turn out on the first appearance of a protecting army. He was to accompany the expedition, and much was expected from his personal influence and authority.

Lieutenant-colonel Baum was to command the detachment. He had under him two hundred dismounted dragoons of the regiment of Riedesel, Captain Fraser's marksmen, all the Canadian volunteers, a party of the provincials who perfectly knew the country,

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one hundred Indians, and two light pieces of cannon. The whole detachment amounted to about five hundred men. The dragoons, it was expected, would supply themselves with horses in the course of the foray and a skeleton corps of royalists would be filled up by recruits.

Baum set out from camp at break of day, on the 13th of August. The people of Bennington heard of his approach and were on the alert. The veteran John Stark was there with eight or nine hundred troops, and sent off for Colonel Seth Warner with his regiment of militia, who were with General Lincoln at Manchester. Lincoln instantly detached them, and Warner and his men marched all night through drenching rain, arriving at Stark's camp in the morning dripping wet. Stark left them at Bennington to dry and rest themselves, and then to follow on; in the meantime, he pushed forward with his men to support a party sent out the preceding day, in quest of the Indians. He met them about five miles off, in full retreat, Baum and his force a mile in their rear.

Stark halted and prepared for action. Baum also halted, posted himself on a high ground at a bend of the little river Walloomsac, and began to entrench himself. An incessant rain on the 15th prevented an attack on Baum's camp, but there was continual skirmishing. The colonel strengthened his entrenchments, and finding he had a larger force to contend with than he had anticipated, sent off in all haste to Burgoyne for reinforcements. Colonel Breyman marched off immediately, with five hundred German grenadiers and infantry and two six-pounders.

On the following morning the sun shone bright, and Stark prepared to attack Baum in his entrenchments; though he had no artillery, and his men, for the most part, had only their ordinary brown firelocks without bayonets. Two hundred of his men, under Colonel Nichols, were detached to the rear of the enemy's left; three hundred under Colonel Herrick, to the rear of his right; they were to join their forces and attack him in the rear, while colonels Hubbard and Stickney, with two hundred men, diverted his attention in front.

Colonel Skene and the loyalists, when they saw the Americans

issuing out of the woods on different sides, persuaded themselves, and endeavored to persuade Baum, that these were the loyal people of the country flocking to his standard. The Indians were the first to discover the truth. "The woods are full of Yankees," cried they, and retreated in single file between the troops of Nichols and Herrick, yelling like demons. Several of them were killed or wounded as they thus ran the gauntlet.

At the first sound of fire-arms Stark, who had remained with the main body in camp, mounted his horse and gave the word, *forward!* Baum soon found himself assailed on every side, but he defended his works bravely. His two pieces of artillery, advantageously planted, were very effective, and his troops, if slow in march, were steady in action. Stark inspired his men with his own impetuosity. A German eye-witness declares that this time the rebels fought with desperation, pressing within eight paces of the loaded cannon to take surer aim at the artillerists. The latter were slain; the cannon captured. The Germans still kept their ground, and fought bravely, until there was not a cartridge left. Baum and his dragoons then took to their broadswords and the infantry to their bayonets, and endeavored to cut their way to a road in the woods, but in vain; many were killed, more wounded, Baum among the number, and all who survived were taken prisoners.

The victors now dispersed, some to collect booty, some to attend to the wounded, some to guard the prisoners, and some to seek refreshment. At this critical juncture came Breyman's reinforcement, making its way heavily and slowly to the scene of action. Attempts were made to rally the militia; but they were in complete confusion. Nothing would have saved them from defeat, had not Colonel Seth Warner's corps fortunately arrived from Bennington, fresh from repose, and advanced to meet the enemy, while the others regained their ranks. It was four o'clock in the afternoon when this second action commenced. It was fought from wood to wood, and hill to hill, for several miles, until sunset. The last stand of the enemy was at Van Schaick's mill, where, having expended all their ammunition, of which each man had forty rounds,

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they gave way, and retreated, under favor of the night, leaving two field-pieces and all their baggage in the hands of the Americans. Stark ceased to pursue them, lest in the darkness his men should fire upon each other. "Another hour of daylight," said he in his report, "and I should have captured the whole body." The veteran had had a horse shot under him, but escaped without wound or bruise.

Four brass field-pieces, nine hundred dragoon swords, a thousand stand of arms, and four ammunition wagons were the spoils of this victory. Thirty-two officers, five hundred and sixty-four privates were taken prisoners. The number of slain was very considerable, but could not be ascertained, many having fallen in the woods. The brave but unfortunate Baum did not long survive. The Americans had less than one hundred killed and wounded.

Tidings of the victory of Bennington reached Washington, just before he moved his camp from the neighborhood of Philadelphia to Wilmington, and it relieved his mind from a world of anxious perplexity. In a letter to Putnam he writes, "As there is not now the least danger of General Howe's going to New England, I hope the whole force of that country will turn out, and, by following the great stroke struck by General Stark near Bennington, entirely crush General Burgoyne, who, by his letter to Colonel Baum, seems to be in want of almost everything."

Flight of St. Leger. — Arnold's march to the relief of Fort Stanwix was slower than suited his ardent and impatient spirit. He was detained in the valley of the Mohawk by bad roads, and by the necessity of waiting for militia recruits who turned out reluctantly. He sent missives to Colonel Gansevoort assuring him that he would relieve him in the course of a few days. "Be under no kind of apprehension," writes he. "I know the strength of the enemy, and *how to deal with them*."

In fact, conscious of the smallness of his force, he had resorted to stratagem, sending emissaries ahead to spread exaggerated reports of the number of his troops, so as to work on the fears of the enemy's Indian allies and induce them to desert. The most important of these emissaries was one Yan Yost Cuyler, an eccen-

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tric half-witted fellow, known throughout the country as a rank Tory. He had been convicted as a spy, and only spared from the halter on the condition that he would go into St. Leger's camp, and spread alarming reports among the Indians, by whom he was well known. To insure a faithful discharge of his mission, Arnold detained his brother as a hostage.

All this while St. Leger was advancing his parallels and pressing the siege; while provisions and ammunition were rapidly decreasing within the fort. St. Leger's Indian allies, however, were growing sullen and intractable. This slow kind of warfare they were unaccustomed to, and by no means relished. Besides, they had been led to expect easy times, little fighting, many scalps, and much plunder; whereas they had fought hard, lost many of their best chiefs, been checked in their cruelty, and gained no booty.

At this juncture, scouts brought word that a force one thousand strong was marching to the relief of the fort. Eager to put his savages in action, St. Leger offered to place himself at their head, with three hundred of his best troops, and meet the enemy as they advanced. It was agreed, and they sallied forth together to choose a fighting-ground. By this time rumors stole into the camp doubling the number of the approaching enemy. Burgoyne's whole army was said to have been defeated. Lastly came Yan Yost Cuyler, with his coat full of bullet holes, giving out that he had escaped from the hands of the Americans, and had been fired upon by them. His story was believed, for his wounded coat corroborated it, and he was known to be a loyalist. Mingling among his old acquaintances, the Indians, he assured them that the Americans were close at hand and "numerous as the leaves on the trees."

Arnold's stratagem succeeded. The Indians, fickle as the winds, began to desert. In a little while two hundred had decamped, and the rest threatened to do so likewise, unless St. Leger retreated. The unfortunate colonel found too late what little reliance was to be placed upon Indian allies. He determined, on the 22d, to send off his sick, his wounded, and his artillery by Wood Creek that very night, and to protect them by the line of march.

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The Indians, however, goaded on by Arnold's emissaries, insisted on instant retreat. St. Leger still refused to depart before nightfall. The savages now became ungovernable. They seized upon liquor of the officers about to be embarked, and getting intoxicated, behaved like fiends. St. Leger was obliged to decamp about noon, in such hurry and confusion that he left his tents standing, and his artillery, with most of his baggage, ammunition, and stores, fell into the hands of the Americans. A detachment from the garrison pursued and harassed him for a time; but his greatest annoyance was from his Indian allies, who plundered the boats which conveyed such baggage as had been brought off; murdered all stragglers who lagged in the rear, and amused themselves by giving false alarms to keep up the panic of the soldiery; who would throw away muskets, knapsacks, and everything that impeded their flight.

Such was the second blow to Burgoyne's invading army; but before the news of it reached that doomed commander, he had already been half paralyzed by the disaster at Bennington. The moral effect of these two blows was such as Washington had predicted. Fortune, so long adverse, seemed at length to have taken a favorable turn. People were roused from their despondency. There was a sudden exultation throughout the country. The savages had disappeared in their native forests. The German veterans, so much vaunted and dreaded, had been vanquished by militia, and British artillery captured by men, some of whom had never seen a cannon.

Means were now augmenting in Schuyler's hands. Colonels Livingston and Pierre Van Courtlandt, forwarded by Putnam, were arrived. Governor Clinton was daily expected with New York militia from the Highlands. The arrival of Arnold was anticipated with troops and artillery, and Lincoln with the New England militia. At this propitious moment, when everything was ready for the sickle to be put into the harvest, General Gates arrived in the camp — for his intrigues had at last succeeded, and Congress had appointed him to command the Northern army in Schuyler's place.

Schuyler received him with the noble courtesy which was

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natural to him. He entreated Gates to call upon him for counsel and assistance whenever he thought proper. Gates was in high spirits. His letters to Washington show how completely he was aware that an easy path of victory had been opened for him. So far was he from responding to Schuyler's magnanimity, that he did not even ask him to be present at his first council of war.

We will now shift the scene to Washington's camp at Wilmington, where we left him watching the operations of the British fleet, and preparing to oppose the army under Sir William Howe in its designs upon Philadelphia.

§ 7. First Great Triumph — Saratoga.

Battle of the Brandywine. — On the 25th of August, the British army under General Howe began to land from the fleet in Elk river, at the head of Chesapeake Bay. The place where they landed was about six miles below Elkton; seventy miles from Philadelphia; ten miles further than they had been when encamped at Brunswick. The intervening country, too, was less open than the Jerseys, and cut up by deep streams. Sir William had chosen this circuitous route by the advice of Charles Lee, the traitor, in the expectation of finding friends among the people of the lower counties of Pennsylvania.

The country was in a great state of alarm. The inhabitants were hurrying off their most valuable effects, so that it was difficult to procure cattle and vehicles to remove the public stores. The want of horses, and the annoyances given by the American light troops, however, kept Howe from advancing promptly, and gave time for the greater part of the stores to be saved.

To allay the public alarm, Howe issued a proclamation on the 27th, promising the strictest regularity and order on the part of his army; with security of person and property to all who remained quietly at home, and pardon to those under arms, who should promptly return to their obedience. The proclamation had a quieting effect, especially among the loyalists, who abounded in these parts.

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The divisions of generals Greene and Stephen were now stationed several miles in advance of Wilmington, behind White Clay Creek, about ten miles from Elkton. General Smallwood and Colonel Gist had been directed by Congress to take command of the militia of Maryland, who were gathering on the western shore, and Washington sent them orders to get in the rear of the enemy. Washington now felt the want of Morgan and his riflemen, whom he had sent to assist the Northern army; to supply their place, he formed a corps of light troops, by drafting a hundred men from each brigade. The command was given to Major-general Maxwell, who was to hover about the enemy and give them continual annoyance. The army about this time was increased by the arrival of General Sullivan and his division of three thousand men.

At this time Henry Lee of Virginia, of military renown, makes his first appearance. He was in the twenty-second year of his age, and in the preceding year had commanded a company of Virginia volunteers. He had recently signalized himself in scouting parties, harassing the enemy's pickets. His adventurous exploits soon won him notoriety, and the popular appellation of "Light-horse Harry." He was favorably noticed by Washington throughout the war. Perhaps there was something beside his bold, dashing spirit, which won him this favor. There may have been early recollections connected with it. Lee was the son of the lady who first touched Washington's heart in his school-boy days, the one about whom he wrote rhymes at Mount Vernon and Greenway Court — his "lowland beauty." Lee's son was the great Virginian general, Robert Edward Lee, so famous in the War of Secession. They were in no way related to Charles Lee, the traitor.

Several days were now passed by the commander-in-chief almost continually in the saddle, reconnoitering the roads and passes, and making himself acquainted with the surrounding country; which was very much intersected by rivers and small streams, running chiefly from northwest to southeast. He had now made up his mind to risk a battle in the open field. It is true his troops were inferior to those of the enemy in number, equipments, and

discipline. But it would never do to let Philadelphia, the seat of Congress, fall without a blow. There was a carping spirit abroad; a disposition to cavil and find fault, which was prevalent in Philadelphia, and creeping into Congress; something of the nature of what had been indulged respecting Schuyler and the army of the North. Public impatience called for a battle; it was expected even by Europe; his own valiant spirit required it.

The British army, having effected a landing, was formed into two divisions. One, under Sir William Howe, was stationed at Elkton, with its advanced guard at Gray's Hill, about two miles off. The other division, under General Knyphausen, was on the opposite side of the ferry, at Cecil Court House. On the third of September the enemy advanced in considerable force, with three field-pieces, moving with great caution, as the country was difficult, woody, and not well known to them. About three miles in front of White Clay Creek, their vanguard was encountered by Maxwell and his light troops, and a severe skirmish took place. The fire of the American sharpshooters and riflemen, as usual, was very effective; but being inferior in number, and having no artillery, Maxwell was compelled to retreat across White Clay Creek, with the loss of about forty killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was supposed to be much greater.

The main body of the American army was now encamped on the east side of Red Clay Creek, on the road leading from Elkton to Philadelphia. The light infantry were in the advance, at White Clay Creek. The armies were from eight to ten miles apart. In this position Washington determined to await the threatened attack. On the 5th of September he made a stirring appeal to the army, in his general orders, stating the object of the enemy, the capture of Philadelphia. They had tried it before, from New Jersey, and had failed. He trusted they would be again disappointed. In their present attempt their all was at stake. The whole would be hazarded in a single battle. If defeated in that, they were totally undone, and the war would be at an end. Now then was the time for the most strenuous exertions. One bold stroke would free the land from rapine, devastation, and brutal outrage. "Two years,"

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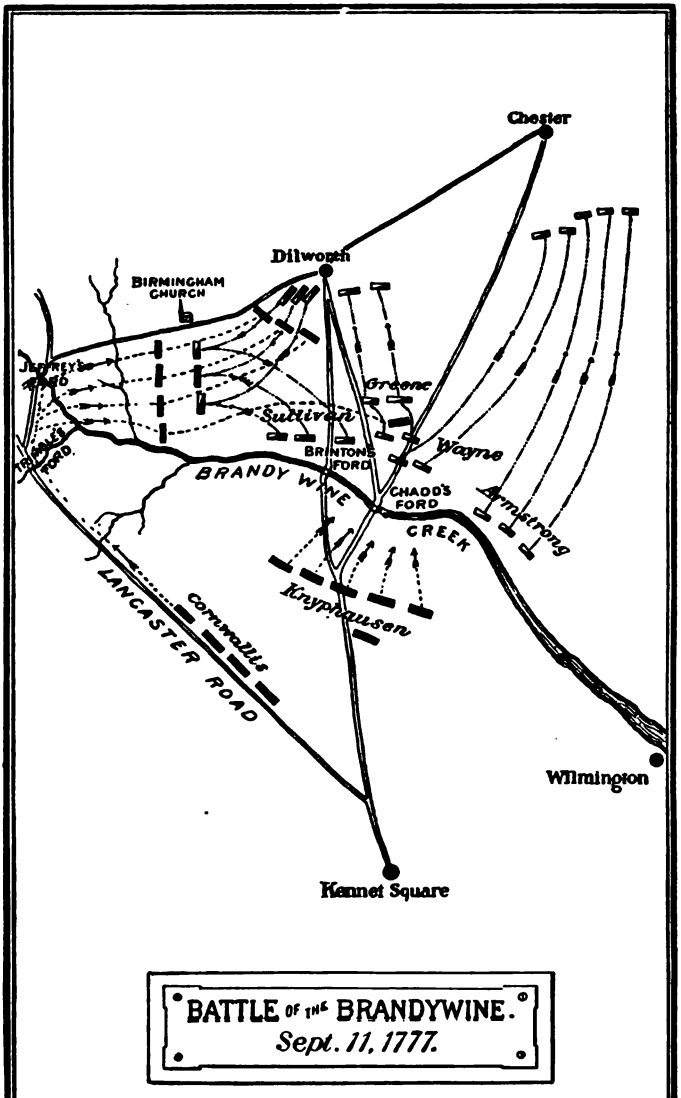

BATTLE OF THE BRANDYWINE.
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said he, "have we maintained the war, and struggled with difficulties innumerable, but the prospect has brightened. Now is the time to reap the fruit of all our toils and dangers; if we behave like men, this third campaign will be our last." Washington's effective force, militia included, did not exceed eleven thousand, and most of these were indifferently armed and equipped. The strength of the British was computed at eighteen thousand men.

On the 8th, the enemy advanced in two columns; one appeared preparing to attack the Americans in front, while the other extended its left up the west side of the creek, halting at Milltown, somewhat to the right of the American position. Washington now suspected an intention on the part of Sir William Howe to march by his right, suddenly pass the Brandywine, gain the heights north of that stream, and cut him off from Philadelphia. He summoned a council of war, therefore, that evening, in which it was determined immediately to change their position, and move to the river in question. By two o'clock in the morning, the army was under march, and by the next evening was encamped on the high grounds in the rear of the Brandywine. The enemy on the same evening moved to Kennet Square, about seven miles from the American position.

The Brandywine Creek commences with two branches, called the East and West forks, which unite in one stream, flowing from west to east about twenty-two miles, and emptying itself into the Delaware about twenty-five miles below Philadelphia. It has several fords; one, called Chadd's Ford, was at that time the most practicable, and in the direct route from the enemy's camp to Philadelphia. As the principal attack was expected here, Washington made it the centre of his position, where he stationed the main body of his army, composed of Wayne's, Weedon's, and Muhlenberg's brigades, with the light infantry under Maxwell. An eminence immediately above the ford had been entrenched in the night, and was occupied by Wayne and Proctor's artillery. Weedon's and Muhlenberg's brigades, which were Virginian troops, and formed General Greene's division, were posted in the rear on the heights, as a reserve to aid either wing of the army. With

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these Washington took his stand. Maxwell's light infantry were thrown in the advance, south of the Brandywine, and posted on high ground each side of the road leading to the ford.

The right wing of the army, commanded by Sullivan, and composed of his division and those of Stephen and Stirling, extended up the Brandywine two miles beyond Washington's position. Its light troops and videttes were distributed quite up to the forks. A few detachments of ill-organized and undisciplined cavalry extended across the creek on the extreme right. The left wing, composed of the Pennsylvania militia, under Major-general Armstrong, was stationed about a mile and a half below the main body, to protect the lower fords, where the least danger was apprehended. The Brandywine, which ran in front of the whole line, was now the only obstacle between the two armies.

Early on the morning of the 11th, a great column of troops was descried advancing on the road leading to Chadd's Ford. A skirt of woods concealed its force, but it was supposed to be the main body of the enemy. The Americans were immediately drawn out in order of battle. Washington rode along the front of the ranks, and was everywhere received with acclamations. A sharp firing of small-arms soon told that Maxwell's light infantry were engaged with the vanguard of the enemy. The skirmishing was kept up for some time with spirit, when Maxwell was driven across the Brandywine below the ford. The enemy did not attempt to follow, but halted on commanding ground, and appeared to reconnoiter the American position with a view to an attack. A heavy cannonading commenced on both sides, about ten o'clock. The enemy made repeated dispositions to forc the ford, which brought on as frequent skirmishes on both sides of the river, for detachments of the light troops occasionally crossed over. All this while there was the noise and uproar of a battle, but little of the reality. But towards noon came an express from Sullivan, with a note received from a scouting party, reporting that Lord Cornwallis, with a large body of troops and a park of artillery, was pushing up the Lancaster road, doubtless to cross at the upper fords and turn the right flank of the American position. Washington instantly sent

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off Colonel Bland, with a party of horse, to reconnoiter above the forks and ascertain the truth of the report. In the meantime, he resolved to cross the ford, attack the division in front of him with his whole force, and rout it before the other could arrive. He gave orders for both wings to co-operate, when, as Sullivan was preparing to cross, Major Spicer of the militia rode up, just from the forks, and assured him there was no enemy in that quarter. Sullivan instantly transmitted the intelligence to Washington, whereupon the movement was suspended until positive information could be obtained. After a time came a man of the neighborhood, Thomas Cheney by name, spurring in all haste, the mare he rode in foam, and himself out of breath. Dashing up to the commander-in-chief, he informed him that he must instantly move, or he would be surrounded. He had come upon the enemy unawares; had been pursued and fired upon, but the fleetness of his mare had saved him. The main body of the British was coming down on the east side of the stream, and was near at hand. Washington replied, that from information just received, it could not be so. "You are mistaken, general," replied the other vehemently; "my life for it, you are mistaken." Then reiterating the fact with an oath, and making a draft of the road in the sand, "put me under guard," added he, "until you find my story true."

Another dispatch from Sullivan corroborated it. Colonel Bland had seen the enemy two miles in the rear of Sullivan's right, marching down at a rapid rate, while a cloud of dust showed that there were more troops behind. The Long Island stratagem had been played over again. Knyphausen, with about eight thousand men, had engrossed the attention of the Americans by a feigned attack at Chadd's Ford, kept up with great noise and prolonged by skirmishes; while the remainder of the army, about ten thousand men, under Cornwallis, led by experienced guides, had made a circuit of seventeen miles, crossed the two forks of the Brandywine, and arrived in the neighborhood of Birmingham meeting-house, two miles to the right of Sullivan. It was a capital stratagem, secretly and successfully conducted.

Finding that Cornwallis had thus gained the rear of the army,

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Washington sent orders to Sullivan to oppose him with the whole right wing, each brigade attacking as soon as it arrived upon the ground. Wayne, in the meantime, was to keep Knyphausen at bay at the ford, and Greene, with the reserve, to hold himself ready to give aid wherever required. Lafayette, as a volunteer, had hitherto accompanied the commander-in-chief, but now, seeing there was likely to be warm work with the right wing, he obtained permission to join Sullivan, and spurred off with his aide-de-camp to the scene of action. From his narrative, we gather some of the subsequent details.

Sullivan, on receiving Washington's orders, advanced with his own, Stephen's, and Stirling's divisions, and began to form a line in front of an open piece of wood. The time which had been expended in transmitting intelligence, receiving orders, and marching, had enabled Cornwallis to choose his ground and prepare for action. Still more time was given him from the apprehension of the three generals, upon consultation, of being outflanked upon the right; and that the gap between Sullivan's and Stephen's divisions was too wide, and should be closed up. Orders were accordingly given for the whole line to move to the right; and while in execution, Cornwallis advanced rapidly with his troops in the finest order, and opened a brisk fire of musketry and artillery. The Americans made an obstinate resistance, but being taken at a disadvantage, the right and left wings were broken and driven into the woods. The centre stood firm for a while, but being exposed to the whole fire of the enemy, gave way at length also. The British, in following up their advantage, got entangled in the wood. It was here that Lafayette received his wound. He had thrown himself from his horse, and was endeavoring to rally the troops, when he was shot through the leg with a musket ball, and had to be assisted into the saddle by his aide-de-camp. The Americans rallied on a height to the north of Dilworth, and made a still more spirited resistance than at first, but were again dislodged and obliged to retreat with a heavy loss.

While this was occurring with the right wing, Knyphausen, as soon as he learnt from the heavy firing that Cornwallis was engaged,

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made a push to force his way across Chadd's Ford in earnest. He was vigorously opposed by Wayne with Proctor's artillery, aided by Maxwell and his infantry. Greene was preparing to second him with the reserve, when he was summoned by Washington to the support of the right wing, which the commander-in-chief had found in imminent peril. Greene advanced to the relief with such celerity, that it is said, on good authority, his division accomplished the march, or rather run, of five miles, in less than fifty minutes. He arrived too late to save the battle, but in time to protect the broken masses of the right wing, which he met in full flight. Opening his ranks from time to time for the fugitives, and closing them the moment they had passed, he covered their retreat by a sharp and well-directed fire from his field-pieces. His grand stand was made at a place about a mile beyond Dilworth, which, in reconnoitering the neighborhood, Washington had pointed out to him, as well calculated for a second position, should the army be driven out of the first; and here he was overtaken by Colonel Pinckney, an aide-de-camp of the commander-in-chief, ordering him to occupy this position and protect the retreat of the army. The orders were implicitly obeyed. Weedon's brigade was drawn up in a narrow defile, flanked on both sides by woods, and perfectly commanding the road; while Greene, with Muhlenberg's brigade, passing to the right took his station on the road. The British came on impetuously, expecting but faint opposition. They met with a desperate resistance, and were repeatedly driven back. It was the bloody conflict of the bayonet: deadly on either side, and lasting for a considerable time. Weedon's brigade on the left maintained its stand also with great obstinacy, and the check given to the enemy by these two brigades, allowed time for the broken troops to retreat. Weedon's was at length compelled by superior numbers to seek the protection of the other brigade, which he did in good order, and Greene gradually drew off the whole division in face of the enemy, who, checked by this vigorous resistance, and seeing the day far spent, gave up all further pursuit.

The brave stand made by these brigades had, likewise, been a

great protection to Wayne. He had for a long time withstood the attacks of the enemy at Chadd's Ford, until the approach on the right, of some of the enemy's troops who had been entangled in the woods, showed him that the right wing had been defeated. He now gave up the defence of his post, and retreated by the Chester road. Knyphausen's troops were too fatigued to pursue him; and the others had been kept back, as we have shown, by Greene's division. So ended the varied conflict of the day.

The scene of the battle, which decided the fate of Philadelphia, was within six-and-twenty miles of that city. The two parties of the inhabitants, Whig and Tory, were to be seen in groups, in the squares and public places, waiting the event in anxious silence. At length a courier arrived. His tidings spread consternation among the friends of liberty. Many left their homes and took refuge in the mountains. Congress, the same evening, determined to quit the city and repair to Lancaster, whence they subsequently removed to Yorktown.

The losses on each side, in the battle of the Brandywine, exceeded one thousand in killed and wounded. Notwithstanding the defeat of the American army, Sir William Howe's troops had been so severely handled that he did not press the pursuit, but remained two days at Dilworth, sending out detachments to take post at Chester, and seize on Wilmington, whither the sick and wounded were conveyed. Washington profited by the inactivity of Howe; retreating across the Schuylkill to Germantown, within a short distance of Philadelphia, where he gave his troops a day's repose. Finding them in good spirits, and in nowise disheartened by the recent affair, which they seemed to consider a check rather than a defeat, he resolved to seek the enemy again and give him battle. As preliminary measures, he left some of the Pennsylvania militia in Philadelphia to guard the city; others, under General Armstrong, were posted at the various passes of the Schuylkill, with orders to throw up works; the floating bridge on the lower road was to be unmoored, and the boats collected and taken across the river.

Having taken these precautions against any hostile movement

by the lower road, Washington recrossed the Schuylkill on the 14th, and advanced along the Lancaster road, with the intention of turning the left flank of the enemy. Howe, apprised of his intention, made a similar disposition to outflank him. The two armies came in sight of each other near the Warren Tavern, twenty-three miles from Philadelphia, and were on the point of engaging, but were prevented by a violent storm of rain, which lasted for four-and-twenty hours. This inclement weather was particularly distressing to the Americans, who were scantily clothed, most of them destitute of blankets, and separated from their tents and baggage. The rain penetrated their cartridge-boxes and the ill-fitted locks of their muskets, rendering the latter useless. In this plight, Washington gave up for the present all thought of attacking the enemy, as their discipline in the use of the bayonet, with which they were universally furnished, would give them a great superiority in action. The aim at present was to get some dry and secure place, where the army might repose and refit. All day, and for a great part of the night, they marched under a cold and pelting rain, through deep and miry roads, to Warwick, on French Creek; a weary march for ragged and barefooted troops.

From French Creek, Wayne was detached with his division, to get in the rear of the enemy, form a junction with General Smallwood and the Maryland militia, and, keeping themselves concealed, watch for an opportunity to cut off Howe's baggage and hospital train; in the meantime, Washington crossed the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford, and took a position to defend that pass of the river. Wayne set off in the night, and, by a circuitous march, got within three miles of the left wing of the British encamped at Tredyffrin, and concealing himself in a wood, waited the arrival of Smallwood and his militia. At daybreak he reconnoitered the camp, where Howe, checked by the severity of the weather, had contented himself with uniting his columns, and remained under shelter. All day Wayne hovered about the camp; there were no signs of marching; all kept quiet, but lay too compact to be attacked with prudence. He sent repeated messages to Washington, describing the situation of the enemy, and urging him to come on

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and attack them in their camp. His motions, however, had not been so secret as he imagined. He was in a part of the country full of the disaffected, and Sir William had received accurate information of his force and where he was encamped. General Grey, with a strong detachment, was sent to surprise him at night in his lair. Late in the evening, when Wayne had set his pickets and sentinels, and thrown out his patrols, a countryman brought him word of the meditated attack. He doubted the intelligence, but strengthened his pickets and patrols, and ordered his troops to sleep upon their arms.

At eleven o'clock, the pickets were driven in at the point of the bayonet — the enemy were advancing in column. Wayne instantly took post on the right of his position, to cover the retreat of the left, led by Colonel Humpton, the second in command. The latter was tardy, and incautiously paraded his troops in front of their fires, so as to be in full relief. The enemy rushed on without firing a gun: all was the silent, but deadly work of the bayonet and cutlass. Nearly three hundred of Humpton's men were killed or wounded, and the rest put to flight. Wayne gave the enemy some well-directed volleys, and then, retreating to a small distance, rallied his troops, and prepared for further defence. The British, however, contented themselves with the blow they had given, and retired with very little loss, taking with them between seventy and eighty prisoners, and eight baggage wagons, heavily laden.

Smallwood, who was to have co-operated with Wayne, was within a mile of him at the time of his attack; and would have hastened to his assistance with his well-known intrepidity, but he had not his old and tried corps with him, but a squad of raw militia, who fled in a panic at first sight of the enemy.

On the 21st, Sir William Howe made a rapid march high up the Schuylkill, on the road leading to Reading, as if he intended either to capture the military stores deposited there, or to turn the right of the American army. Washington kept pace with him on the opposite side of the river, up to Pott's Grove, about thirty miles from Philadelphia. Howe's movement was a feint. No

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sooner had he drawn Washington so far up the river, than, by a rapid countermarch on the night of the 22d, he got to the ford below, threw his troops across on the next morning, and pushed forward for Philadelphia. By the time Washington was apprised of this movement, Howe was too far on his way to be overtaken by barefooted troops, worn out by constant marching. Howe halted at Germantown, within a short distance of Philadelphia, and encamped the main body of his army in and about that village; detaching Lord Cornwallis with a large force to take formal possession of the city. That general marched into Philadelphia on the 26th with a brilliant escort, followed by splendid legions of British and Hessian grenadiers, long trains of artillery and squadrons of light dragoons, stepping to the swelling music of "God save the King," and presenting, with their scarlet uniforms, their glittering arms and flaunting feathers, a striking contrast to the weary and way-worn troops who had lately passed through the same streets, happy if they could cover their raggedness with brown linen hunting-frocks, or decorate their caps with sprigs of evergreen.

Thus the British took possession of the capital of the confederacy, so long the object of their awkward attempts. Washington maintained his characteristic equanimity. He had heard of the prosperous situation of affairs in the Northern department, whither we will now turn our attention.

First Battle near Saratoga. — The Northern army had received various reinforcements, the most efficient of which was Morgan's corps of riflemen, sent by Washington, who had also furnished it with artillery. It was now about sixteen thousand strong. Schuyler, finding himself and his proffered services slighted by Gates, had returned to Albany. His patriotism was superior to personal resentments. At Albany, he held talks and war feasts with deputations of Oneida, Tuscarora, and Onondaga warriors, exerting his influence over these tribes, to win them from the enemy. His former aide-de-camp, Colonel Brockholst Livingston, and his secretary, Colonel Varick, remained in camp, and kept him informed by letter of passing occurrences. They were much

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about the person of General Arnold, who, since his return from relieving Fort Stanwix, commanded the left wing of the army. Livingston, in fact, was with him as aide-de-camp. The jealousy of Gates was awakened by these circumstances. He knew their attachment to Schuyler, and suspected they were prejudicing Arnold against him; and this suspicion may have been the origin of a coolness which he soon evinced toward Arnold himself. These young officers, however, though devotedly attached to Schuyler from a knowledge of his generous character, were above any camp intrigue. Livingston was looking forward with youthful ardor to a brush with the enemy. "Burgoyne," writes he to Schuyler exultingly, "is in such a situation, that he can neither advance nor retire without fighting. A capital battle must soon be fought. I am chagrined to the soul when I think that another person will reap the fruits of your labors." Varick, equally eager, was afraid Burgoyne might be decamping. "His evening guns," writes he, "are seldom heard, and when heard, are very low in sound."

The dense forests, which covered the country between the hostile armies, concealed their movements, and as Gates threw out no harassing parties, his information concerning the enemy was vague. Burgoyne was diligently collecting his forces, and on the 13th and 14th of September they slowly passed over a bridge of boats, which they had thrown across the Hudson, and encamped near Fish Creek. As Gates was to *receive* an attack, it was thought he ought to choose the ground where to receive it; Arnold, therefore, in company with Kosciuszko, the Polish engineer, reconnoitered the neighborhood in quest of a good camping-ground, and at length fixed upon a ridge of hills called Bemis' Heights, which rises abruptly from the narrow flat bordering the west side of the river. Kosciuszko had fortified the camp with entrenchments which commanded the valley, and even the hills on the opposite side of the river.

The right wing of the army, under the immediate command of Gates, and composed of Glover's, Nixon's and Patterson's brigades, occupied the brow of the hill nearest to the river, with the

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flats below. The left wing, commanded by Arnold, was on the side furthest from the river, and distant from the latter about three-quarters of a mile. It was composed of the New Hampshire brigade of General Poor, Pierre Van Courtlandt's and James Livingston's regiments of New York militia, the Connecticut militia, Morgan's riflemen, and Dearborn's infantry. The centre was composed of Massachusetts and New York troops.

Burgoyne now encamped about two miles from Gates, disposing his army in two lines; the left on the river, the right extending at right angles to it, about six hundred yards, across the low grounds to a range of steep and rocky hills. A ravine formed by a rivulet from the hills passed in front of the camp. The low ground between the armies was cultivated; the hills were covered with woods, excepting three or four small openings and deserted farms. Besides the ravines which fronted each camp there was a third one, midway between them, also at right angles to the river.

On the morning of the 19th, General Gates received intelligence that the enemy were advancing in great force on his left. It was their right wing, led by Burgoyne in person. It was covered by the grenadiers and light infantry under Fraser and Breyman, who kept along the high grounds on the right; while they, in turn, were covered in front and on the flanks by Indians, Tories, and Canadians. The left wing and artillery were advancing at the same time, under Phillips and Riedesel, along the great road and meadows by the river side, but they were retarded by the necessity of repairing broken bridges. It was the plan of Burgoyne, that the Canadians and Indians should attack the central outposts of the Americans, and draw their attention in that direction, while he and Fraser, making a circuit through the woods, should join forces and fall upon the rear of the American camp. As the dense forests hid them from each other, signal guns were to regulate their movements. Three, fired in succession, were to denote that all was ready, and be the signal for an attack in front, flank, and rear.

The American pickets, stationed along the ravine of Mill Creek,

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sent repeated accounts to Gates of the movements of the enemy; but he remained quiet in camp, as if determined to await an attack. The American officers grew impatient. Arnold especially urged that a detachment be sent forth to check the enemy and drive the Indians out of the woods. At length, about noon, he succeeded in getting permission to make the attack with Morgan's riflemen and Dearborn's infantry. They soon fell in with the Canadians and Indians, and dispersed them. Morgan's riflemen, following up their advantage with too much eagerness, became likewise scattered, and a strong reinforcement of royalists arriving on the scene, the Americans, in turn, were obliged to give way.

Other detachments now arrived under Arnold, who attacked Fraser on his right, to check his attempt to get in the rear of the camp. Finding the position of Fraser too strong to be forced, he sent to head-quarters for reinforcements, but they were refused by Gates, who declared that no more should go; "he would not suffer his camp to be exposed." The reason he gave was that it might be attacked by the enemy's left wing.

Arnold now made a rapid counter-march, and, his movement being masked by the woods, suddenly attempted to turn Fraser's left. Here he came in full conflict with the British line, and threw himself upon it with a boldness and impetuosity that for a time threatened to break it, and cut the wings of the army asunder. The grenadiers and Breyman's riflemen hastened to its support. Phillips broke his way through the woods with four pieces of artillery, and Riedesel came on with his heavy dragoons. Reinforcements came likewise to Arnold's assistance; his force, however, never exceeded three thousand men, and with these, for nearly four hours, he kept up a conflict, almost hand to hand, with the whole right wing of the British army. Part of the time the Americans had the advantage of fighting under the cover of a wood, so favorable to their militia and sharpshooters. Burgoyne ordered the woods to be cleared by the bayonet. His troops rushed forward in columns with a hurrah! The Americans kept within their entrenchments, and repeatedly repulsed them; but if

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they pursued their advantage, and advanced into open field, they were in their turn driven back.

Night alone put an end to the conflict, which the British acknowledged to have been the most obstinate and hard fought they had ever experienced in America. Both parties claimed the victory. But, though the British remained on the field of battle, where they lay all night upon their arms, they had failed in their object; they had been assailed instead of being the assailants; while the American troops had accomplished the purpose for which they had sallied forth; had checked the advance of the enemy, frustrated their plan of attack, and returned exulting to their camp. Their loss, in killed and wounded, was between three and four hundred, including several officers; that of the enemy nearly one thousand.

Arnold was excessively indignant at Gates' withholding the reinforcements he had required in the heat of the action; had they been furnished he might have severed the line of the enemy and gained a complete victory. He was urgent to resume the action on the succeeding morning, and follow up the advantage he had gained, but Gates declined, to his additional annoyance. He attributed the refusal to pique or jealousy, but Gates subsequently gave as a reason the great deficiency of powder and ball in the camp, which was known only to himself, and which he kept secret until a supply was sent from Albany.

Burgoyne now strengthened his position with entrenchments and batteries, part of them across the meadows which bordered the river, part on the brow of the heights which commanded them. The Americans likewise extended and strengthened their line of breastworks on the left of the camp; the right was already unassailable. The camps were within gunshot, but with ravines and woods between them.

Burgoyne's situation was growing more and more critical. On the 21st, he heard shouts in the American camp, and in a little while their cannon thundered a *feu de joie*. News had been received that a detachment of New England troops under Colonel Brown had surprised the carrying-place, mills, and French lines

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at Ticonderoga, captured an armed sloop, gunboats, and bateaux, made three hundred prisoners, besides releasing one hundred American captives, and were laying siege to Fort Independence.

Clinton's attempt to relieve Burgoyne. — While the shouts from the American camp were yet ringing in Burgoyne's ears, there came a letter in cipher from Sir Henry Clinton, dated the 12th of September, announcing his intention in about ten days to attack the Highland forts. Burgoyne sent back messages informing Sir Henry of his perilous situation, and urging a diversion that might oblige General Gates to detach a part of his army; adding, that he would endeavor to maintain his present position, and await favorable events until the 12th of October.

The jealousy of Gates had been intensely excited at finding the whole credit of the late affair given by the army to Arnold: in his dispatches to government he made no mention of him. This increased the schism between them. Wilkinson, the adjutant-general, who was a sycophantic adherent of Gates, pandered to his pique by withdrawing from Arnold's division Morgan's rifle corps and Dearborn's light infantry, its arms of strength, which had done such brilliant service in the late affair: they were henceforth to be subject to no order but those from head-quarters.

Arnold called on Gates on the evening of the 22d to remonstrate. High words passed between them. Gates told Arnold that he did not consider him a major-general, as he had sent his resignation to Congress; that he had never given him the command of any division of the army; that General Lincoln would arrive in a day or two, and then he would have no further occasion for him, and would give him a pass to go to Philadelphia whenever he chose. Arnold returned to his quarters in a rage, and wrote a note to Gates requesting the proffered permit to depart for Philadelphia; by the time he received it his ire had cooled and he had changed his mind. He determined to remain in camp and abide the anticipated battle; but he was treated as a cipher, and never consulted by Gates.

Lincoln, in the meantime, arrived in advance of his troops, which soon followed to the amount of two thousand. Part of the

troops, detached by him under Colonel Brown, were besieging Ticonderoga and Fort Independence. Colonel Brown himself, with part of his detachment, had embarked on Lake George in an armed schooner and a squadron of captured gunboats, and was threatening the enemy's deposit of baggage and heavy artillery at Diamond Island. The toils so skilfully spread were encompassing Burgoyne more and more; the gates of Canada were closing behind him. Still he kept up a resolute mien, telling his soldiers, in a harangue, that he was determined to leave his bones on the field, or force his way to Albany. He yet clung to the hope, that Sir Henry Clinton might operate in time to relieve him from his perilous position.

That officer had awaited the arrival of reinforcements from Europe, which were slowly crossing the ocean in Dutch vessels. At length they arrived, after a three months' voyage, and now between three and four thousand men were to be embarked on board of ships-of-war. With this force Sir Henry ascended the river to the Highlands, outwitted General Putnam, and captured the forts, laying open the river as far as Albany. Sir Henry Clinton proceeded no further in person, but left the rest of the enterprise to be accomplished by Sir James Wallace and General Vaughan, with a flying squadron of light frigates, and a considerable detachment of troops.

The governor, George Clinton, was in the neighborhood of New Windsor, just above the Highlands, where he had posted himself to rally what he termed his "broken but brave troops," and to call out the militia of Ulster and Orange. "I am persuaded," writes he, "if the militia will join me, we can save the country from destruction, and defeat the enemy's design of assisting their Northern army." On the 9th of October, two persons coming from Fort Montgomery were arrested by his guards, and brought before him for examination. One was much agitated, and was observed to put something hastily into his mouth and swallow it. An emetic was administered, and brought up a small silver bullet. It was oval in form and hollow, with a screw in the centre, and contained a note from Sir Henry Clinton to Burgoyne,

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written on a slip of thin paper, and dated (October 8th) from Fort Montgomery. "*Nous y voici* [here we are], and nothing between us and Gates. I sincerely hope this little success of ours will facilitate your operations." The bearer of the letter was tried and convicted as a spy, and sentenced to be hanged.

The enemy's light-armed vessels were now making their way up the river, landing marauding parties occasionally to make depredations. As soon as the governor could collect a little force, he pressed forward to protect Kingston, the seat of the state legislature. The enemy in the meantime landed from their ships, routed about one hundred and fifty militia collected to oppose them, marched to the village, set fire to it in every part, consuming great quantities of stores collected there, and then retreated to their ships. Governor Clinton was two hours too late. He beheld the flames from a distance; and having brought with him the spy, the bearer of the silver bullet, he hanged him on an apple-tree in sight of the burning village.

Having laid Kingston in ashes, the enemy proceeded in their ravages, destroying the residences of conspicuous patriots at Rhinebeck, Livingston Manor, and elsewhere, and among others the mansion of the widow of the brave General Montgomery; trusting to close their desolating career by a triumphant junction with Burgoyne at Albany.

Second Battle near Saratoga. — On the 7th of October, but four or five days remained of the time Burgoyne had pledged himself to await the co-operation of Sir Henry Clinton. He now determined to make a grand movement on the left of the American camp, to discover whether he could force a passage, should it be necessary to advance, or dislodge it from its position, should he have to retreat. Another object was to cover a forage of the army, which was suffering from the great scarcity.

For this purpose fifteen hundred of his best troops, with two twelve-pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders, were to be led by himself, seconded by major-generals Phillips and Riedesel, and Brigadier-general Fraser. "No equal number of men," say the British accounts, "were ever better commanded; and it would

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have been difficult indeed, to have matched the men with an equal number." Forming his troops within three-quarters of a mile of the left of the Americans, though covered from their sight by the forest, Burgoyne sent out a corps of rangers, provincials, and Indians, to skulk through the woods, get in their rear, and give them an alarm at the time the attack took place in front.

The movement, though carried on behind the screen of forests, was discovered. In the afternoon the advanced guard of the American centre beat to arms; the alarm was repeated throughout the line. Gates ordered his officers to their alarm posts, and sent forth Wilkinson, the adjutant-general, to inquire the cause. From a rising ground in an open place he descried the enemy in force, their foragers busy in a field of wheat, the officers reconnoitering the left wing of the camp with telescopes from the top of a cabin.

Returning to the camp, Wilkinson reported the position and movements of the enemy; that their front was open, their flanks rested on woods, under cover of which they might be attacked, and their right was skirted by a height: that they were reconnoitering the left, and he thought offered battle.

"Well, then," replied Gates, "order out Morgan to begin the game."

A plan of attack was soon arranged. Morgan with his riflemen and a body of infantry was sent to make a circuit through the woods, and get possession of the heights on the right of the enemy, while General Poor with his brigade of New York and New Hampshire troops, and a part of Learned's brigade, were to advance against the enemy's left. Morgan was to make an attack on the heights as soon as he should hear the fire opened below.

Burgoyne now drew out his troops in battle array. The grenadiers, under Major Ackland, with the artillery, under Major Williams, formed the left, and were stationed on a rising ground, with a rivulet called Mill Creek in front. Next to them were the Hessians, under Riedesel, and British, under Phillips, forming the centre. The light infantry, under Lord Balcarras, formed the extreme right; having in the advance a detachment of five hundred

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picked men, under General Fraser, ready to flank the Americans as soon as they should be attacked in front.

He had scarce made these arrangements, when he was astonished and confounded by a thundering of artillery on his left, and a rattling fire of rifles on the woody heights on his right. The troops under Poor advanced steadily up the ascent where Ackland's grenadiers and Williams' artillery were stationed, received their fire, and then rushed forward. Ackland's grenadiers received the first brunt, but it extended along the line, as detachment after detachment arrived, and was carried on with inconceivable fury. The Hessian artillerists spoke afterwards of the heedlessness with which the Americans rushed upon the cannon, while they were discharging grape-shot. The artillery was repeatedly taken and retaken, and at length remained in possession of the Americans, who turned it upon its former owners. Major Ackland was wounded in both legs and taken prisoner. Major Williams of the artillery was also captured. The headlong impetuosity of the attack confounded the regular tacticians. Much of this has been ascribed to the presence and example of Arnold. That daring officer, who had lingered in the camp in expectation of a fight, was exasperated at having no command assigned him. On hearing the din of battle, he could restrain no longer his warlike impulse, but threw himself on his horse and sallied forth. Gates saw him issuing from the camp. "He'll do some rash thing!" cried he, and sent his aide-de-camp, Major Armstrong, to call him back. Arnold surmised his errand and evaded it. Putting spurs to his horse, he dashed into the scene of action, and was received with acclamation. Being the superior officer in the field his orders were obeyed of course. Putting himself at the head of the troops of Learned's brigade, he attacked the Hessians in the enemy's centre, and broke them with repeated charges. Indeed, for a time his actions seemed to partake of frenzy; riding hither and thither, brandishing his sword, and cheering on the men to acts of desperation. In one of his paroxysms of excitement, he struck and wounded an American officer in the head with his sword, without, as he afterwards declared, being conscious of the act. Wilkinson asserts that he was

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partly intoxicated; but Arnold needed only his own irritated pride and the smell of gunpowder to rouse him to acts of madness.

Morgan, in the meantime, was harassing the enemy's right wing with an incessant fire of small-arms, and preventing it from sending any assistance to the centre. General Fraser with his chosen corps for some time rendered great protection to this wing. Mounted on an iron-gray charger, his uniform of a field-officer made him a conspicuous object for Morgan's sharpshooters. One bullet cut the crupper of his horse, another grazed his mane. "You are singled out, general," said his aide-de-camp, "and had better shift your ground." "My duty forbids me to fly from danger," was the reply. A moment afterwards he was shot down by a marksman posted in a tree. Two grenadiers bore him to the camp. His fall was a death blow to his corps. The arrival on the field of a large reinforcement of New York troops under General Ten Broeck completed the confusion. Burgoyne saw that the field was lost, and now only thought of saving his camp. The troops nearest to the lines were ordered to throw themselves within them, while generals Phillips and Riedesel covered the retreat of the main body, which was in danger of being cut off. The artillery was abandoned, all the horses, and most of the men who had so bravely defended it, having been killed. The troops, though hard pressed, retired in good order. Scarcely had they entered the camp when it was stormed with great fury; the Americans, with Arnold at their head, rushing to the lines under a severe discharge of grape-shot and small-arms. Lord Balcarras defended the entrenchments bravely; the action was fierce, and well sustained on either side. After an ineffectual attempt to make his way into the camp in this quarter at the point of the bayonet, Arnold spurred his horse toward the right flank of the camp occupied by the German reserve, where Lieutenant-colonel Brooks was making a general attack with a Massachusetts regiment. Here, with a part of a platoon, he forced his way into a sally-port; but a shot from the retreating Hessians killed his horse, and wounded him in the same leg which had received a wound before Quebec. He was borne off from the field, but not until the victory was com-

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plete; for the Germans retreated from the works, leaving on the field their brave defender, Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, mortally wounded.

The night was now closing in. The victory of the Americans was decisive. They had routed the enemy, killed and wounded a great number, made many prisoners, taken their field-artillery, and gained possession of a part of their works which laid open the right and the rear of their camp. They lay all night on their arms, within half a mile of the scene of action, prepared to renew the assault upon the camp in the morning.

Surrender of Burgoyne. — Burgoyne shifted his position during the night to heights about a mile to the north, close to the river, and covered in front by a ravine. Early in the morning, the Americans took possession of the abandoned camp. A random fire of artillery and small-arms was kept up on both sides during the day. Gates, however, did not think it advisable to force a desperate enemy when in a strong position, at the expense of a prodigal waste of blood. He took all measures to cut off his retreat and insure a surrender. General Fellows, with fourteen hundred men, had already been sent to occupy the high ground east of the Hudson opposite Saratoga Ford. Other detachments were sent higher up the river in the direction of Lake George.

Burgoyne saw that nothing was left for him but a prompt and rapid retreat to Saratoga. It rained terribly, and in consequence of repeated halts, they did not reach Saratoga until the evening of the 9th. The bridge over the Fish Kill had been destroyed; the artillery could not cross until the ford was examined. Exhausted by fatigue, the men for the most part had not strength nor inclination to cut wood nor make fire, but threw themselves upon the wet ground in their wet clothes, and slept under the pouring rain.

At daylight on the 10th, the artillery and the last of the troops passed the fords of the Fish Kill, and took a position upon the heights, and in the redoubts formerly constructed there. To protect the troops from being attacked in passing the ford by the Americans who were approaching, Burgoyne ordered fire to be set to the farm-houses and other buildings on the south side of the Fish

Kill. Amongst the rest, the noble mansion of General Schuyler, with storehouses, granaries, mills, and the other appurtenances of a great rural establishment, was entirely consumed. Burgoyne himself estimated the value of property destroyed at ten thousand pounds sterling.

The force under General Fellows, posted on the opposite hills of the Hudson, now opened a fire from a battery commanding the ford of that river. Thus prevented from crossing, Burgoyne thought to retreat along the west side as far as Fort George, on the way to Canada, and sent out workmen under a strong escort to repair the bridges, and open the road toward Fort Edward. The escort was soon recalled and the work abandoned; for the Americans appeared in great force, on the heights south of the Fish Kill, and seemed preparing to cross and bring on an engagement. The opposite shores of the Hudson were also lined with detachments of Americans. Bateaux laden with provisions, which had attended the movements of the army, were fired upon, many taken, some retaken with loss of life. It was necessary to land the provisions from such as remained, and bring them up the hill into the camp, which was done under a heavy fire from the American artillery.

Burgoyne called a council of war, in which it was resolved, since the bridges could not be repaired, to abandon the artillery and baggage, let the troops carry a supply of provisions upon their backs, push forward in the night, and force their way across the fords at or near Fort Edward. But before the plan could be put in execution, scouts brought word that the Americans were entrenched opposite those fords, and encamped in force with cannon, on the high ground between Fort Edward and Fort George. By this time the American army, augmented by volunteers from all quarters, had posted itself in strong positions on both sides of the Hudson, so as to extend three-fourths of a circle round the enemy.

Giving up all further attempt at retreat, Burgoyne now fortified his camp on the heights to the north of the Fish Kill, still hoping that succor might arrive from Sir Henry Clinton, or that an attack

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upon his trenches might give him some chance of cutting his way through. In this situation his troops lay continually on their arms. His camp was subjected to cannonading from Fellows' batteries on the opposite side of the Hudson, Gates' batteries on the south of Fish Kill, and a galling fire from Morgan's riflemen, stationed on heights in the rear. The Baroness Riedesel and her helpless little ones were exposed to the dangers and horrors of this long turmoil. On the morning when the attack was opened, General Riedesel sent them to take refuge in a house in the vicinity. Some women and crippled soldiers had already taken refuge there. It was mistaken for head-quarters and cannonaded. The baroness retreated into the cellar, laid herself in a corner near the door with her children's heads upon her knees, and passed a sleepless night of anguish. In the morning the cannonade began anew. Cannon-balls passed through the house repeatedly with a tremendous noise. A poor soldier, who was about to have a leg amputated, lost the other by one of these balls. The day was passed among such horrors. The wives of a major, a lieutenant, and a commissary, were her companions in misery. "They sat together," she says, "deploring their situation, when some one entered to announce bad news." There was whispering among her companions, with deep looks of sorrow. "I immediately suspected," says she, "that my husband had been killed. I shrieked aloud." She was soothed by assurances that nothing had happened to him; and was given to understand by a sidelong glance, that the wife of the lieutenant was the unfortunate one; her husband had been killed.

For six days, she and her children remained in this dismal place of refuge. The cellar was spacious, with three compartments, but the number of occupants increased. The wounded were brought in to be relieved — or to die. She remained with her children near the door, to escape more easily in case of fire. She put straw under mattresses; on these she lay with her little ones, and her female servants slept near her. There was great distress for water. The river was near, but the Americans shot every one who approached it. A soldier's wife at length summoned resolution,

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and brought a supply. "The Americans," adds the baroness, "told us afterwards, that they spared her *on account of her sex.*"

Burgoyne was now reduced to despair. It was found that the provisions on hand, even upon short allowance, would not suffice for more than three days. A council of war was called and the deliberations were brief. All concurred in the necessity of opening a treaty with General Gates, for a surrender on honorable terms. While they were yet deliberating, an eighteen-pound ball passed through the tent, sweeping across the table round which they were seated.

Negotiations were accordingly opened on the 13th, under sanction of a flag. The first terms offered by Gates were that the enemy should lay down their arms within their entrenchments and surrender themselves prisoners of war. These were indignantly rejected, with an intimation that, if persisted in, hostilities must recommence. Counter-proposals were then made by General Burgoyne, and finally accepted by General Gates. According to these, the British troops were to march out of the camp with artillery and all the honors of war, to a fixed place, where they were to pile their arms at a word of command from their own officers. They were to be allowed a free passage to Europe upon condition of not serving again in America, during the present war. The army was not to be separated, especially the men from the officers; roll-calling and other regular duties were to be permitted; the officers were to be on parole, and to wear their side-arms. All private property to be sacred; no baggage to be searched or molested.

In the night of the 16th, before the articles of capitulation had been signed, a British officer from the army below made his way into the camp, with dispatches from Sir Henry Clinton, announcing that he had captured the forts in the Highlands, and had pushed detachments further up the Hudson. Burgoyne now submitted to the consideration of his officers, "whether it was consistent with public faith, and if so, expedient, to suspend the execution of the treaty and trust to events." His own opinion inclined in the affirmative, but the majority of the council deter-

mined that the public faith was fully plighted. The capitulation was accordingly signed by Burgoyne on the 17th of October.

The British army, at the time of the surrender, was reduced by capture, death, and desertion, from nine thousand to five thousand seven hundred and fifty-two men. That of Gates, regulars and militia had swollen until it amounted to more than twenty thousand.

When the British troops marched forth to deposit their arms at the appointed place, Colonel Wilkinson, the adjutant-general, was the only American soldier to be seen. Gates had ordered his troops to keep rigidly within their lines, that they might not add by their presence to the humiliation of a brave enemy. Wilkinson, in his memoirs, describes the first meeting of Gates and Burgoyne, which took place at the head of the American camp. They were attended by their staffs and by other general officers. Burgoyne was in a rich royal uniform. Gates in a plain blue frock. When they had approached nearly within sword's length they reined up and halted. Burgoyne, raising his hat most gracefully, said: "The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner;" to which the other, returning his salute, replied, "I shall always be ready to testify that it has not been through any fault of your Excellency."

It was the lot of Burgoyne to have coals of fire heaped on his head. One of the first persons whom he encountered in the American camp was General Schuyler. He attempted to make some explanation or excuse about the recent destruction of his property. Schuyler begged him not to think of it, as the occasion justified it, according to the principles and rules of war. "He did more," said Burgoyne, in a speech before the House of Commons: "he sent an aide-de-camp to conduct me to Albany; in order, as he expressed it, to procure better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. That gentleman conducted me to a very elegant house, and, to my great surprise, presented me to Mrs. Schuyler and her family. In that house I remained during my whole stay in Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every other demonstration of hospitality."

This was indeed realizing the vaunted courtesy and magnanimity of the age of chivalry.

The surrender of Burgoyne was soon followed by the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Fort Independence. As to the armament on the Hudson, its commanders received, in the midst of their burning and plundering, the astounding intelligence of the capture of the army with which they had come to co-operate. Nothing remained for them, therefore, but to drop down the river and return to New York. The fortresses in the Highlands could not be maintained, and were accordingly evacuated and destroyed.

Battle of Germantown. — We left Washington encamped at Pott's Grove towards the end of September, giving his troops a few days' repose after their severe fatigues. His force amounted to about eight thousand Continentals and three thousand militia; with these he advanced, on the 30th of September, to Skippack Creek, about fourteen miles from Germantown, where the main body of the British army lay encamped, a detachment under Cornwallis occupying Philadelphia.

Immediately after the battle of Brandywine, Admiral Lord Howe, with great exertions, had succeeded in getting his ships of war and transports round from the Chesapeake into the Delaware, and had anchored them along the western shore, from Reedy Island to Newcastle. They were prevented from approaching nearer by obstructions which the Americans had placed in the river. The lowest of these were at Billingsport (or Bylling's Point), where chevaux-de-frise in the channel of the river were protected by a strong redoubt on the Jersey shore. Higher up were Fort Mifflin on Mud (or Fort) Island, and Fort Mercer on the Jersey shore, with chevaux-de-frise between them. Washington had exerted himself to throw a garrison into Fort Mifflin, and keep up the obstructions of the river. "If these can be maintained," said he, "General Howe's situation will not be the most agreeable; for if his supplies can be stopped by water, it may easily be done by land. To do both shall be my utmost endeavor; and I am not without hope that the acquisition of Philadelphia may, instead of his good fortune, prove his ruin."

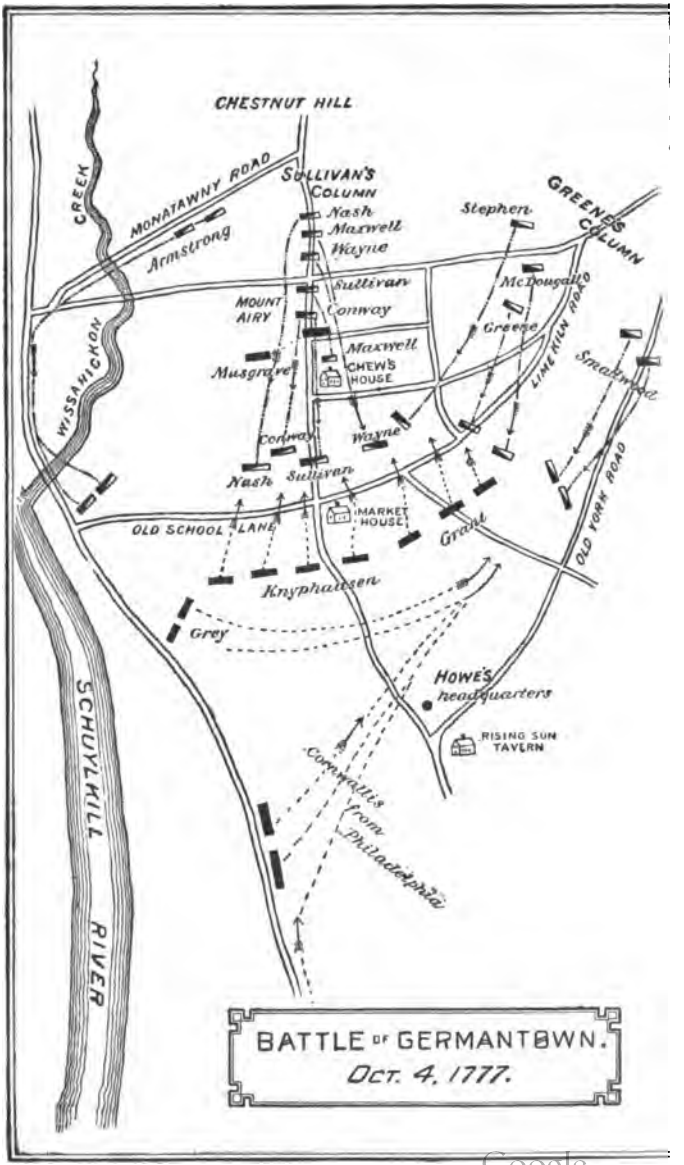
Sir William Howe was perfectly aware of this, and had concerted operations with his brother, by land and water, to reduce

the forts and clear away the obstructions of the river. With this view he detached a part of his force into the Jerseys. Washington had been for some days anxiously on the lookout for an opportunity to strike a blow, when two intercepted letters gave him intelligence of this movement. He immediately determined to make an attack upon the British camp at Germantown, while weakened by the absence of this detachment. To understand the plan of the attack, some description of the British place of encampment is necessary.

Germantown, at that time, was little more than one continued street, extending two miles north and south. The houses were mostly of stone, low and substantial, with steep roofs and projecting eaves. They stood apart from each other, with fruit trees in front and small gardens. Beyond the village, and about a hundred yards east of the road, stood a spacious stone edifice, with ornamented grounds, statues, groves, and shrubbery, the country-seat of Benjamin Chew, chief justice of Pennsylvania previous to the Revolution: we shall have more to say concerning this mansion presently.

Four roads approached the village from above; that is, from the north. The Skippack, which was the main road, led over Chestnut Hill and Mount Airy down to and through the village toward Philadelphia, forming the street of which we have just spoken. On its right, and nearly parallel, was the Monatawny road, passing near the Schuylkill, and entering the main road below the village. On the left of the Skippack or main road, was the Lime-kiln road, running nearly parallel to it for a time, and then turning towards it, almost at right angles, so as to enter the village at the market-place. Still further to the left or east, and outside of all, was the Old York road, falling into the main road some distance below the village.

The main body of the British forces lay encamped across the lower part of the village, divided into almost equal parts by the main street or Skippack road. The right wing, commanded by General Grant, was to the east of the road, the left wing to the west. Each wing was covered by strong detachments, and



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guarded by cavalry. General Howe had his head-quarters in the rear.

The advance of the army, composed of the 2d battalion of British light infantry, with a train of artillery, was more than two miles from the main body, on the west of the road, with an outlying picket stationed with two six-pounders at Allen's house on Mount Airy. About three-quarters of a mile in the rear of the light infantry, lay encamped in a field opposite "Chew's House," the 40th regiment of infantry, under Colonel Musgrave.

According to Washington's plan for the attack, Sullivan was to command the right wing, composed of his own division, principally Maryland troops, and the division of General Wayne. He was to be sustained by a *corps de reserve*, under Lord Stirling, composed of Nash's North Carolina and Maxwell's Virginia brigades, and to be flanked by the brigade of General Conway. He was to march down the Skippack road and attack the left wing; at the same time General Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, was to pass down the Monatawny road, and get upon the enemy's left and rear.

Greene, with the left wing, composed of his own division and the division of General Stephen, and flanked by McDougall's brigade, was to march down the Limekiln road, so as to enter the village at the market-house. The two divisions were to attack the enemy's right wing in front, McDougall with his brigade to attack it in flank, while Smallwood's division of Maryland militia and Forman's Jersey brigade, making a circuit by the Old York road, were to attack it in the rear. Two-thirds of the forces were thus directed against the enemy's right wing, under the idea that, if it could be forced, the whole army must be pushed into the Schuylkill, or compelled to surrender. The attack was to begin on all quarters at daybreak.

About dusk, on the 3d of October, the army left its encampment at Matuchen Hills, by its different routes. Washington accompanied the right wing. It had fifteen miles of weary march to make over rough roads, so that it was after daybreak when the troops emerged from the woods on Chestnut Hill. The morning

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was dark with a heavy fog. A detachment advanced to attack the enemy's out-picket, stationed at Allen's house. The patrol was led by Captain Allen McLane, a brave Maryland officer, well acquainted with the ground, and with the position of the enemy. He fell in with double sentries, whom he killed with the loss of one man. The alarm, however, was given; the distant roll of a drum and the call to arms, resounded through the murky air. The picket guard, after discharging their two six-pounders, were routed, and retreated down the south side of Mount Airy to the battalion of light infantry who were forming in order of battle. As their pursuers descended into the valley, the sun rose, but was soon obscured. Wayne led the attack upon the light infantry. "They broke at first," writes he, "without waiting to receive us, but soon formed again, when a heavy and well-directed fire took place on both sides."

They again gave way, but being supported by the grenadiers, returned to the charge. Sullivan's division and Conway's brigade formed on the west of the road, and joined in the attack; the rest of the troops were too far to the north to render any assistance. The infantry, after fighting bravely for a time, broke and ran, leaving their artillery behind. They were hotly pursued by Wayne. His troops remembered the bloody 20th of September, and the ruthless slaughter of their comrades. "They pushed on with the bayonet," says Wayne, "and took ample vengeance for that night's work." The officers endeavored to restrain their fury towards those who cried for mercy, but to little purpose. It was a terrible melée. The fog, together with the smoke of the cannonry and musketry, made it almost as dark as night; our people mistaking one another for the enemy, frequently exchanged shots before they discovered their error. The whole of the enemy's advance were driven from their camping ground, leaving their tents standing, with all their baggage. Colonel Musgrave, with six companies of the 40th regiment, threw himself into Chew's House, barricaded the doors and lower windows, and took post above stairs; the main torrent of the retreat passed the house pursued by Wayne into the village.

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As the residue of this division of the army came up to join in the pursuit, Musgrave opened a fire of musketry upon them from the upper windows of his citadel. This brought them to a halt. Some of the officers were for pushing on; but Knox stoutly objected, insisting on the old military maxim, never to leave a garrisoned castle in the rear. His objection unluckily prevailed. A flag was sent with a summons to surrender. A young Virginian, Lieutenant Smith, volunteered to be the bearer. As he was advancing, he was fired upon and received a mortal wound. This house was now cannonaded, but the artillery was too light to have the desired effect. An attempt was made to set fire to the basement. He who attempted it was shot dead from a grated cellar window. Half an hour was thus spent in vain; scarce any of the defenders of the house were injured, though many of the assailants were slain. At length a regiment was left to keep guard upon the mansion and hold its garrison in check, and the rear division again pressed forward.

This half-hour's delay, however, of one half of the army disconcerted the action. The divisions and brigades thus separated from each other by the skirmishing attack upon Chew's House, could not be reunited. The fog and smoke rendered all objects indistinct at thirty yards' distance; the different parts of the army knew nothing of the position or movements of each other, and the commander-in-chief could take no view nor gain any information of the situation of the whole. The original plan of attack was only effectively carried into operation in the centre. The flanks and rear of the enemy were nearly unmolested; still the action, though disconnected, irregular, and partial, was animated in various quarters. Sullivan, being reinforced by Nash's North Carolina troops and Conway's brigade, pushed on a mile beyond Chew's House, where the left wing of the enemy gave way before him.

Greene and Stephen, with their divisions, having had to make a circuit, were late in coming into action, and became separated from each other, part of Stephen's division being arrested by a heavy fire from Chew's House and pausing to return it; Greene, however, with his division, comprising the brigades of Muhlenberg

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and Scott, pressed rapidly forward, drove an advance regiment of light infantry before him, took a number of prisoners, and made his way quite to the market-house in the centre of the village, where he encountered the right wing of the British drawn up to receive him. The impetuosity of his attack had an evident effect upon the enemy, who began to waver. Forman and Smallwood, with the Jersey and Maryland militia, were just showing themselves on the right flank of the enemy, and our troops seemed on the point of carrying the whole encampment. At this moment a singular panic seized our army. Various causes are assigned for it. Sullivan alleges that his troops had expended all their cartridges, and were alarmed by seeing the enemy gathering on their left, and by the cry of a light horseman, that the enemy were getting round them. Wayne's division, which had pushed the enemy three miles, was alarmed by the approach of a large body of American troops on its left flank, which it mistook for foes, and fell back in defiance of every effort of its officers to rally it. In its retreat it came upon Stephen's division and threw it into a panic, being, in its turn, mistaken for the enemy; thus all fell into confusion, and our army fled from their own victory.

In the meantime, the enemy having recovered from the first effects of the surprise, advanced in their turn. General Grey brought up the left wing, and pressed upon the American troops as they receded. Lord Cornwallis, with a squadron of light horse from Philadelphia, arrived just in time to join in the pursuit.

The retreat of the Americans was attended with less loss than might have been expected, and they carried off all their cannon and wounded. This was partly owing to the good generalship of Greene, in keeping up a retreating fight with the enemy for nearly five miles; and partly to a check given by Wayne, who turned his cannon upon the enemy from an eminence, near White Marsh Church, and brought them to a stand. The retreat continued through the day to Perkiomen Creek, a distance of twenty miles.

The loss of the enemy in this action is stated by them to be seventy-one killed, four hundred and fifteen wounded, and fourteen missing: among the killed was Brigadier-general Agnew.

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The American loss was one hundred and fifty killed, five hundred and twenty-one wounded, and about four hundred taken prisoners. Among the killed was General Nash of North Carolina.

Washington's plan of attack was perhaps too widely extended for strict concert, and too complicated for precise co-operation, as it had to be conducted in the night, and with a large proportion of undisciplined militia; and yet, a bewildering fog alone appears to have prevented its complete success. But although the Americans were balked of the victory, which seemed within their grasp, the impression made by the audacity of this attempt upon Germantown, was greater, we are told, than that caused by any single incident of the war after Lexington and Bunker Hill.

It produced a great effect also in France. The Count Vergennes observed to the American commissioners in Paris on their first interview, that nothing struck him so much as General Washington's attacking and giving battle to General Howe's army; that to bring an army raised within a year to this pass promised everything.

Valley Forge. — It was now the great object of the Howes to reduce Forts Mercer and Mifflin, and thus to get complete control of the Delaware river. Without this, it would probably be impossible to hold Philadelphia during the winter, since it was in Washington's power to cut off all supplies attempting to reach that city by land. The reduction of the forts was at length accomplished late in November, after more than a month of hard work and several bloody repulses. Had Gates behaved properly after the surrender of Burgoyne, and sent back to Washington the reinforcements no longer needed at the north, it has been thought that the forts might have defied every effort of the enemy. But Gates's weak head was turned with applause. He became insubordinate, sent his reports directly to Congress instead of sending them to Washington, and even aspired to oust the latter from his command, as he had already ousted Schuyler. Many people were ready to help him in this work. The air rang with the praises of Gates. Had not he vanquished and captured a whole army, while Washington, after a succession of defeats, had nothing left him but to take refuge in secure winter-quarters?

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The plan adopted by Washington, after holding a council of war, and weighing the discordant opinions of his officers, was to hut the army for the winter at Valley Forge, in Chester County, on the west side of the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. Here he would be able to keep a vigilant eye on that city, and at the same time protect a great extent of country.

Sad and dreary was the march to Valley Forge; uncheered by the recollection of any recent triumph, as was the march to winter-quarters in the preceding year. Hungry and cold were the poor fellows who had so long been keeping the field; for provisions were scant, clothing worn out, and so badly off were they for shoes, that the footsteps of many might be tracked in blood. Yet at this very time we are told, "hogsheads of shoes, stockings, and clothing, were lying at different places on the roads and in the woods, perishing for want of teams, or of money to pay the teamsters." Such were the consequences of the deranged condition of the commissariat.

Arrived at Valley Forge on the 17th of December, the troops had still to brave the wintry weather in their tents, until they could cut down trees and construct huts for their accommodation. Those who were on the sick list had to seek temporary shelter wherever it could be found, among the farmers of the neighborhood. According to the regulations in the orderly book, each hut was to be fourteen feet by sixteen, with walls of logs filled in with clay, six feet and a half high; the fire-places were of logs plastered; and logs split into rude planks or slabs furnished the roofing. A hut was allotted to twelve non-commissioned officers and soldiers. A general officer had a hut to himself. The same was allowed to the staff of each brigade and regiment, and the field-officer of each regiment; and a hut to the commissioned officers of each company. The huts of the soldiery fronted on streets. Those of the officers formed a line in the rear, and the encampment gradually assumed the look of a rude military village.

Scarce had the troops been two days employed in these labors, when, before daybreak on the 22d, word was brought that a body of the enemy had made a sortie toward Chester, apparently on a

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foraging expedition. Washington issued orders to generals Huntington and Varnum, to hold their troops in readiness to march against them. Their replies bespeak the forlorn state of the army. "Fighting will be far preferable to starving," writes Huntington. "My brigade are out of provisions, nor can the commissary obtain any meat. I have used every argument my imagination can invent to make the soldiers easy, but I despair of being able to do it much longer." "It's a very pleasing circumstance to the division under my command," writes Varnum, "that there is a probability of their marching; three days successively we have been destitute of bread. Two days we have been entirely without meat. The men must be supplied, or they cannot be commanded." In fact, a dangerous mutiny had broken out among the famishing troops in the preceding night, which their officers had had great difficulty in quelling.

Washington instantly wrote to the President of Congress on the subject. "I do not know from what cause this alarming deficiency or rather total failure of supplies arises; but unless more vigorous exertions and better regulations take place in that line (the commissaries' department) immediately, the army must dissolve. I have done all in my power by remonstrating, by writing, by ordering the commissaries on this head, from time to time; but without any good effect, or obtaining more than a present scanty relief. Owing to this, the march of the army has been delayed on more than one interesting occasion, in the course of the present campaign; and had a body of the enemy crossed the Schuylkill this morning, as I had reason to expect, the divisions which I ordered to be in readiness to march and meet them could not have moved."

Scarce had Washington dispatched this letter, when he learnt that the Legislature of Pennsylvania had addressed a remonstrance to Congress against his going into winter-quarters, instead of keeping in the open field. This letter, received in his forlorn situation, surrounded by an unhoused, scantily clad, half-starved army, shivering in the midst of December's snow and cold, put an end to his forbearance, and drew from him another letter to the President

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of Congress, dated on the 23d, which we shall largely quote; not only for its manly and truthful eloquence, but for the exposition it gives of the difficulties of his situation, mainly caused by unwise and intermeddling legislation.

And first as to the commissariat: —

"Though I have been tender, heretofore," writes he, "of giving any opinion, or lodging complaints; yet, finding that the inactivity of the army, whether for want of provisions, clothes, or other essentials, is charged to my account, not only by the common vulgar, but by those in power, it is time to speak plain in exculpation of myself. With truth, then, I can declare, that no man, in my opinion, ever had his measures more impeded than I have by every department of the army.

"Since the month of July, we have had no assistance from the quartermaster-general; and to want of assistance from this department, the commissary-general charges great part of his deficiency. To this I am to add, that notwithstanding it is a standing order, and often repeated, that the troops shall always have two days' provisions by them, that they might be ready at any sudden call; yet an opportunity has scarcely ever offered of taking an advantage of the enemy, that it has not been either totally obstructed, or greatly impeded on this account. . . . As a proof of the little benefit received from a clothier-general, as a further proof of the inability of an army, under the circumstances of this, to perform the common duties of soldiers (besides a number of men confined to hospitals for want of shoes, and others in farmers' houses on the same account), we have, by a field return this day made, no less than two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men now in camp unfit for duty, because they are barefoot, and otherwise naked. By the same return, it appears that our whole strength in continental troops, including the eastern brigades, which have joined us since the surrender of General Burgoyne, exclusive of the Maryland troops sent to Wilmington, amounts to no more than eight thousand two hundred in camp fit for duty; notwithstanding which, and that since the 4th instant, our numbers fit for duty, from the hardships and exposures they have undergone, particu-

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larly on account of blankets (numbers have been obliged, and still are, to sit up all night by fires, instead of taking comfortable rest in a natural and common way), have decreased near two thousand men.

"We find gentlemen, without knowing whether the army was really going into winter-quarters or not (for I am sure no resolution of mine could warrant the remonstrance), reprobating the measure as much as if they thought the soldiers were made of stocks or stones, and equally insensible of frost and snow; and moreover, as if they conceived it easily practicable for an inferior army, under the disadvantages I described ours to be — which are by no means exaggerated — to confine a superior one, in all respects well appointed and provided for a winter's campaign, within the city of Philadelphia, and to cover from depredation and waste the states of Pennsylvania and Jersey. But what makes this matter still more extraordinary in my eye, is, that these very gentlemen, who were well apprised of the nakedness of the troops from ocular demonstration, who thought their own soldiers worse clad than others, and who advised me near a month ago to postpone the execution of a plan I was about to adopt, in consequence of a resolve in Congress for seizing clothes, under strong assurances that an ample supply would be collected in ten days, agreeably to a decree of the state (not one article of which, by the by, is yet come to hand), should think a winter's campaign, and the covering of those states from the invasion of an enemy, so easy and practicable a business. I can assure those gentlemen, that it is a much easier, and less distressing thing, to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel abundantly for them, and, from my soul, I pity those miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve nor prevent.

"It is for these reasons, therefore, that I have dwelt upon the subject; and it adds not a little to my other difficulties and distress, to find that much more is expected from me than is possible

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to be performed, and that, upon the ground of safety and policy, I am obliged to conceal the true state of the army from public view, and thereby expose myself to detraction and calumny."

In the present exigency, to save his camp from desolation, and to relieve his starving soldiery, he was compelled to exercise the authority recently given him by Congress, to forage the country round, seize supplies wherever he could find them, and pay for them in money or in certificates redeemable by Congress. He exercised these powers with great reluctance; rurally inclined himself, he had a strong sympathy with the cultivators of the soil, and ever regarded the yeomanry with a paternal eye. He was apprehensive, moreover, of irritating the jealousy of military sway, prevalent throughout the country, and of corrupting the morals of the army. "Such procedures," writes he to the President of Congress, "may give a momentary relief; but if repeated, will prove of the most pernicious consequence. Beside spreading disaffection, jealousy, and fear among the people, they never fail, even in the most veteran troops, under the most rigid and exact discipline, to raise in the soldiery a disposition to licentiousness, to plunder and robbery, difficult to suppress afterward, and which has proved not only ruinous to the inhabitants, but in many instances to armies themselves. I regret the occasion that compelled us to the measure the other day, and shall consider it the greatest of our misfortunes if we should be under the necessity of practising it again."

How truly in all these trying scenes of his military career, does the patriot rise above the soldier!

With these noble and high-spirited appeals to Congress, we close Washington's operations for 1777; one of the most arduous and eventful years of his military life, and one of the most trying to his character and fortunes. He began it with an empty army-chest, and a force dwindled down to four thousand half-disciplined men. Throughout the year he had had to contend, not merely with the enemy, but with the parsimony and meddlesome interference of Congress. In his most critical times, that body had left him without funds and without reinforcements. It had made

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some promotions contrary to his advice, and contrary to military usage, thereby wronging and disgusting some of his bravest officers. It had changed the commissariat in the very midst of a campaign, and thereby thrown the whole service into confusion.

Among so many cross-purposes and discouragements, it was a difficult task for Washington to "keep the life and soul of the army together." Yet he had done so. Marvellous indeed was the manner in which he had soothed the discontents of his aggrieved officers, and reconciled them to an ill-requiting service; and still more marvellous the manner in which he had breathed his own spirit of patience and perseverance into his yeoman soldiery, during their sultry marchings and countermarchings through the Jerseys, under all kinds of privations, with no visible object of pursuit to stimulate their ardor, hunting, as it were, the rumored apparitions of an unseen fleet.

All this time, too, while endeavoring to ascertain and counteract the operations of Lord Howe upon the ocean, and his brother upon the land, he was directing and aiding military measures against Burgoyne in the North. Three games were in a manner going on under his supervision. The operations of the commander-in-chief are not always most obvious to the public eye; victories may be planned in his tent, of which subordinate generals get the credit; and most of the moves which ended in giving a triumphant check to Burgoyne may be traced to Washington's shifting camp in the Jerseys.

It has been an irksome task in some of the preceding chapters, to notice the under-current of intrigue by which some part of this year's campaign was disgraced; yet even-handed justice requires that such machinations should be exposed. We have shown how successful they were in displacing the noble-hearted Schuyler from the head of the Northern department; the same machinations were now at work to undermine the commander-in-chief, and elevate the putative hero of Saratoga on his ruins. He was painfully aware of them; yet in no part of the war did he more thoroughly evince that magnanimity which was his grand characteristic, than in the last scenes of this campaign,

where he rose above the tauntings of the press, the sneerings of the cabal, the murmurs of the public, the suggestions of some of his friends, and the throbbing impulses of his own courageous heart, and adhered to that Fabian policy which he considered essential to the safety of the cause. To dare is often the impulse of selfish ambition or harebrained valor: to forbear is at times the proof of real greatness.

The Conway Cabal. — While censure and detraction had thus dogged Washington throughout his harassing campaign, and followed him to his forlorn encampment at Valley Forge, Gates was the constant theme of popular eulogium, and was held up as the only man capable of retrieving the desperate fortunes of the South. Letters from his friends in Congress urged him to hasten on, take his seat at the head of the Board of War, assume the management of military affairs, and *save the country!*

Gates was not a strong-minded man. Is it a wonder, then, that his brain should be bewildered by the fumes of incense offered up on every side? A clique or cabal was formed with the purpose of driving Washington from the chief command of the army and putting Gates in his place. Most active among these plotters was General Thomas Conway, an Irishman who had served many years in the French army. Associated with him in this work were Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania, the inefficient quartermaster-general; and James Lovell, one of the Massachusetts delegates in the Continental Congress. They labored industriously to stir up ill-feeling toward Washington in Congress, and by dint of anonymous letters and cruel innuendoes to make him so uncomfortable as to force him to resign his position as commander of the army. For a short time the cabal seemed to prosper, but Washington detected the methods of the plotters. In a correspondence which ensued with Gates, the latter general committed himself to a series of most disgraceful falsehoods, which were remorselessly exposed by Washington. The light thus thrown upon the base and silly character of Gates damaged the cabal very seriously; and its ruin was completed by the ludicrous failure of a winter expedition planned by Gates and his friends for the invasion of Canada.

By the spring of 1778 most of the leading men who had favored the cabal had become ashamed of it, Conway left the army and presently returned to France, and Washington's position became more secure than ever. The quality of the army was much improved during the winter, under the training of Baron von Steuben, a highly educated officer who had served on the staff of Frederic the Great. The services of Steuben were more valuable than those of any other foreigner who served in our army except Lafayette.

§ 8. Americans assume the Offensive.

The French Alliance. — The capture of Burgoyne and his army was now operating with powerful effect on the cabinets of both England and France. With the former it was coupled with the apprehension that France was about to espouse the American cause. The consequence was Lord North's "Conciliatory Bills," submitted by him to Parliament, and passed with but slight opposition. One of these bills regulated taxation in the American colonies, in a manner which, it was trusted, would obviate every objection. The other authorized the appointment of commissioners clothed with powers to negotiate with the existing governments; to proclaim a cessation of hostilities; to grant pardons, and to adopt other measures of a conciliatory nature.

"If what was now proposed was a right measure," observes a contemporary British historian, Colonel Stedman, "it ought to have been adopted at first, and before the sword was drawn; on the other hand, if the claims of the mother country over her colonies were originally worth contending for, the strength and resources of the nation were not yet so far exhausted as to justify ministers in relinquishing them without a further struggle"

Intelligence that a treaty between France and the United States had actually been concluded at Paris, induced the British minister to hurry off a draft of the bills to America, to forestall the effects of the treaty upon the public mind. General Tryon caused copies of it to be printed in New York and circulated through the country.

The tidings of the capitulation of Burgoyne had been equally

efficacious in quickening the action of the French cabinet. The negotiations, which had gone on so slowly as almost to reduce our commissioners to despair, were brought to a happy termination, and on the 2d of May, a messenger arrived express from France with two treaties, one of amity and commerce, the other of defensive alliance, signed in Paris on the 6th of February by M. Girard on the part of France, and by Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee on the part of the United States. This last treaty stipulated that, should war ensue between France and England, it should be made a common cause by the contracting parties, in which neither should make truce or peace with Great Britain without the consent of the other, nor either lay down their arms until the independence of the United States was established.

These treaties were unanimously ratified by Congress, and their promulgation was celebrated by public rejoicings throughout the country. The 6th of May was set apart for a military fête at the camp at Valley Forge. The army was assembled in best array; there was solemn thanksgiving by the chaplains at the head of each brigade; after which a grand parade, a national discharge of thirteen guns, a general *feu de joie*, and shouts of the whole army, "Long live the King of France — Hurra for the American States." A banquet succeeded, at which Washington dined in public with all the officers of his army, attended by a band of music.

The military career of Sir William Howe in the United States was now drawing to a close. His conduct of the war had given much dissatisfaction in England. His enemies observed that everything gained by the troops was lost by the general; that he had suffered an enemy with less than four thousand men to reconquer a province which he had recently reduced, and lay a kind of siege to his army in their winter-quarters; and that he had brought a sad reverse upon the British arms by failing to co-operate vigorously and efficiently with Burgoyne. Sir William, on his part, had considered himself slighted by the ministry; his suggestions, he said, were disregarded, and the reinforcements withheld which he considered indispensable for the successful conduct of the war. He had therefore tendered his resignation, which had been

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promptly accepted, and Sir Henry Clinton ordered to relieve him. Clinton arrived in Philadelphia on the 8th of May, and took command of the army on the 11th.

Battle of Monmouth.—Soon after Sir Henry Clinton had taken the command, the exchange of General Lee, long delayed by various impediments, was effected; and Lee was reinstated in his position of second in command in the Continental army. Early in June, it was evident that a total evacuation of Philadelphia was on the point of taking place; and circumstances convinced Washington that the march of the enemy would be through the Jerseys. Some of his officers thought differently, especially General Lee, who had now the command of a division composed of Poor's, Varnum's, and Huntington's brigades. Lee, since his return to the army, had resumed his old habit of cynical supervision, and had his circle of admirers, among whom he indulged in caustic comments on military affairs and the merits of commanders. In consequence of his suggestions, Washington called a general council of war on the 17th, to consider whether to undertake any enterprise against the enemy in their present circumstances. Lee spoke eloquently on the occasion. He was opposed to an attack of any kind. He would make a bridge of gold for the enemy. They were nearly equal in number to the Americans, and far superior in discipline. An attack would endanger the safety of the cause which was now in a prosperous state, in consequence of the foreign alliance just formed. He advised merely to follow the enemy, observe their motions, and prevent them from committing any excesses.

Lee's opinions had still great weight with the army; most of the officers concurred with him; but Greene, Lafayette, Wayne, and Cadwalader could not brook that the enemy should evacuate the city, and make a long march through the country unmolested. An opportunity might present itself of striking some signal blow, that would indemnify the American soldiers for all they had suffered in their long and dreary encampment at Valley Forge. Washington's heart was with this latter counsel; but seeing such want of unanimity among his generals, he requested their opinions in writing. Before these were given in, word was brought that the enemy had actually evacuated the city.

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Sir Henry had taken his measures with great secrecy and dispatch. The army commenced moving at three o'clock on the morning of the 18th, retiring to a point of land below the town formed by the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill, and crossing the former river in boats. By ten o'clock in the morning the rear-guard landed on the Jersey shore. On the first intelligence of this movement, Washington detached Maxwell with his brigade, to co-operate with Dickinson and the New Jersey militia in harassing the enemy on their march. He sent Arnold, also, with a force to take command of Philadelphia, that officer being not yet sufficiently recovered from his wound for field service; then breaking up his camp at Valley Forge, he pushed forward with his main force in pursuit of the enemy.

Greene, Wayne, and Lafayette advised that the rear of the enemy should be attacked by a strong detachment, while the main army should be so disposed as to give a general battle, should circumstances render it advisable. As this opinion coincided with his own, Washington determined to act upon it.

Sir Henry Clinton in the meantime had advanced to Allentown, on his way to Brunswick, to embark on the Raritan. Finding the passage of that river likely to be strongly disputed by the forces under Washington, and others advancing from the north under Gates, he changed his plan, and turned to the right by a road leading through Freehold to Navasink and Sandy Hook, to embark at the latter place.

Washington, no longer in doubt as to the route of the enemy's march, detached Wayne with one thousand men to join the advanced corps, which, thus augmented, was upward of four thousand strong. The command of the advance properly belonged to Lee as senior major-general; but it was eagerly solicited by Lafayette, as an attack by it was intended, and Lee was strenuously opposed to everything of the kind. Washington willingly gave his consent, provided General Lee were satisfied with the arrangement. The latter ceded the command without hesitation, observing to the marquis that he was well pleased to be freed from all responsibility in executing plans which he was sure would fail.

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Lafayette set out on the 25th; while Washington, leaving his baggage at Kingston, moved with the main body to Cranberry, three miles in the rear of the advanced corps, to be ready to support it. Scarcely, however, had Lee relinquished the command, when he changed his mind, and in a note to Washington, he entreated to have the command of the detachment. Washington was perplexed how to satisfy Lee without wounding the feelings of Lafayette. A change in the disposition of the enemy's line of march furnished an expedient. Sir Henry Clinton, finding himself harassed by light troops on the flanks, and in danger of an attack in the rear, placed all his baggage in front under the convoy of Knyphausen, while he threw the main strength of his army in the rear under Lord Cornwallis. This made it necessary for Washington to strengthen his advanced corps; and he took this occasion to detach Lee, with Scott's and Varnum's brigades, to support the force under Lafayette. As Lee was the senior major-general, this gave him the command of the whole advance. Washington explained the matter in a letter to the marquis, who resigned the command to Lee when the latter joined him on the 27th. That evening the enemy encamped on high ground near Monmouth Court-house. Lee encamped with the advance at Englishtown, about five miles distant. The main body was three miles in his rear.

About sunset Washington rode forward and reconnoitered Sir Henry's position. It was protected by woods and morasses, and too strong to be attacked with a prospect of success. Should the enemy, however, proceed ten or twelve miles further unmolested, they would gain the heights of Middletown, and be on ground still more difficult. To prevent this, he resolved that an attack should be made on their rear early in the morning, as soon as their front should be in motion. This plan he communicated to General Lee, in presence of his officers, ordering him to make dispositions for the attack, keeping his troops lying on their arms, ready for action on the shortest notice.

Early in the morning Washington received information that the enemy were in motion, and instantly sent orders to Lee to push

forward and attack them, adding, that he was coming on to support him. For that purpose he immediately set forward with his own troops, ordering them to throw by their knapsacks and blankets.

Knyphausen, with the British vanguard, had begun about daybreak to descend into the valley between Monmouth Court-house and Middletown. To give the long train of wagons and packhorses time to get well on the way, Sir Henry Clinton with his choice troops remained in camp on the heights of Freehold until eight o'clock, when he likewise resumed the line of march toward Middletown.

Meanwhile Lee had advanced with the brigades of Wayne and Maxwell, to support the light troops engaged in skirmishing. The difficulty of reconnoitering a country cut up by woods and morassess, and the perplexity occasioned by contradictory reports, embarrassed his movements. Being joined by Lafayette with the main body of the advance, he had now more than four thousand men at his command. Arriving on the heights of Freehold, Lee caught sight of a force under march, but partly hidden from view by woods. Supposing it to be a covering party of about two thousand men, he detached Wayne with seven hundred men and two pieces of artillery, to skirmish in its rear and hold it in check; while he, with the rest of his force, taking a shorter road through the woods, would get in front of it, and cut it off from the main body.

Washington in the meantime was on his march to support the advance, as he had promised. The booming of cannon at a distance indicated that the attack so much desired had commenced, and caused him to quicken his march. Arrived near Freehold church, where the road forked, he detached Greene with part of his forces to the right, to flank the enemy in the rear of Monmouth Court-house, while he, with the rest of the column, would press forward by the other road.

Washington had alighted while giving these directions, and was standing with his arm thrown over his horse, when a countryman rode up and said the Continental troops were retreating.

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Washington was provoked at what he considered a false alarm. The man pointed, as his authority, to an American fifer who just then came up in breathless affright. The fifer was ordered into custody to prevent his spreading an alarm among the troops who were advancing, and was threatened with a flogging should he repeat the story. Springing on his horse, Washington had moved forward but a short distance when he met other fugitives, who concurred in the report. As he himself spurred past Freehold meeting-house, he met Grayson's and Patton's regiments in disorderly retreat, jaded with heat and fatigue. Riding up to the officer at their head, Washington demanded whether the whole advanced corps were retreating. The officer believed they were.

It seemed incredible. There had been scarce any firing — Washington had received no notice of the retreat from Lee. He was still inclined to doubt, when the heads of several columns of the advance began to appear. One of the first officers that came up was Colonel Shreve, at the head of his regiment; Washington, greatly surprised and alarmed, asked the meaning of this retreat. The colonel smiled significantly — he did not know — he had retreated by order. There had been no fighting excepting a slight skirmish with the enemy's cavalry, which had been repulsed.

A suspicion flashed across Washington's mind of wrong-headed conduct on the part of Lee, to mar the plan of the attack adopted contrary to his counsels. Ordering Colonel Shreve to march his men over the morass, halt them on the hill beyond and refresh them, he galloped forward to stop the retreat of the rest of the advance, his indignation kindling as he rode. At the rear of the regiment he met Major Howard; he, too, could give no reason for the retreat, but seemed provoked at it — declaring that he had never seen the like. Another officer exclaimed with an oath that they were flying from a shadow.

Arriving at a rising ground, Washington beheld Lee approaching with the residue of his command in full retreat. By this time he was thoroughly exasperated.

"What is the meaning of all this, sir?" demanded he, in the fiercest tone, as Lee rode up to him.

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Lee for a moment was disconcerted, and hesitated in making a reply, for Washington's aspect, according to Lafayette, was terrible.

"I desire to know the meaning of this disorder and confusion," was again demanded still more vehemently.

Lee, stung by the manner more than the words of the demand, made an angry reply, and provoked still sharper expressions, which have been variously reported. He attempted a hurried explanation. His troops had been thrown into confusion by contradictory intelligence; by disobedience of orders; by the meddling and blundering of individuals; and he had not felt disposed, he said, to beard the whole British army with troops in such a situation.

"I have certain information," rejoined Washington, "that it was merely a strong covering party."

"That may be, but it was stronger than mine, and I did not think proper to run such a risk."

"I am very sorry," replied Washington, "that you undertook the command, unless you meant to fight the enemy."

"I did not think it prudent to bring on a general engagement."

"Whatever your opinion may have been," replied Washington, disdainfully, "I expected my orders would have been obeyed."

This all passed rapidly, and, as it were, in flashes, for there was no time for parley. The enemy were within a quarter of an hour's march. Washington's appearance had stopped the retreat. The fortunes of the day were to be retrieved, if possible, by instant arrangements. These he proceeded to make with great celerity. The place was favorable for a stand; it was a rising ground, to which the enemy could approach only over a narrow causeway. The rallied troops were hastily formed upon this eminence. Colonels Stewart and Ramsey, with two batteries, were stationed in a covert of woods on their left, to protect them and keep the enemy at bay. Colonel Oswald was posted for the same purpose on a height, with two field-pieces. The promptness with which everything was done showed the effects of the Baron Steuben's discipline.

In the interim, Lee, being asked about the disposition of some

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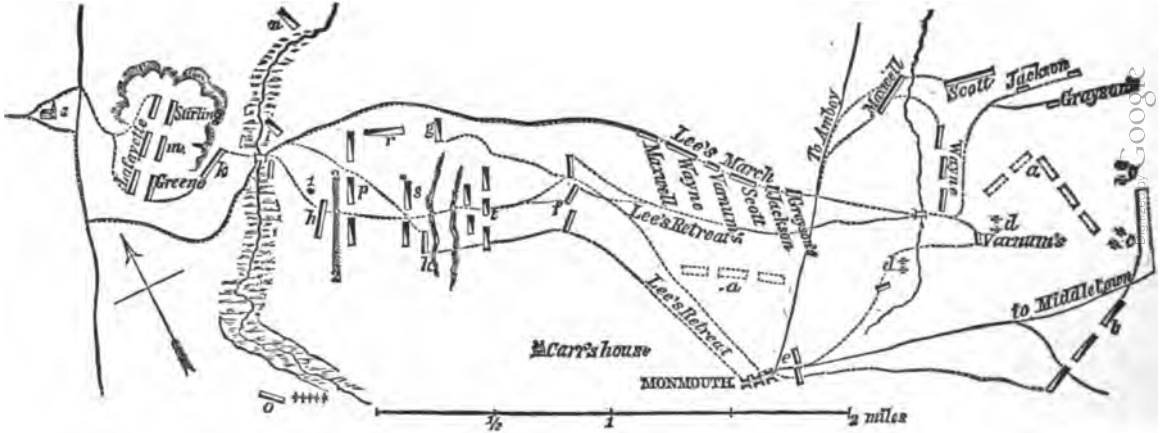

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THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

a Position occupied by the British the night before the battle.
b British detachment moving towards Monmouth.
c British batteries. *d* Captain Oswald's American batteries.
e American troops formed near the court house.
f First position taken by General Lee in his retreat.
g Attack by a party of British in the woods.
h Positions taken by General Lee. *i* British detachment.
k Last position of the retreating troops.
m Army formed by General Washington after he met General Lee retreating.
n British detachment. *o* American battery. *p* Principal action.
r First position of the British after the action. *s* Second position.
t British passed the night after the battle.
1 Where Washington met Lee retreating.
2 Hedge row. *3* Meeting house.

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of the troops, replied that he could give no orders in the matter, as he supposed General Washington intended he should have no further command. Shortly after this, Washington, having made all his arrangements with great dispatch but admirable clearness and precision, rode back to Lee in calmer mood, and inquired, "Will you retain the command on this height or not? if you will, I will return to the main body, and have it formed on the next height."

"It is equal to me where I command," replied Lee.

"I expect you will take proper means for checking the enemy," rejoined Washington.

"Your orders shall be obeyed; and I shall not be the first to leave the ground," was the reply.

A warm cannonade by Oswald, Stewart, and Ramsey had the desired effect. The enemy were brought to a stand, and Washington had time to gallop back and bring on the main body. This he formed on an eminence, with a wood in the rear and the morass in front. The left wing was commanded by Lord Stirling, who had with him a detachment of artillery and several field-pieces. Greene was on his right. The batteries under Lord Stirling opened a brisk and well-sustained fire upon the enemy; who, finding themselves warmly opposed in front, attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were driven back by detached parties of infantry stationed there. They then attempted the right; but here were met by Greene, who had planted his artillery under Knox, on a commanding ground, and not only checked them but enfiladed those who were in front of the left wing. Wayne too, with an advanced party posted in an orchard, and partly sheltered by a barn, kept up a severe and well-directed fire upon the enemy's centre. Repeated attempts were made to dislodge him, but in vain. Colonel Monckton of the royal grenadiers, who had distinguished himself and been wounded in the battle of Long Island, now undertook to drive Wayne from his post at the point of the bayonet. Wayne's men reserved their fire, until Monckton, waving his sword, called out to his grenadiers to charge. At that instant a sheeted volley laid him low, and made great slaughter in his column, which was again repulsed.

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The enemy at length gave way, and fell back to the ground which Lee had occupied in the morning. Here their flanks were secured by woods and morasses, and their front could only be approached across a narrow causeway. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the position, Washington prepared to attack it; but before his orders could be carried into effect the day was at an end. Many of the soldiers had sunk upon the ground, overcome by fatigue and the heat of the weather; all needed repose. The troops, therefore, which had been in the advance, were ordered to lie on their arms on the ground they occupied, so as to be ready to make the attack by daybreak. The main army did the same, on the field of action, to be at hand to support them. Washington lay on his cloak at the foot of a tree, with Lafayette beside him, talking over the strange conduct of Lee, whose disorderly retreat had come so near being fatal to the army. What opinions Washington gave on the subject, in the course of his conversation with the marquis, the latter does not tell us; after it was ended, he wrapped himself in his cloak, and slept at the foot of the tree, among his soldiers.

At daybreak the drums beat the reveille. The troops roused themselves from their heavy sleep, and prepared for action. To their surprise, the enemy had disappeared: there was a deserted camp, in which were found four officers and about forty privates, too severely wounded to be conveyed away by the retreating army. Sir Henry Clinton, it appeared, had allowed his wearied troops but short repose. At ten o'clock, when the American forces were buried in their first sleep, he had set forward to join the division under Knyphausen, which, with the baggage train, having pushed on during the action, was far on the road to Middletown.

The distance to which the enemy must by this time have attained, the extreme heat of the weather, and the fatigued condition of the troops, deterred Washington from continuing a pursuit through a country where the roads were deep and sandy, and there was great scarcity of water. Besides, persons well acquainted with the country assured him that it would be impossible to annoy the enemy in their embarkation, as he must approach the

place by a narrow passage, capable of being defended by a few men against his whole force. Detaching Maxwell's brigade and Morgan's rifle corps, therefore, to hang on the rear of the enemy, prevent depredation, and encourage desertions, he determined to shape his course with his main body by Brunswick toward the Hudson, lest Sir Henry should have any design upon the posts there.

Clinton arrived at the Highlands of Navasink, in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook, on the 30th of June. He had lost many men by desertion, Hessians especially, during his march through the Jerseys, which, with his losses by killed, wounded, and captured, had diminished his army more than two thousand men. The storms of the preceding winter had cut off the peninsula of Sandy Hook from the mainland, and formed a deep channel between them. Fortunately the squadron of Lord Howe had arrived the day before, and was at anchor within the Hook. A bridge was immediately made across the channel with the boats of the ships, over which the army passed to the Hook on the 5th of July, and thence was distributed.

It was now encamped in three divisions on Staten Island, Long Island, and the island of New York: apparently without any immediate design of offensive operations. There was a vigorous press in New York to man the large ships and fit them for sea, but this was in consequence of a report that a French fleet had arrived on the coast.

Relieved by this intelligence from all apprehensions of an expedition by the enemy up the Hudson, Washington relaxed the speed of his movements, and halted for a few days at Paramus, sparing his troops as much as possible during the extreme summer heats.

On the day after the battle, Lee addressed a letter to Washington, demanding an apology for his language on the battle-field. Washington replied that he believed his words to have been fully warranted by the circumstances, and added that as soon as practicable Lee's conduct should be laid before a court of inquiry. Lee returned an angry answer, to which Washington replied by putting

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him under arrest. A court-martial convicted him of disobedience of orders, of gross disrespect to the commander-in-chief, and of misbehavior before the enemy in making an unnecessary and disorderly retreat. Lee was accordingly suspended from command for one year, and after long discussion the sentence was approved by Congress. He retired to an estate which he happened to have acquired in Virginia, and there led a kind of hermit life, in company with his dogs. He busied himself in writing scurrilous articles about Washington, and his venomous tongue once involved him in a duel with one of Washington's aides, the high-minded Colonel Laurens. At length, having written an insulting letter to Congress, he was dismissed from the service. He led a lonely and wretched life till the autumn of 1782. His farm was mismanaged; his agents were unfaithful; he entered into negotiations to dispose of his property, in the course of which he visited Philadelphia. On arriving there, he was taken with chills, followed by a fever, which went on increasing in violence, and terminated fatally. In his dying moments he fancied himself on the field of battle. The last words he was heard to utter were, "Stand by me, my brave grenadiers!"

Eccentric to the last, one clause of his will regards his sepulture: "I desire most earnestly that I may not be buried in any church or churchyard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting-house; for, since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company while living, that I do not choose to continue it when dead." This part of his will was not complied with. He was buried with military honors in the cemetery of Christ church; and his funeral was attended by the highest civic and military characters, and a large concourse of citizens.

The Rhode Island Expedition. — While encamped at Paramus, Washington received a letter from Congress informing him of the arrival of a French fleet on the coast; instructing him to concert measures with the commander, the Count D'Estaing, for offensive operations by sea and land.

The fleet in question was composed of twelve ships of the line and six frigates, with a land force of four thousand men. It had

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sailed from Toulon on the 13th of April, and, after struggling against adverse winds for eighty-seven days, it had anchored at the mouth of the Delaware, on the eighth of July. The count was unfortunate in the length of his voyage. Had he arrived in ordinary time, he might have entrapped Lord Howe's squadron in the river, co-operated with Washington in investing the British army by sea and land, and, by cutting off its retreat to New York, compelled it to surrender. Finding the enemy had evacuated both city and river, the count continued along the coast to New York. His first idea was to enter at Sandy Hook, and capture or destroy the British fleet composed of six ships of the line, four fifty-gun ships, and a number of frigates and smaller vessels; should he succeed in this, which his greatly superior force rendered probable, he was to proceed against the city, with the co-operation of the American forces. To be at hand for such purpose, Washington crossed the Hudson, with his army, at King's Ferry, and encamped at White Plains about the 20th of July. Several experienced American pilots and shipmasters, however, declared there was not sufficient depth of water on the bar to admit the safe passage of the largest ships, one of which carried eighty and another ninety guns. The attempt, therefore, was reluctantly abandoned.

The enterprise which the American and French commanders deemed next worthy of a combined operation, was the recapture of the island of Rhode Island, which the enemy had made one of their military depots and strongholds. In anticipation of such an enterprise, Washington on the 17th of July wrote to Sullivan, who commanded at Providence, ordering him to make the necessary preparations for a descent from the mainland upon the island, and authorizing him to call in reinforcements of New England militia. He also sent to his aid Lafayette and Greene.

The island was garrisoned by six thousand men under command of Sir Robert Pigott, and the capture of so large a force would have been a most serious disaster to the British. But the expedition failed through a complication of troubles. It began with ruinous delays, and a tremendous storm wrought great damage to D'Estaing's fleet, so that he did not feel equal to a contest with

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the fleet of Lord Howe. He sailed away to Boston to refit. The yeomanry, disgusted at this seeming desertion of their allies, dispersed to their homes to gather in their harvest. Sullivan's army, thus left in the lurch, found its situation on the island becoming dangerous, and, after a well-fought battle, in which the British were defeated, succeeded in effecting its retreat to the mainland without serious loss. The expedition was a complete failure, and only served to deepen the disgust with which many people regarded the French alliance.

Massacre at Wyoming. — While hostilities were carried on in the customary form along the Atlantic borders, Indian warfare, with all its atrocity, was going on in the interior. The British post at Niagara was its cradle. It was the common rallying place of Tories, refugees, savage warriors, and other desperadoes of the frontiers. Hither Brant, the noted Indian chief, had retired after the defeat of St. Leger at Fort Stanwix, to plan further mischief; and here was concerted the memorable incursion into the valley of Wyoming, suggested by Tory refugees, who had until recently inhabited it.

The valley of Wyoming is a beautiful region lying along the Susquehanna. Peaceful as was its aspect, it had been the scene of sanguinary feuds prior to the Revolution, between the people of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, who both laid claim to it. Seven rural forts or block-houses, situated on various parts of the valley, had been strongholds during these territorial contests, and remained as places of refuge for women and children in times of Indian ravage.

The expedition now set on foot against it, in June, was composed of Butler's rangers, Johnson's Royal Greens, and a large force of Senecas. Their united force, about eleven hundred strong, was conducted by Colonel John Butler, renowned in Indian warfare. Passing down the Chemung and Susquehanna in canoes, they landed at a place called Three Islands, struck through the wilderness to a mountain-gap, by which they entered the valley of Wyoming. Butler made his head-quarters at one of the strongholds already mentioned, called Wintermoot Fort. Hence he

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sent out his marauding parties to plunder and lay waste the country.

Rumors of this intended invasion had reached the valley some time before the appearance of the enemy, and had spread great consternation. Most of the sturdy yeomanry were absent in the army. A company of sixty men, enlisted under an act of Congress, and styling themselves regulars, took post at one of the strongholds called Forty Fort; where they were joined by about three hundred of the yeomanry, armed and equipped in rustic style. In this emergency old men and boys volunteered to meet the common danger, posting themselves in the smaller forts in which women and children had taken refuge. Colonel Zebulon Butler, an officer of the Continental Army, took the general command. Several officers arrived from the army, having obtained leave to repair home for the protection of their families. They brought word that a reinforcement, sent by Washington, was on its way.

In the meantime John Butler's marauding parties were spreading desolation through the valley; farm-houses were wrapped in flames; husbandmen were murdered while at work in the fields; all who had not taken refuge in the fort were threatened with destruction. What was to be done? Wait for the arrival of the promised reinforcement, or attempt to check the ravage? The latter was rashly determined on. Leaving the women and children in Forty Fort, Colonel Zebulon Butler sallied forth on the 3d of July, and made a rapid move upon Wintermoot Fort, hoping to come upon it by surprise. They found the enemy drawn up in front of it, in a line extending from the river to a marsh; Colonel John Butler and his rangers, with Johnson's Royal Greens, on the left; Indians and Tories on the right. The Americans formed a line of the same extent; the regulars under Zebulon Butler on the right flank, resting on the river, the militia under Colonel Denison on the left wing, on the marsh. A sharp fire was opened from right to left; after a few volleys the enemy in front of Colonel Butler began to give way. The Indians, however, throwing themselves into the marsh, turned the left flank

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of the Americans, and attacked the militia in the rear. Denison, finding himself exposed to a cross-fire, sought to change his position, and gave the word to fall back. It was mistaken for an order to retreat. In an instant the left wing turned and fled; all attempts to rally it were vain; the panic extended to the right wing. The savages, throwing down their rifles, rushed on with tomahawk and scalping-knife, and a horrible massacre ensued. Some of the Americans escaped to Forty Fort, some swam the river; others broke their way across the swamp, and climbed the mountain: some few were taken prisoners; but the greater number were slaughtered.

The desolation of the valley was now completed; fields were laid waste, houses burnt, and their inhabitants murdered. According to the British accounts, upwards of four hundred of the yeomanry of Wyoming were slain, but the women and children were spared, "and desired to retire to their rebel friends." Upwards of five thousand persons fled in the utmost distress and consternation, seeking refuge in the settlements on the Lehigh and the Delaware. After completing this work of devastation, the enemy retired before the arrival of the troops detached by Washington.

The British conquer Georgia. — About the middle of September Admiral Byron, who had succeeded to the naval command in place of Lord Howe, arrived at New York, and finding that D'Estaing was still repairing his shattered fleet in the harbor of Boston, he set sail for that port to entrap him. Success seemed likely to crown his schemes: he arrived off Boston on the 1st of November: his rival was still in port. Scarce had the admiral entered the bay, however, when a violent storm drove him out to sea, disabled his ships, and compelled him to put into Rhode Island to refit. Meanwhile the count, having his ships in good order, and finding the coast clear, put to sea, and made the best of his way for the West Indies. Previous to his departure he issued a proclamation dated the 28th of October, addressed to the French inhabitants of Canada, inviting them to resume allegiance to their former sovereign. This was a measure in which he was not authorized by instructions from his government, and which was calculated to

awaken a jealousy in the American mind as to the ultimate views of France in taking a part in this contest. It added to the chagrin occasioned by the failure of the expedition against Rhode Island, and the complete abandonment by the French of the coasts of the United States.

The force at New York, which had been an object of watchful solicitude, was gradually dispersed in different directions. Immediately after the departure of Admiral Byron for Boston, another naval expedition had been set on foot by Sir Henry Clinton. A fleet of transports with five thousand men, under General Grant, convoyed by six ships-of-war, set sail on the 3d of November, with the secret design of an attack on St. Lucia.

Towards the end of the same month, another body of troops, under Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, sailed for Georgia in the squadron of Commodore Hyde Parker, the British cabinet having determined to carry the war into the Southern States. At the same time General Prevost, who commanded in Florida, was ordered by Sir Henry Clinton to march to the banks of the Savannah river, and attack Georgia in flank, while the expedition under Campbell should attack it in front on the seaboard.

The squadron of Hyde Parker anchored in the Savannah river towards the end of December. An American force of about six hundred regulars, and a few militia, under General Robert Howe, were encamped near the town, being the remnant of an army with which that officer had invaded Florida in the preceding summer, but had been obliged to evacuate it by a mortal malady which desolated his camp.

Campbell landed his troops on the 29th of December, about three miles below the town. The whole country bordering the river is a deep morass, cut up by creeks, and only to be traversed by causeways. Over one of these, six hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, Colonel Campbell advanced, putting to flight a small party stationed to guard it. General Howe had posted his little army on the main road with the river on his left and a morass in front. A negro gave Campbell information of a path leading through the morass, by which troops might get unob-

served to the rear of the Americans. Sir James Baird was detached with the light infantry by this path, while Colonel Campbell advanced in front. The Americans, thus suddenly attacked in front and rear, were completely routed; upwards of one hundred were either killed on the spot, or perished in the morass; thirty-eight officers and four hundred and fifteen privates were taken prisoners, and the rest retreated up the Savannah river and crossed into South Carolina. Savannah, the capital of Georgia, was taken possession of by the victors, with cannon, military stores, and provisions; their loss was only seven killed and nineteen wounded.

Colonel Campbell conducted himself with great moderation; protecting the persons and property of the inhabitants, and proclaiming security and favor to all that should return to their allegiance. Numbers in consequence flocked to the British standard; the lower part of Georgia was considered as subdued, and posts were established by the British to maintain possession.

While Campbell had thus invaded Georgia in front, Prevost attacked its southern frontier, took Sunbury, and marched to Savannah, where he assumed the general command, detaching Campbell against Augusta. By the middle of January (1779) all Georgia was reduced to submission.

A more experienced American general than Howe had by this time arrived to take command of the Southern Department — Major-general Lincoln, who had gained such reputation in the campaign against Burgoyne, and whose appointment to this station had been solicited by the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia. He had received his orders from Washington in the beginning of October. Of his operations at the South we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians. — About the beginning of December, Washington distributed his troops for the winter in a line of strong cantonments, extending from Long Island Sound to the Delaware river. Putnam commanded at Danbury, and McDougall in the Highlands, while the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief were near Middlebrook in the Jerseys. The objects of this arrangement were the protection of the country,

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the security of the important posts on the Hudson, and the safety, discipline, and easy subsistence of the army.

In the course of the winter Washington devised a plan of alarm signals. On Bottle Hill, which commanded a vast map of country, sentinels kept watch day and night. Should there be an irruption of the enemy, an eighteen-pounder, called the Old Sow, fired every half-hour, gave the alarm in the daytime or in dark and stormy nights; an immense fire or beacon at other times. On the booming of that heavy gun, lights sprang up from hill to hill along the different ranges of heights; the country was aroused, and the yeomanry, hastily armed, hurried to their gathering-places.

Much of the winter was passed by Washington in Philadelphia, occupied in devising and discussing plans for the campaign of 1779. It was an anxious moment with him. Circumstances which inspired others with confidence filled him with solicitude. The alliance with France had produced a baneful feeling of security, which was paralyzing the energies of the country. England, it was thought, would now be too much occupied in securing her position in Europe, to increase her force or extend her operations in America. Many, therefore, considered the war as virtually at an end, and were unwilling to make the sacrifices, or supply the means necessary for important military undertakings. Dissensions, too, and party feuds were breaking out in Congress, owing to the relaxation of that external pressure of a common and imminent danger, which had heretofore produced a unity of sentiment and action. That august body had greatly deteriorated since the commencement of the war. Many whose names had been as watchwords at the Declaration of Independence, had withdrawn from the national councils, occupied either by their individual affairs, or by the affairs of their individual states. Washington, whose comprehensive patriotism embraced the whole Union, deprecated and deplored the dawning of this sectional spirit. America, he declared, had never stood in more imminent need of the wise, patriotic, and spirited exertions of her sons than at this period.

In discussing the policy to be observed in the next campaign,

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Washington presumed the enemy would maintain their present posts, and conduct the war as heretofore; in which case he was for remaining entirely on the defensive, with the exception of such minor operations as might be necessary to check the ravages of the Indians. The country, he observed, was in a languid and exhausted state, and had need of repose. The interruption to agricultural pursuits, and the many hands abstracted from husbandry by military service, had produced a scarcity of bread and forage, and rendered it difficult to subsist large armies. Neither was it easy to recruit these armies. There was abundance of employment; wages were high, the value of money was low; consequently there was but little temptation to enlist. Plans had been adopted to remedy the deranged state of the currency, but they would be slow in operation. Great economy must in the meantime be observed in the public expenditure.

The participation of France in the war, also, and the prospect that Spain would soon be embroiled with England, must certainly divide the attention of the enemy, and allow America a breathing time; these and similar considerations were urged by Washington in favor of a defensive policy. One single exception was made by him. The horrible ravages perpetrated by the Indians and their Tory allies at Wyoming had been followed by similar atrocities at Cherry Valley, in the state of New York, and called for signal vengeance to prevent a repetition. Washington knew by experience that Indian warfare, to be effective, should never be merely defensive, but must be carried into the enemy's country. The Six Nations, the most civilized of the savage tribes, had proved themselves the most formidable. His idea was to make war upon them in their own style; penetrate their country, lay waste their villages and settlements, and at the same time destroy the British post at Niagara, that nestling-place of Tories and refugees.

The policy thus recommended was adopted by Congress. An expedition was set on foot in revenge of the massacre of Wyoming. Early in the summer, three thousand men assembled in that lately desolated region, and, conducted by General Sulli-

van, moved up the west branch of the Susquehanna into the Seneca country. While on the way, they were joined by a part of the western army, under General James Clinton, who had come from the valley of the Mohawk by Otsego Lake and the east branch of the Susquehanna. The united forces amounted to about five thousand men, of which Sullivan had the general command.

The Indians, and their allies the Tories, had received information of the intended invasion, and appeared in arms to oppose it. They were much inferior in force, however, being about fifteen hundred Indians and two hundred white men, commanded by the two Butlers, Johnson, and Brant. A battle took place at Newtown on the 29th of August, in which they were easily defeated. Sullivan then pushed forward into the heart of the Indian country, penetrating as far as the Genesee river, laying everything waste, setting fire to deserted dwellings, destroying cornfields, orchards, gardens, everything that could give sustenance to man, the design being to starve the Indians out of the country. The latter retreated before him with their families, and at length took refuge under the protection of the British garrison at Niagara. Having completed his errand, Sullivan returned to Easton in Pennsylvania. The thanks of Congress were voted to him and his army, but he shortly resigned his commission on account of ill health, and retired from the service.

A similar expedition was undertaken by Colonel Brodhead, from Pittsburg up the Alleghany, against the Mingo, and Seneca tribes, with similar results. The wisdom of Washington's policy of carrying the war against the Indians into their country, and conducting it in their own way, was apparent from the general intimidation produced among the tribes by these expeditions, and the subsequent infrequency of their murderous incursions, the instigation of which by the British had been the most inhuman feature of this war.

Stony Point. — The situation of Sir Henry Clinton must have been mortifying in the extreme to an officer of lofty ambition and generous aims. His force, between sixteen and seventeen thousand

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strong, was superior in number, discipline, and equipment to that of Washington; yet his instructions confined him to a predatory warfare, carried on by attacks and marauds at distant points, irritating to the country intended to be conciliated, and brutalizing to his own soldiery. Such was the nature of an expedition against the commerce of the Chesapeake. On the 9th of May, a squadron under Sir George Collier, convoying twenty-five hundred men, commanded by General Matthews, entered these waters, took possession of Portsmouth without opposition, sent out armed parties against Norfolk, Suffolk, Gosport, Kemp's Landing, and other neighboring places, where were immense quantities of provisions, naval and military stores, and merchandise of all kinds; with numerous vessels, some on the stocks, others richly laden. Wherever they went, a scene of plunder, conflagration, and destruction ensued. A few days sufficed to ravage the whole neighborhood.

While this was going on at the South, Washington received intelligence of movements about New York, which made him apprehend an expedition against the Highlands of the Hudson. Since the loss of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, the main defences of the Highlands had been established at the sudden bend of the river where it winds between West Point and Constitution Island. Two opposite forts commanded this bend, and an iron chain which was stretched across it. Washington had projected two works also just below the Highlands, at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, to serve as outworks of the mountain passes, and to protect King's Ferry, the most direct and convenient communication between the Northern and Middle States. A small but strong fort had been erected on Verplanck's Point, and was garrisoned by seventy men under Captain Armstrong. A more important work was in progress at Stony Point. When completed, these two forts, on opposite promontories, would form as it were the lower gates of the Highlands; miniature Pillars of Hercules, of which Stony Point was the Gibraltar.

To be at hand in case of any real attempt upon the Highlands, Washington drew up with his forces in that direction; moving by

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the way of Morristown. An expedition up the Hudson was really the object of Sir Henry Clinton's movements, and for this he was strengthened by the return of Collier from Virginia. On the 30th of May, Sir Henry set out on his second grand cruise up the Hudson, with an armament of about seventy sail, great and small, and one hundred and fifty flat-boats. Admiral Sir George Collier commanded the armament, and there was a land force of about five thousand men under General Vaughan.

The first aim of Sir Henry was to get possession of Stony and Verplanck's Points; his former expedition had acquainted him with the importance of this pass of the river. On the morning of the 31st, the forces were landed in two divisions, the largest under General Vaughan, on the east side of the river, about seven or eight miles below Verplanck's Point; the other, commanded by Sir Henry in person, landed in Haverstraw Bay, about three miles below Stony Point. There were but about thirty men in the unfinished fort; they abandoned it on the approach of the enemy, and retreated into the Highlands, having first set fire to the block-house. The British took quiet possession of the fort in the evening; dragged up cannon and mortars in the night, and at day-break opened a furious fire upon Fort Lafayette. It was cannonaded at the same time by the armed vessels, and a demonstration was made on it by the division under General Vaughan. Thus surrounded, the little garrison of seventy men was forced to surrender with no other stipulation than safety to their persons and to the property they had in the fort. Major André was aide-de-camp to Sir Henry, and signed the articles of capitulation.

Sir Henry Clinton stationed garrisons in both posts, and set to work with great activity to complete the fortification of Stony Point. His troops remained for several days in two divisions on the opposite sides of the river; the fleet generally fell down a little below King's Ferry; some of the square-rigged vessels, however, with others of a smaller size, and flat-bottomed boats, having troops on board, dropped down Haverstraw Bay, and finally disappeared behind the promontories which advance across the upper part of the Tappan Sea.

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Some of the movements of the enemy perplexed Washington exceedingly. He presumed, however, that the main object of Sir Henry was to get possession of West Point, the guardian fortress of the river, and that the capture of Stony and Verplanck's Points were preparatory steps. He would fain have dislodged him from these posts, which cut off all communication by the way of King's Ferry, but they were too strong; he had not the force or military apparatus necessary. Deferring any attempt on them for the present, he took measures for the protection of West Point. Leaving General Putnam and the main body of the army at Smith's Clove, a mountain pass in the rear of Haverstraw, he removed his headquarters to New Windsor, to be near West Point in case of need, and to press the completion of its works. General McDougall was transferred to the command of the Point. Three brigades were stationed at different places on the opposite side of the river, under General Heath, from which fatigue parties crossed daily to work on the fortifications.

This strong disposition of the American forces checked Sir Henry's designs against the Highlands. Contenting himself, therefore, for the present, with the acquisition of Stony and Verplanck's Points, he returned to New York, where he soon set on foot a desolating expedition along the seaboard of Connecticut. That state, while it furnished the American armies with provisions and recruits, and infested the sea with privateers, had hitherto experienced nothing of the horrors of war within its borders. Sir Henry, in compliance with his instructions from government, was now about to give it a scourging lesson; and he entertained the hope that, in so doing, he might draw down Washington from his mountain fastnesses, and lay open the Hudson to a successful incursion.

General (late governor) Tryon was the officer selected by Sir Henry for this inglorious service. About the beginning of July he embarked with two thousand six hundred men in a fleet of transports and tenders, and was convoyed up the Sound by Sir George Collier with two ships-of-war. On the 5th of July, the troops landed near New Haven. They came upon the neighborhood by

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surprise, captured the town, dismantled the fort, and took or destroyed all the vessels in the harbor; with all the artillery, ammunition, and public stores. Several private houses were plundered; but this, it was said, was done by the soldiery contrary to orders. The enemy, in fact, claimed great credit for lenity in refraining from universal pillage.

They next proceeded to Fairfield; where, meeting with greater resistance, they thought the moment arrived for a wholesome example of severity. Accordingly, they not merely ravaged and destroyed the public stores and the vessels in the harbor, but laid the town itself in ashes. The exact return of this salutary lesson gives the destruction of ninety-seven dwelling-houses, sixty-seven barns and stables, forty-eight store-houses, three places of worship, a court-house, a jail, and two school-houses. The sight of their homes laid desolate, and their dwellings wrapped in flames, only served to exasperate the inhabitants, and produce a more determined opposition to the progress of the destroyers; whereupon the ruthless ravages of the latter increased as they advanced. At Norwalk, where they landed on the 11th of July, they committed similar acts of devastation, accompanied by atrocities inevitable where the brutal passions of a soldiery are aroused.

It was intended to crown this grand ravage by a descent on New London, a noted rendezvous of privateers; but as greater opposition was expected here than at either of the other places, the squadron returned to Huntington Bay, on Long Island, to await reinforcements; and Admiral Collier proceeded to Throg's Neck, to confer with Sir Henry Clinton about further operations. In this conference Sir Henry was assured that the recent expedition was producing the most salutary effects; that the principal inhabitants were incensed at the apathy of Washington in remaining encamped near the Hudson, while their country was ravaged and their homes laid in ashes; that they complained equally of Congress, and talked of withdrawing from it their allegiance, and making terms with the British commanders for themselves; finally, it was urged that the proposed expedition against New London would carry these salutary effects still further,

and confirm the inhabitants in the sentiments they were beginning to express.

Washington, however, was not culpable of the apathy ascribed to him. He could not prudently diminish the force stationed for the protection of the Highlands. Any weakening of his posts there might bring the enemy suddenly upon him, such was their facility in moving from one place to another by means of their shipping. Indeed, he had divined that a scheme of the kind was at the bottom of the hostile movement to the eastward, and as a counter-check to Sir Henry, he had for some days been planning the recapture of Stony Point and Fort Lafayette. He had reconnoitered them in person; spies had been thrown into them, and information collected from deserters. Stony Point having been recently strengthened by the British, was now the most important. It was a rocky promontory advancing far into the Hudson, which washed three sides of it. A deep morass, covered at high water, separated it from the mainland, but at low tide might be traversed by a narrow causeway and bridge. The promontory was crowned by strong works, furnished with heavy ordnance, commanding the morass and causeway. Lower down were two rows of abatis, and the shore at the foot of the hill could be swept by vessels of war anchored in the river. The garrison was about six hundred strong, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Johnson.

To attempt the surprisal of this isolated post, thus strongly fortified, was a perilous enterprise. General Wayne, Mad Anthony as he was called from his daring valor, was the officer to whom Washington proposed it, and he engaged in it with avidity. According to Washington's plan, it was to be attempted by light infantry only, at night, and with the utmost secrecy, securing every person they met to prevent discovery. Between one and two hundred chosen men and officers were to make the surprise; preceded by a vanguard of prudent, determined men, well commanded, to remove obstructions, secure sentries, and drive in the guards. The whole were to advance with fixed bayonets and unloaded muskets; all was to be done with the bayonet. These parties were to be followed by the main body, at a small distance, to support

and reinforce them, or to bring them off in case of failure. All were to wear white cockades or feathers, and to have a watchword, so as to be distinguished from the enemy. "The usual time for exploits of this kind," observes Washington, "is a little before day, for which reason a vigilant officer is then more on the watch. I therefore recommend a midnight hour."

On getting possession of Stony Point, Wayne was to turn its guns upon Fort Lafayette and the shipping. A detachment was to march down from West Point by Peekskill, to the vicinity of Fort Lafayette, and hold itself ready to join in the attack upon it, as soon as the cannonade began from Stony Point.

On the 15th of July, about mid-day, Wayne set out with his light infantry from Sandy Beach, fourteen miles distant from Stony Point. The roads were rugged, across mountains, morasses, and narrow defiles, in the skirts of the Dunderberg, where frequently it was necessary to proceed in single file. About eight in the evening, they arrived within a mile and a half of the forts, without being discovered. Not a dog barked to give the alarm — all the dogs in the neighborhood had been privately destroyed beforehand. Bringing the men to a halt, Wayne and his principal officers went nearer, and carefully reconnoitered the works and their environs, so as to proceed understandingly and without confusion. Having made their observations they returned to the troops. About half-past eleven, the whole moved forward, guided by a negro of the neighborhood, who had frequently carried in fruit to the garrison, and served the Americans as a spy. He led the way, accompanied by two stout men disguised as farmers. The countersign was given to the first sentinel, posted on high ground west of the morass. While the negro talked with him, the men seized and gagged him. The sentinel posted at the head of the causeway was served in the same manner; so that hitherto no alarm was given. The causeway, however, was overflowed, and it was some time after twelve o'clock before the troops could cross; leaving three hundred men under General Muhlenberg, on the western side of the morass, as a reserve.

At the foot of the promontory, the troops were divided into two

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columns, for simultaneous attacks on opposite sides of the works. One hundred and fifty volunteers led by Lieutenant-colonel Fleury, seconded by Major Posey, formed the vanguard of the right column. One hundred volunteers under Major Stewart, the vanguard of the left. In advance of each was a forlorn hope of twenty men, one led by Lieutenant Gibbon, the other by Lieutenant Knox; it was their desperate duty to remove the abatis. So well had the whole affair been conducted, that the Americans were close upon the outworks before they were discovered. There was then severe skirmishing at the pickets. The Americans used the bayonet; the others discharged their muskets. The reports roused the garrison. Stony Point was instantly in an uproar. The drums beat to arms; every one hurried to his alarm post; the works were hastily manned, and a tremendous fire of grape-shot and musketry opened upon the assailants.

The two columns forced their way with the bayonet, at opposite points, surmounting every obstacle. Colonel Fleury was the first to enter the fort and strike the British flag. Major Posey sprang to the ramparts and shouted, "The fort is our own." Wayne, who led the right column, received at the inner abatis a contusion on the head from a musket-ball, and would have fallen to the ground, but his two aides-de-camp supported him. Thinking it was a death wound, "Carry me into the fort," said he, "and let me die at the head of my column." He was borne in between his aides, and soon recovered his self-possession. The two columns arrived nearly at the same time, and met in the centre of the works. The garrison surrendered at discretion.

At daybreak, as Washington directed, the guns of the fort were turned on Fort Lafayette and the shipping. The latter cut their cables and dropped down the river. Through a series of blunders, the detachment from West Point, which was to have co-operated, did not arrive in time, and came unprovided with suitable ammunition for their battering artillery. This part of the enterprise, therefore, failed; Fort Lafayette held out.

The storming of Stony Point stands out in high relief, as one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. The Americans had

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effected it without firing a musket. On their part, it was the silent, deadly work of the bayonet; the fierce resistance they met at the outset may be judged by the havoc made in their forlorn hope; out of twenty-two men, seventeen were either killed or wounded. The whole loss of the Americans was fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded. Of the garrison, sixty-three were slain, including two officers; five hundred and fifty-three were taken prisoners, among whom were a lieutenant-colonel, four captains, and twenty-three subaltern officers.

Tidings of the capture of Stony Point, and the imminent danger of Fort Lafayette, reached Sir Henry Clinton just after his conference with Sir George Collier at Throg's Neck. The expedition against New London was instantly given up; the transports and troops were recalled; a forced march was made to Dobbs' Ferry on the Hudson; a detachment was sent up the river in transports to relieve Fort Lafayette, and Sir Henry followed with a greater force, hoping Washington might quit his fastnesses, and risk a battle for the possession of Stony Point.

Again the Fabian policy of the American commander-in-chief disappointed the British general. Having well examined the post in company with an engineer and several general officers, he found that at least fifteen hundred men would be required to maintain it, a number not to be spared from the army at present. The works, too, were only calculated for defence on the land side, and were open towards the river, where the enemy depended upon protection from their ships. It would be necessary to construct them anew, with great labor. The army, also, would have to be in the vicinity, too distant from West Point to aid in completing or defending its fortifications, and exposed to the risk of a general action on unfavorable terms. For these considerations, in which all his officers concurred, Washington evacuated the post on the 18th, removing the cannon and stores, and destroying the works; after which he drew his forces together in the Highlands, and established his quarters at West Point, not knowing but Sir Henry might attempt a retaliatory stroke on that most important fortress. The latter retook possession of Stony Point, and fortified

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and garrisoned it more strongly than ever, but was too wary to risk an attempt upon the strongholds of the Highlands. Finding Washington was not to be tempted out of them, he ordered the transports to fall once more down the river, and returned to his former encampment at Philipsburg.

§ 9. The Disasters of 1780.

The War transferred to the South. — The arrival of Admiral Arbuthnot, with a fleet, bringing three thousand troops and a supply of provisions and stores, strengthened the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. Still he had not sufficient force to warrant any further attempt up the Hudson; Washington, by his diligence in fortifying West Point, having rendered that fastness of the Highlands apparently impregnable. Sir Henry turned his thoughts, therefore, towards the South, hoping, by a successful expedition in that direction, to counterbalance ill success in other quarters. As this would require large detachments, he threw up additional works on New York Island and at Brooklyn, to render his position secure with the diminished force that would remain with him.

At this juncture news was received of the arrival of the Count D'Estaing, with a formidable fleet on the coast of Georgia, having made a successful cruise in the West Indies, in the course of which he had taken St. Vincent's and Grenada. A combined attack upon New York was again talked of. In anticipation of it, Washington called upon several of the Middle States for supplies of all kinds, and reinforcements of militia. Sir Henry Clinton, also, changed his plans; caused Rhode Island to be evacuated; the troops and stores to be brought away; the garrisons brought off from Stony and Verplanck's Points, and all his forces to be concentrated at New York, which he endeavored to put in the strongest posture of defence.

Intelligence recently received, too, that Spain had joined France in hostilities against England, contributed to increase the solicitude and perplexities of the enemy, while it gave fresh confidence to the Americans.

Washington's anticipations of a combined operation with

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D'Estaing against New York were again disappointed. The French admiral, on arriving on the coast of Georgia, had been persuaded to co-operate with the Southern army, under General Lincoln, in an attempt to recover Savannah. For three weeks a siege was carried on with great vigor, by regular approaches on land, and cannonade and bombardment from the shipping. On the 9th of October, although the approaches were not complete, and no sufficient breach had been effected, Lincoln and D'Estaing, at the head of their choicest troops, advanced before daybreak to storm the works. The assault was gallant but unsuccessful; both Americans and French had planted their standards on the redoubts, but were finally repulsed. After the repulse, both armies retired from before the place, the French having lost in killed and wounded upwards of six hundred men, the Americans about four hundred. D'Estaing himself was among the wounded, and the gallant Count Pulaski among the slain. The loss of the enemy was trifling, as they were protected by their works. The Americans recrossed the Savannah river into South Carolina; the militia returned to their homes, and the French re-embarked.

The tidings of this reverse, which reached Washington late in November, put an end to all prospect of co-operation from the French fleet; a consequent change took place in all his plans. The militia of New York and Massachusetts, recently assembled, were disbanded, and arrangements were made for the winter. The army was thrown into two divisions; one was to be stationed under General Heath in the Highlands, for the protection of West Point and the neighboring posts; the other and principal division was to be hutted near Morristown, where Washington was to have his head-quarters. The cavalry were to be sent to Connecticut.

Understanding that Sir Henry Clinton was making preparations at New York for a large embarkation of troops, and fearing they might be destined against Georgia and Carolina, he resolved to detach the greater part of his Southern troops for the protection of those states; a provident resolution, in which he was confirmed by subsequent instructions from Congress. Accordingly, the North Carolina brigade took up its march for Charleston in November, and the whole of the Virginia line in December.

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Notwithstanding the recent preparations at New York, the ships remained in port, and the enemy held themselves in collected force there. Doubts began to be entertained of some furtive design nearer at hand, and measures were taken to protect the army against an attack when in winter-quarters. Sir Henry, however, was regulating his movements by those the French fleet might make after the repulse at Savannah. Intelligence at length arrived that it had been dispersed by a violent storm. Count D'Estaing, with a part, had shaped his course for France; the rest had proceeded to the West Indies.

Sir Henry now lost no time in carrying his plans into operation. Leaving the garrison of New York under the command of Lieutenant-general Knyphausen, he embarked several thousand men, on board of transports, to be convoyed by five ships of the line and several frigates under Admiral Arbuthnot, and set sail on the 26th of December, accompanied by Lord Cornwallis, on an expedition intended for the capture of Charleston and the reduction of South Carolina.

Arnold at Philadelphia. — The dreary encampment at Valley Forge has become proverbial for its hardships; yet they were scarcely more severe than those suffered by Washington's army during the present winter, while hutted among the heights of Morristown. The winter set in early, and was uncommonly rigorous. The transportation of supplies was obstructed; the magazines were exhausted, and the commissaries had neither money nor credit to enable them to replenish them. For weeks at a time the army was on half allowance; sometimes without meat, sometimes without bread, sometimes without both. There was a scarcity, too, of clothing and blankets, so that the poor soldiers were starving with cold as well as hunger.

While the rigorous winter had much to do with the actual distresses of the army, the root of the evil lay in the derangement of the currency. Congress had commenced the war without adequate funds, and without the power of imposing direct taxes. To meet pressing emergencies, it had emitted paper money, which, for a time, passed current at par; but sank in value as

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further emissions succeeded, and that already in circulation remained unredeemed. The several states added to the evil by emitting paper in their separate capacities: thus the country gradually became flooded with a "Continental currency," as it was called; irredeemable, and of no intrinsic value. The consequence was a general derangement of trade and finance. The Continental currency declined to such a degree, that forty dollars in paper were equivalent to only one in specie. Congress attempted to put a stop to this depreciation, by making paper money a legal tender, at its nominal value, in the discharge of debts, however contracted. This opened the door to knavery, and added a new feature to the evil.

The commissaries now found it difficult to purchase supplies for the immediate wants of the army, and impossible to provide any stores in advance. They were left destitute of funds, and the public credit was prostrated by the accumulating debts suffered to remain uncancelled. In the present emergency Washington was reluctantly compelled to call upon the counties of New Jersey for supplies of grain and cattle, proportioned to their respective abilities. These supplies were to be brought into the camp within a certain time; the grain to be measured and the cattle estimated by any two of the magistrates of the county in conjunction with the commissary, and certificates to be given by the latter, specifying the quantity of each and the terms of payment. Wherever a compliance with this call was refused, the articles required were to be impressed: it was a painful alternative, yet nothing else could save the army from dissolution or starving. Washington charged his officers to act with as much tenderness as possible, graduating the exaction according to the stock of each individual, so that no family should be deprived of what was necessary to its subsistence.

To the honor of the magistrates and people of New Jersey, Washington testifies that his requisitions were punctually complied with, and in many counties exceeded. Too much praise cannot be given to the people of this state for the patience with which most of them bore these exactions, and the patriotism with which

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many of them administered to the wants of their countrymen in arms. Exhausted as the state was by repeated drainings, yet, at one time, when deep snows cut off all distant supplies, Washington's army was wholly subsisted by it.

As the winter advanced the cold increased in severity. It was the most intense ever remembered in the country. The great bay of New York was frozen over. No supplies could come to the city by water. Provisions grew scanty; and there was such lack of fire-wood that old transports were broken up, and uninhabited wooden houses pulled down for fuel. The safety of the city was endangered. The ships of war, immovably ice-bound in its harbor, no longer gave it protection. The insular security of the place was at an end. An army with its heaviest artillery and baggage might cross the Hudson on the ice. The veteran Knyphausen began to apprehend an invasion, and took measures accordingly.

Washington was aware of the opportunity which offered itself for a signal *coup de main*, but was not in a condition to profit by it. His troops were half fed, half clothed, and inferior in number to the garrison of New York. He was destitute of funds necessary to fit them for the enterprise, and the quartermaster could not furnish means of transportation.

The most irksome duty that Washington had to perform during this winter's encampment at Morristown regarded General Arnold and his military government of Philadelphia in 1778. To explain it requires a glance back to that period.

At the time of entering upon this command, Arnold's accounts with government were yet unsettled, the committee appointed by Congress, at his own request, to examine them, having considered some of his charges dubious and others exorbitant. Washington, however, still looked upon him with favor, and, but a month previously, had presented him with a pair of epaulettes and a sword-knot, "as a testimony of his sincere regard and approbation."

The command of Philadelphia, at this time, was a delicate and difficult one, and required to be exercised with extreme circumspection. The boundaries between the powers vested in the

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military commander and those inherent in the state government were ill-defined. Disaffection to the American cause prevailed both among the permanent and casual residents, and required to be held in check with firmness but toleration. By a resolve of Congress, no goods, wares, or merchandise were to be removed, transferred, or sold, until the ownership of them could be ascertained by a joint committee of Congress and of the Council of Pennsylvania; any public stores belonging to the enemy were to be seized and converted to the use of the army.

One of Arnold's first measures was to issue a proclamation enforcing the resolve of Congress. In so doing, he was countenanced by leading personages of Philadelphia, and the proclamation was drafted by General Joseph Reed. The measure excited great dissatisfaction, and circumstances attending the enforcement of it gave rise to scandal. Former instances of a mercenary spirit made Arnold liable to suspicions, and it was alleged that, while by the proclamation he shut up the stores and shops so that even the officers of the army could not procure necessary articles of merchandise, he was privately making large purchases for his own enrichment.

His style of living gave point to this scandal. He occupied one of the finest houses in the city; gave expensive entertainments, and indulged in a luxury and parade which were condemned as little befitting a republican general. In the exercise of his military functions, he had become involved in disputes with the executive council of Pennsylvania.

He had not been many weeks in Philadelphia before he became attached to one of its reigning belles, Miss Margaret Shippen, daughter of Mr. Edward Shippen, in after years chief justice of Pennsylvania. Her family were not considered well affected to the American cause. Arnold paid her his addresses in an open and honorable style, first obtaining by letter the sanction of the father. Party feeling at that time ran high in Philadelphia. Arnold's connection with the Shippen family increased his disfavor with the president and council, who were Whigs to a man; and it was sneeringly observed, that "he had courted the loyalists from the start."

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In the beginning of December, General Reed became president of the executive council of Pennsylvania, and under his administration the ripening hostility to Arnold was brought to a crisis. Among the various schemes of the latter for bettering his fortunes, and securing the means of living when the war should come to an end, was one for forming a settlement in the western part of the state of New York, to be composed, principally, of the officers and soldiers who had served under him. His scheme was approved by John Jay, at that time president of Congress, and was sanctioned by the New York delegation. Provided with letters from them, Arnold left Philadelphia about the 1st of January (1779) and set out for Albany to obtain a grant of land for the purpose, from the New York Legislature.

Within a day or two after his departure, his public conduct was discussed in the executive council of Pennsylvania, and it was resolved unanimously, that the course of his military command in the city had been in many respects oppressive, and disrespectful to the supreme executive authority of the state. As he was an officer of the United States, the complaints and grievances of Pennsylvania were set forth by the executive council in eight charges, and forwarded to Congress, accompanied by documents, and a letter from President Reed.

Information of these facts, with a printed copy of the charges, reached Arnold at Washington's camp on the Raritan, which he had visited while on the way to Albany. His first solicitude was about the effect they might have upon Miss Shippen, to whom he was now engaged. In a letter dated February 8, he entreated her not to suffer these rude attacks on him to give her a moment's uneasiness — they could do him no injury.

On the following day he issued an address to the public, recalling his faithful services of nearly four years, and inveighing against the proceedings of the president and council; who, not content with injuring him in a cruel and unprecedented manner with Congress, had ordered copies of their charges to be printed and dispersed throughout the several states, for the purpose of prejudicing the public mind against him, while the matter was yet in

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suspense. In conclusion, Arnold informed the public that he had requested Congress to direct a court-martial to inquire into his conduct, and trusted his countrymen would suspend their judgment in the matter, until he should have an opportunity of being heard.

Public opinion was divided. His brilliant services spoke eloquently in his favor. His admirers repined that a fame won by such daring exploits on the field should be stifled down by cold calumnies in Philadelphia; and many thought, dispassionately, that the state authorities had acted with excessive harshness towards a meritorious officer, in widely spreading their charges against him, and thus, in an unprecedented way, putting a public brand upon him.

On the 16th of February, Arnold's appeal to Congress was referred to the committee which had under consideration the letter of President Reed and its accompanying documents, and it was charged to make a report with all convenient dispatch. A motion was made to suspend Arnold from all command during the inquiry. To the credit of Congress it was negatived. Much contrariety of feeling prevailed on the subject in the committee of Congress and the executive council of Pennsylvania, and the correspondence between those legislative bodies was occasionally tinctured with needless acrimony. Arnold, in the course of January, had obtained permission from Washington to resign the command of Philadelphia, but deferred to act upon it, until the charges against him should be examined, lest, as he said, his enemies should misinterpret his motives, and ascribe his resignation to fear of a disgraceful suspension in consequence of those charges.

About the middle of March, the committee brought in a report exculpating him from all criminality in the matters charged against him. As soon as the report was brought in, he considered his name vindicated, and resigned. But whatever exultation he may have felt was short-lived. Congress did not call up and act upon the report, as, in justice to him, they should have done, whether to sanction it or not; but referred the subject anew to a joint committee of their body and the assembly and council of Pennsyl-

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vania. The report of the joint committee brought up animated discussions in Congress. Several resolutions recommended by the committee were merely of a formal nature, and intended to soothe the wounded sensibilities of Pennsylvania; these were passed without dissent; but it was contended that certain charges advanced by the executive council of that state were only cognizable by a court-martial, and, after a warm debate, it was resolved (April 3d), by a large majority, that the commander-in-chief should appoint such a court for the consideration of them.

Arnold inveighed bitterly against the injustice of subjecting him to a trial before a military tribunal for alleged offences of which he had been acquitted by the committee of Congress. He was sacrificed, he said, to avoid a breach with Pennsylvania; and this was, no doubt, true. He urged Washington to appoint a speedy day for the trial, that he might not linger under the odium of an unjust public accusation. It was doubtless soothing to his irritated pride, that the woman on whom he had placed his affections remained true to him; for his marriage with Miss Shippen took place just five days after the mortifying vote of Congress.

Washington sympathized with Arnold's impatience, and appointed the 1st of May for the trial, but it was repeatedly postponed; first, at the request of the Pennsylvania council, to allow time for the arrival of witnesses from the South; afterwards, in consequence of threatening movements of the enemy, which obliged every officer to be at his post. Arnold, in the meantime, continued to reside at Philadelphia, holding his commission in the army, but filling no public office; getting deeper and deeper in debt, and becoming more and more unpopular. At length, when the campaign was over, and the army had gone into winter-quarters, the long-delayed court-martial was assembled at Morristown. Of the eight charges originally advanced against Arnold by the Pennsylvania council, four only came under cognizance of the court. Of two of these he was entirely acquitted. The remaining two were: —

First. That while in the camp at Valley Forge, he, without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief, or the sanction of the state

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government, had granted a written permission for a vessel belonging to disaffected persons, to proceed from the port of Philadelphia, then in possession of the enemy, to any port of the United States.

Second. That, availing himself of his official authority, he had appropriated the public wagons of Pennsylvania, when called forth on a special emergency, to the transportation of private property, and that of persons who voluntarily remained with the enemy, and were deemed disaffected to the interests and independence of America.

In regard to the first of these charges, Arnold alleged that the person who applied for the protection of the vessel, had taken the oath of allegiance to the state of Pennsylvania required by the laws; that he was not residing in Philadelphia at the time, but had applied on behalf of himself and a company, and that the intentions of that person and his associates with regard to the vessel and cargo appeared to be upright. As to his having granted the permission without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief, though present in the camp, Arnold alleged that it was customary in the army for general officers to grant passes and protections to inhabitants of the United States, friendly to the same, and that the protection was given in the present instance, to prevent the soldiery from plundering the vessel and cargo, coming from a place in possession of the enemy, until the proper authority could take cognizance of the matter.

In regard to the second charge, while it was proved that under his authority wagons had been so used, it was allowed in extenuation, that they had been employed at private expense, and without any design to defraud the public or impede the military service.

In regard to both charges, nothing fraudulent on the part of Arnold was proved, but the transactions involved in the first were pronounced irregular, and contrary to one of the articles of war; and in the second, imprudent and reprehensible, considering the high station occupied by the general at the time; and the court sentenced him to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. The sentence was confirmed by Congress on the 12th of February (1780).

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We have forborne to go into all the particulars of this trial, but we have considered them attentively, discharging from our minds, as much as possible, all impressions produced by Arnold's subsequent history, and we are surprised to find, after the hostility manifested against him by the council of Pennsylvania and their extraordinary measure to possess the public mind against him, how venial are the trespasses of which he stood convicted. He may have given personal offence by his assuming vanity; by the arrogant exercise of his military authority; he may have displeased by his ostentation, and awakened distrust by his speculating propensities; but as yet his patriotism was unquestioned. No turpitude had been proved against him; his brilliant exploits shed a splendor round his name, and he appeared before the public, a soldier crippled in their service. All these should have pleaded in his favor, should have produced indulgence of his errors, and mitigated that animosity which he always contended had been the cause of his ruin.

The reprimand adjudged by the court-martial was administered by Washington with consummate delicacy. The following were his words, as repeated by M. de Marbois, the French secretary of legation: —

"Our profession is the chastest of all: even the shadow of a fault tarnishes the lustre of our finest achievements. The least inadvertence may rob us of the public favor, so hard to be acquired. I reprehend you for having forgotten, that, in proportion as you had rendered yourself formidable to our enemies, you should have been guarded and temperate in your deportment towards your fellow-citizens. Exhibit anew those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most valued commanders. I will myself furnish you, as far as it may be in my power, with opportunities of regaining the esteem of your country."

A reprimand so mild and considerate, accompanied by such high eulogiums and generous promises, might have had a favorable effect upon Arnold, had he been in a different frame of mind; but he had persuaded himself that the court would incline in his favor and acquit him altogether; and he resented deeply a sentence,

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which he protested against as unmerited. His resentment was aggravated by delays in the settlement of his accounts, as he depended upon the sums he claimed as due to him, for the payments of debts by which he was harassed. In following the matter up, he became a weary, and probably irritable, applicant at the halls of Congress, and, we are told, gave great offence to members by his importunity, while he wore out the patience of his friends; but public bodies are prone to be offended by the importunity of baffled claimants, and the patience of friends is seldom proof against the reiterated story of a man's prolonged difficulties.

In the month of March, we find him intent on a new and adventurous project. He had proposed to the Board of Admiralty an expedition, requiring several ships-of-war and three or four hundred land troops, offering to take command of it should it be carried into effect, as his wounds still disabled him from duty on land. Washington, who knew his abilities in either service, was disposed to favor his proposition, but the scheme fell through from the impossibility of sparing the requisite number of men from the army. What Arnold's ultimate designs might have been in seeking such a command, are rendered problematical by his subsequent conduct. On the failure of the project, he requested and obtained from Washington leave of absence from the army for the summer, there being, he said, little prospect of an active campaign, and his wounds unfitting him for the field.

Fall of Charleston. — The return of spring brought little alleviation to the sufferings of the army at Morristown. All means of supplying its wants or recruiting its ranks were paralyzed by the continued depreciation of the currency. While Washington saw his forces gradually diminishing, his solicitude was intensely excited for the safety of South Carolina. "The richness of the country," says Colonel Tarleton, in his history of the campaign, "its vicinity to Georgia, and its distance from General Washington, pointed out the advantage and facility of its conquest. While it would be an unspeakable loss to the Americans, the possession of it would tend to secure to the Crown the southern part of the continent which stretches beyond it." It was presumed that the subjugation

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of it would be an easy task. The population was scanty for the extent of the country, and was made up of emigrants, or the descendants of emigrants, from various lands and of various nations: Huguenots, who had emigrated from France after the revocation of the edict of Nantes; Germans, from the Palatinate; Irish Protestants, who had received grants of land from the Crown; Scotch Highlanders, transported hither after the disastrous battle of Culloden; Dutch colonists, who had left New York, after its submission to England, and been settled here on bounty lands.

Some of these foreign elements might be hostile to British domination, but others would be favorable. There was a large class, too, that had been born or had passed much of their lives in England, who retained for it a filial affection, spoke of it as *home*, and sent their children to be educated there.

The number of slaves within the province and of savages on its western frontier, together with its wide extent of unprotected sea-coast, were encouragements to an invasion by sea and land. Little combination of militia and yeomanry need be apprehended from a population sparsely scattered, and where the settlements were widely separated by swamps and forests. Washington was in no condition to render prompt and effectual relief, his army being at a vast distance, and considered as "in a great measure broken up." The British, on the contrary, had the advantage of their naval force, "there being nothing then in the American seas which could even venture to look at it."

General Lincoln was in command at Charleston, but uncertain as yet of the designs of the enemy, and at a loss what course to pursue. The voyage of Sir Henry Clinton proved long and tempestuous. The ships were dispersed. Most of the artillery horses and all those of the cavalry perished. The scattered ships rejoined each other about the end of January, at Tybee Bay on Savannah river, where those that had sustained damage were repaired as speedily as possible. The loss of the cavalry horses was especially felt by Sir Henry. There was a corps of two hundred and fifty dragoons, on which he depended greatly in the kind of guerilla warfare he was likely to pursue, in a country of

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forests and morasses. Lieutenant-colonel Banastre Tarleton who commanded them, was one of those dogs of war, which Sir Henry was prepared to let slip on emergencies, to scour and maraud the country. This "bold dragoon," so noted in Southern warfare, was about twenty-six years of age, of a swarthy complexion, with small, black, piercing eyes. He is described as being rather below the middle size, square-built and strong, "with large muscular legs." He was a first-rate partisan officer, prompt, ardent, active, but somewhat unscrupulous.

Landing from the fleet, perfectly dismounted, he repaired with his dragoons to Port Royal Island, where he succeeded in procuring horses of an inferior quality to those he had lost. He consoled himself with the persuasion that he would secure better ones in the course of the campaign, by "exertion and enterprise," — a vague phrase, but very significant in the partisan vocabulary.

Meanwhile the army disembarked on the 11th of February, 1780, on St. John's Island, about thirty miles below Charleston. Thence, Sir Henry Clinton set out for the banks of Ashley river, opposite to the city, while a part of the fleet proceeded round by sea, for the purpose of blockading the harbor. Sir Henry's advance was slow and cautious. He ordered from Savannah all the troops that could be spared, and wrote to Knyphausen at New York, for reinforcements from that place. Every precaution was taken to insure against a second repulse before Charleston, which might prove fatal to his military reputation.

General Lincoln took advantage of this slowness on the part of his assailant, to extend and strengthen the works. Charleston stands at the end of an isthmus formed by the Ashley and Cooper rivers. Beyond the main works on the land side he cut a canal, from one to the other of the swamps which border these rivers. In advance of the canal were two rows of abatis and a double picketed ditch. Within the canal, and between it and the main works, were strong redoubts and batteries, to open a flanking fire on any approaching column, while an enclosed hornwork of masonry formed a kind of citadel.

A squadron commanded by Commodore Whipple, and com-

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posed of nine vessels of war, of various sizes, the largest mounting forty-four guns, was to co-operate with Forts Moultrie and Johnston, and the various batteries, in the defence of the harbor. They were to lie before the bar so as to command the entrance of it. Great reliance also was placed on the bar itself, which it was thought no ship of the line could pass.

Governor Rutledge, a man eminent for talents, patriotism, firmness, and decision, was clothed with dictatorial powers during the present crisis; he had called out the state militia, and large reinforcements were expected from the North. Under these circumstances, General Lincoln yielded to the entreaties of the inhabitants, and instead of remaining with his army in the open country, as he had intended, shut himself up with them in the place for its defence, leaving merely his cavalry and two hundred light troops outside, who were to hover about the enemy and prevent small parties from marauding.

It was not until the 12th of March that Sir Henry Clinton effected his tardy approach, and took up a position on Charleston Neck, a few miles above the town. Admiral Arbuthnot soon showed an intention of introducing his ships into the harbor; barricading their waists, anchoring them in a situation where they might take advantage of the first favorable spring-tide, and fixing buoys on the bar for their guidance. Commodore Whipple had by this time ascertained by sounding that a wrong idea had prevailed of the depth of water in the harbor, and that his ships could not anchor nearer than within three miles of the bar, so that it would be impossible for him to defend the passage of it. He quitted his station within it, therefore, after having destroyed a part of the enemy's buoys, and took a position where his ships might be abreast, and form a cross-fire with the batteries of Fort Moultrie where Colonel Pinckney commanded.

Washington was informed of these facts by letters from his former aide-de-camp, Colonel Laurens, who was in Charleston at the time. The information caused anxious forebodings. "The impracticability of defending the bar, I fear, amounts to the loss of the town and garrison," writes he in reply. "It really appears

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to me that the propriety of attempting to defend the town depended on the probability of defending the bar, and that when this ceased, the attempt ought to have been relinquished." The same opinion was expressed by him in a letter to Baron Steuben; "but at this distance," adds he considerately, "we can form a very imperfect judgment of its propriety or necessity. I have the greatest reliance in General Lincoln's prudence, but I cannot forbear dreading the event."

His solicitude for the safety of the South was increased by hearing of the embarkation at New York of two thousand five hundred troops, under Lord Rawdon, reinforcements for Sir Henry Clinton. It seemed evident the enemy intended to push their operations with vigor at the South; perhaps, to make it the principal theatre of the war. Gladly would Washington have hastened to the South in person, but at this moment his utmost vigilance was required to keep watch upon New York and maintain the security of the Hudson, the vital part of the confederacy. The weak state of the American means of warfare in both quarters, presented a choice of difficulties. The South needed support. Could the North give it without exposing itself to ruin, since the enemy, by means of their ships, could suddenly unite their forces, and fall upon any point that they might consider weak? Such were the perplexities to which he was continually subjected, in having, with scanty means, to provide for the security of a vast extent of country, and with land forces merely, to contend with an amphibious enemy.

Looking, however, as usual, to the good of the whole Union, he determined to leave something at hazard in the Middle States, where the country was internally so strong, and yield further succor to the Southern States, which had not equal military advantages. With the consent of Congress, therefore, he put the Maryland line under marching orders, together with the Delaware regiment, which acted with it and the first regiment of artillery. The Baron de Kalb, now at the head of the Maryland division, was instructed to conduct this detachment with all haste to the aid of General Lincoln. He might not arrive in time to prevent the fall of

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Charleston, but he might assist in arresting the progress of the enemy and saving the Carolinas.

Several days elapsed before the British ships were able, by taking out their guns, provisions, and water, and availing themselves of wind and tide, to pass the bar at Charleston. They did so on the 20th of March, with but slight opposition from several galleys. Commodore Whipple, seeing the vast superiority of their force, made a second retrograde move, stationing some of his ships in Cooper river, and sinking the rest at its mouth so as to prevent the enemy from running up that river, and cutting off communication with the country on the east. The crews and heavy cannon were landed to aid in the defence of the town.

The reinforcements expected from the North were not yet arrived; the militia of the state did not appear at Governor Rutledge's command, and other reliances were failing. "Many of the North Carolina militia whose terms have expired leave us to-day," writes Lincoln to Washington, on the 20th of March. "They cannot be persuaded to remain longer, though the enemy are in our neighborhood."

Early in April, Admiral Arbuthnot passed Sullivan's Island, with a fresh southerly breeze, at the head of a squadron of seven armed vessels and two transports. Colonel Pinckney opened a heavy cannonade from the batteries of Fort Moultrie. The ships thundered in reply, and clouds of smoke were raised, under the cover of which they slipped by, with no greater loss than twenty-seven men killed and wounded. A store-ship which followed the squadron ran aground, was set on fire and abandoned, and subsequently blew up. The ships took a position near Fort Johnston, just without the range of the shot from the American batteries. After the passage of the ships, Colonel Pinckney and a part of the garrison withdrew from Fort Moultrie.

The enemy had by this time completed his first parallel, and the town being almost entirely invested by sea and land, received a joint summons from the British general and admiral to surrender. On Lincoln's refusal, the British batteries were opened. The siege was carried on deliberately by regular parallels, and on

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a scale of magnitude scarcely warranted by the moderate strength of the place. At length the arrival of a reinforcement of three thousand men from New York enabled Sir Henry to throw a powerful detachment, under Lord Cornwallis, to the east of Cooper river, to complete the investment of the town and cut off all retreat. Fort Moultrie surrendered. The batteries of the third parallel were opened upon the town. They were so near that the Hessian sharpshooters could pick off the garrison while at their guns or on the parapets. This fire was kept up for two days. The besiegers crossed the canal, pushed up a double sap to the inside of the abatis, and prepared to make an assault by sea and land.

All hopes of successful defence were at an end. The works were in ruins; the guns almost all dismounted; the garrison exhausted with fatigue, the provisions nearly consumed. The inhabitants, dreading the horrors of an assault, joined in a petition to General Lincoln, and prevailed upon him to offer a surrender on terms which had already been offered and rejected. These terms were still granted, and the capitulation was signed on the 12th of May. The prisoners taken by the enemy, exclusive of the sailors, amounted to five thousand six hundred and eighteen men; comprising every male adult in the city. The continental troops did not exceed two thousand, five hundred of whom were in the hospital; the rest were citizens and militia.

Sir Henry Clinton considered the fall of Charleston decisive of the fate of South Carolina. To complete the subjugation of the country, he planned three expeditions into the interior. One, under Lieutenant-colonel Brown, was to move up the Savannah river to Augusta, on the borders of Georgia. Another, under Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, was to proceed up the southwest side of the Santee river to the district of Ninety-Six,[1] a fertile and salubrious region, between the Savannah and the Saluda rivers: while a third, under Cornwallis, was to cross the Santee, march up the northeast bank, and strike at a corps of troops under Colonel

[1] So called in early times from being ninety-six miles from the principal town of the Cherokee nation.

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Buford, which were retreating to North Carolina with artillery and a number of wagons, laden with arms, ammunition, and clothing. Buford had arrived too late for the relief of Charleston, and was now making a retrograde move with his three hundred and eighty troops of the Virginia line, and two field-pieces.

Tarleton, detached by Cornwallis in pursuit, overtook Buford at the Waxhaws, a small stream on the border of North Carolina, and completely annihilated his force. The two other detachments which had been sent out by Clinton, met with nothing but submission. The people in general, considering resistance hopeless, accepted the proffered protection, and conformed to its humiliating terms. One class of the population in this colony seems to have regarded the invaders as deliverers. "All the negroes," writes Tarleton, "men, women, and children, upon the appearance of any detachment of king's troops, thought themselves absolved from all respect to their American masters, and entirely released from servitude. They quitted the plantations and followed the army."

Sir Henry now persuaded himself that South Carolina was subdued, and proceeded to station garrisons in various parts, to maintain it in subjection. In the fulness of his confidence, he issued a proclamation on the 3d of June, discharging all the military prisoners from their paroles after the 20th of the month, excepting those captured in Fort Moultrie and Charleston. All thus released from their parole were reinstated in the rights and duties of British subjects; but, at the same time, they were bound to take an active part in support of the government hitherto opposed by them. Thus the protection afforded them while prisoners was annulled by an arbitrary fiat — neutrality was at an end. All were to be ready to take up arms at a moment's notice. Those who had families were to form a militia for home defence. Those who had none, were to serve with the royal forces. All who should neglect to return to their allegiance, or should refuse to take up arms against the independence of their country were to be considered as rebels and treated accordingly. Having struck a blow, which, as he conceived, was to insure the subjugation of the South, Sir Henry em-

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barked for New York on the 5th of June, with a part of his forces, leaving the residue under the command of Lord Cornwallis, who was to carry the war into North Carolina, and thence into Virginia.

The capture of General Lincoln at Charleston left the Southern department without a commander-in-chief. Washington had intended to recommend General Greene for the appointment. He was an officer on whose abilities, discretion, and disinterested patriotism he had the fullest reliance, and whom he had always found thoroughly disposed to act in unison with him in his general plan of carrying on the war. Congress, however, with unbecoming precipitancy, gave that important command to General Gates (June 13th), without waiting to consult Washington's views or wishes. Gates, at the time, was on his estate in Virginia, and accepted the appointment with avidity, anticipating new triumphs. His old associate, Charles Lee, gave him an ominous caution at parting. "Beware that your Northern laurels do not change to Southern willows!"

Arrival of Rochambeau. — On the 10th of July, a French fleet, under the Chevalier de Ternay, arrived at Newport, in Rhode Island. It was composed of seven ships of the line, two frigates and two bomb-vessels, and convoyed transports on board of which there were upwards of five thousand troops. This was the first division of an army promised by France. The second division had been detained at Brest for want of transports, but might soon be expected.

The Count de Rochambeau, a veteran, fifty-five years of age, was commander-in-chief of this auxiliary force. The troops were landed to the east of the town; their encampment was on a fine situation, and extended nearly across the island. Much was said of their gallant and martial appearance. There was the noted regiment of Auvergne, in command of which the Count de Rochambeau had first gained his laurels, but which was now commanded by his son the viscount, thirty years of age. A legion of six hundred men also was especially admired; it was commanded by the Duke de Lauzun-Biron, who had gained reputation in the

preceding year by the capture of Senegal. A feeling of adventure and romance, associated with the American struggle, had caused many of the young nobility to seek this new field of achievement. The instructions of the French ministry to the Count de Rochambeau placed him entirely under the command of General Washington. The French troops were to be considered as auxiliaries, and as such were to take the left of the American troops, and, in all cases of ceremony, to yield them the preference. This considerate arrangement had been adopted at the suggestion of the Marquis de Lafayette, and was intended to prevent the recurrence of those questions of rank and etiquette which had heretofore disturbed the combined service.

Washington, in general orders, congratulated the army on the arrival of this timely and generous succor, which he hailed as a new tie between France and America; anticipating that the only contention between the two armies would be to excel each other in good offices, and in the display of every military virtue. The American cockade had hitherto been black, that of the French was white; he recommended to his officers a cockade of black and white intermingled in compliment to their allies, and as a symbol of friendship and union.

His joy at this important reinforcement was dashed by the mortifying reflection, that he was still unprovided with the troops and military means requisite for the combined operations meditated. Still he took upon himself the responsibility of immediate action, and forthwith dispatched Lafayette to have an interview with the French commanders, explain the circumstances of the case, and concert plans for the proposed attack upon New York.

The arrival, however, of the British Admiral Graves, on the 13th of July, with six ships of the line, gave the enemy such a superiority of naval force, that the design on New York was postponed until the second French division should make its appearance, or a squadron under the Count de Guichen, which was expected from the West Indies.

In the meantime Sir Henry Clinton, who had information of all the plans and movements of the allies, determined to forestall

the meditated attack upon New York, by beating up the French quarters on Rhode Island. He accordingly proceeded with six thousand men to Throg's Neck, there to embark on board of transports which Arbuthnot was to provide. No sooner did Washington learn that so large a force had left New York, than he crossed the Hudson to Peekskill, and prepared to move towards King's Bridge, with the main body of his troops, which had recently been reinforced. His intention was, either to oblige Sir Henry to abandon his project against Rhode Island, or to strike a blow at New York during his absence. As Washington was on horseback, observing the crossing of the last division of his troops, General Arnold approached, having just arrived in the camp. Arnold had been manœuvring of late to get the command of West Point, and had induced Mr. Robert Livingston, then a New York member of Congress, to suggest it in a letter to Washington as a measure of great expediency. Arnold now accosted the latter to know whether any place had been assigned to him. He was told that he was to command the left wing. The silence and evident chagrin with which the reply was received surprised Washington, and he was still more surprised when he learned that Arnold was more desirous of a garrison post than of a command in the field, although a post of honor had been assigned him, and active service was anticipated. Arnold's excuse was that his wounded leg still unfitted him for action either on foot or horseback; but that at West Point he might render himself useful.

The expedition of Sir Henry was delayed by the tardy arrival of transports. In the meantime he heard of the sudden move of Washington, and learned, moreover, that the position of the French at Newport had been strengthened by the militia from the neighboring country. These tidings disconcerted his plans. He left Admiral Arbuthnot to proceed with his squadron to Newport, blockade the French fleet, and endeavor to intercept the second division, supposed to be on its way, while he with his troops hastened back to New York. In consequence of their return, Washington again withdrew his forces to the west side of the Hudson; first establishing a post and throwing up small works at Dobbs'

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Ferry, to secure a communication across the river for the transportation of troops and ordnance, should the design upon New York be prosecuted.

Arnold now received the important command which he had so earnestly coveted. It included the fortress at West Point and the posts from Fish Kill to King's Ferry, together with the corps of infantry and cavalry advanced towards the enemy's line on the east side of the river. He was ordered to have the works at the Point completed as expeditiously as possible, and to keep all his posts on their guard against surprise; there being constant apprehensions that the enemy might make a sudden effort to gain possession of the river.

Having made these arrangements, Washington recrossed to the west side of the Hudson, and took post at Tappan, on the borders of the Jerseys, and opposite to Dobbs' Ferry, to be at hand for any attempt upon New York. The execution of this cherished design, however, was again postponed by intelligence that the second division of the French reinforcements was blockaded in the harbor of Brest by the British; Washington still had hopes that it might be carried into effect by the aid of the squadron of the Count de Guichen from the West Indies; or of a fleet from Cadiz.

Battle of Camden. — The anxiety of Washington at this moment of embarrassment was heightened by the receipt of disastrous intelligence from the South.

Lord Cornwallis forbore to attempt the invasion of North Carolina until the summer heats should be over and the harvests gathered in. In the meantime he disposed of his troops in cantonments, to cover the frontiers of South Carolina and Georgia, and maintain their internal quiet. The command of the frontiers was given by him to Lord Rawdon, who made Camden his principal post. This town was situated on the east bank of the Wateree river, on the road leading to North Carolina. It was to be the grand military depot for the projected campaign.

Having made these dispositions, Lord Cornwallis set up his head-quarters at Charleston, where he occupied himself in regu-

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lating the civil and commercial affairs of the province, in organizing the militia of the lower districts, and in forwarding provisions and munitions of war to Camden. The proclamation of Sir Henry Clinton, putting an end to all neutrality, and the rigorous penalties and persecutions with which all infractions of its terms were punished, had for a time quelled the spirit of the country. By degrees, however, the dread of British power gave way to impatience of British exactions. Symptoms of revolt manifested themselves in various parts. They were encouraged by intelligence that Kalb was advancing through North Carolina at the head of two thousand men, and that the militia of that state and of Virginia were joining his standard. This was soon followed by tidings that Gates, the conqueror of Burgoyne, was on his way to take command of the Southern forces.

The prospect of such aid from the North reanimated the Southern patriots. One of the most eminent of these was Thomas Sumter, whom the Carolinians had surnamed the Game Cock. He was between forty and fifty years of age, brave, hardy, vigorous, resolute. He had served against the Indians in his boyhood, during the old French war, and had been present at the defeat of Braddock. In the present war he had held the rank of lieutenant-colonel of riflemen in the Continental line. After the fall of Charleston, he had retired with his family into one of the natural fastnesses of the country.

The lower part of South Carolina for upwards of a hundred miles back from the sea is a level country, abounding with swamps, locked up in the windings of the rivers which flow down from the Appalachian Mountains. Some of these swamps are mere canebrakes, of little use until subdued by cultivation, when they yield abundant crops of rice. Others are covered with forests of cypress, cedar, and laurel, green all the year and odoriferous, but tangled with vines and almost impenetrable. In their bosoms, however, are fine savannahs; natural lawns, open to cultivation, and yielding abundant pasturage. It requires local knowledge, however, to penetrate these wildernesses, and hence they form strongholds to the people of the country. In one of these natu-

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ral fastnesses, on the borders of the Santee, Sumter had taken up his residence, and hence he would sally forth in various directions. During a temporary absence his retreat had been invaded, his house burnt to the ground, his wife and children driven forth without shelter. Private injury had thus been added to the incentives of patriotism. Emerging from his hiding-place, he had thrown himself among a handful of his fellow-sufferers who had taken refuge in North Carolina. They chose him at once as a leader, and resolved on a desperate struggle for the deliverance of their native state. Destitute of regular weapons, they forged rude substitutes out of the implements of husbandry. Old mill-saws were converted into broad-swords; knives at the ends of poles served for lances; while the country housewives gladly gave up their pewter dishes and other utensils, to be melted down and cast into bullets for such as had firearms.

When Sumter led this gallant band of exiles over the border, they did not amount in number to two hundred; yet, with these, he attacked and routed a well-armed body of British troops and Tories, the terror of the frontier. His followers supplied themselves with weapons from the slain. In a little while his band was augmented by recruits. Parties of militia, also, recently embodied under the measures of Cornwallis, deserted to the patriot standard. Thus reinforced to the amount of six hundred men, he made, on the 30th of July, a spirited attack on the British post at Rocky Mount, near the Catawba, but was repulsed. A more successful attack was made by him, eight days afterwards, on another post at Hanging Rock. The Prince of Wales regiment which defended it was nearly annihilated, and a large body of North Carolina loyalists was routed and dispersed. The gallant exploits of Sumter were emulated in other parts of the country, and the partisan war thus commenced was carried on with an audacity that soon obliged the enemy to call in their outposts, and collect their troops in large masses.

The advance of Kalb with reinforcements from the North, had been retarded by various difficulties, the most important of which was want of provisions. This had been especially the case

since his arrival in North Carolina. The legislative or executive power, he complained, gave him no assistance, nor could he obtain supplies from the people but by military force. His troops were reduced for a time to short allowance, and at length, on the 6th of July, brought to a positive halt at a branch of Cape Fear river. The North Carolina militia, under General Caswell, were already in the field, on the road to Camden, beyond the Pedee river. He was anxious to form a junction with them, and with some Virginia troops, under Colonel Porterfield, remnants of the defenders of Charleston; but a wide and sterile region lay between him and them, difficult to be traversed, unless magazines were established in advance, or he were supplied with provisions to take with him. Thus circumstanced, he wrote to Congress and to the state Legislature, representing his situation, and entreating relief. For three weeks he remained in this encampment, foraging an exhausted country for a meagre subsistence, and was thinking of deviating to the right, and seeking the fertile counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan, when, on the 25th of July, General Gates arrived at the camp.

The baron greeted him with a continental salute from his little park of artillery, and received him with the ceremony and deference due to a superior officer who was to take the command. There was a contest of politeness between the two generals. Gates approved of Kalb's standing orders, but at the first review of the troops, to the great astonishment of the baron, gave orders for them to hold themselves in readiness to march at a *moment's warning*. It was evident he meant to signalize himself by celerity of movement in contrast with protracted delays. It was in vain the destitute situation of the troops was represented to him, and that they had not a day's provision in advance. His reply was, that wagons laden with supplies were coming on, and would overtake them in two days. On the 27th, he actually put the army in motion over the Buffalo Ford, on the direct road to Camden. Colonel Williams, the adjutant-general of Kalb, warned him of the sterile nature of that route, and recommended a more circuitous one further north, which the baron had intended to take, and

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which passed through the abundant county of Mecklenburg. Gates persisted in taking the direct route, observing that he should the sooner form a junction with Caswell and the North Carolina militia; and as to the sterility of the country, his supplies would soon overtake him.

The route proved all that had been represented. It led through a region of pine barrens, sand hills, and swamps, with few human habitations, and those mostly deserted. The supplies of which he bad spoken never overtook him. His army had to subsist itself on lean cattle, roaming almost wild in the woods; and to supply the want of bread with green Indian corn, unripe apples, and peaches. The consequence was a distressing prevalence of dysentery.

Having crossed the Pedee river on the 3d of August, the army was joined by a handful of brave Virginia regulars, under Colonel Porterfield, who had been wandering about the country since the disaster of Charleston; and, on the 7th, the much-desired junction took place with the North Carolina militia. On the 13th they encamped at Rugeley's Mills, otherwise called Clermont, about twelve miles from Camden, and on the following day were reinforced by a brigade of seven hundred Virginia militia, under General Stevens.

On the approach of Gates, Lord Rawdon had concentrated his forces at Camden. The post was flanked by the Wateree river and Pine-tree Creek, and strengthened with redoubts. Lord Cornwallis had hastened hither from Charleston on learning that affairs in this quarter were drawing to a crisis, and had arrived here on the 13th. The British effective force thus collected was something more than two thousand, including officers. About five hundred were militia and Tory refugees from North Carolina.

The forces under Gates, according to the return of his adjutant-general, were three thousand and fifty-two fit for duty; more than two-thirds of them, however, were militia. On the 14th, he received an express from General Sumter, who, with his partisan corps, after harassing the enemy at various points, was now endeavoring to cut off their supplies from Charleston. The object

of the express was to ask a reinforcement of regulars to aid him in capturing a large convoy of clothing, ammunition, and stores, on its way to the garrison, and which would pass Wateree Ferry, about a mile from Camden. Gates accordingly detached Colonel Woolford of the Maryland line, with one hundred regulars, a party of artillery, and two brass field-pieces. On the same evening he moved with his main force to take post at a deep stream about seven miles from Camden, intending to attack Lord Rawdon or his redoubts should he march out in force to repel Sumter. It seems hardly credible that Gates should have been so remiss in collecting information concerning the movements of his enemy as to be utterly unaware that Lord Cornwallis had arrived at Camden. Such, however, we are assured by his adjutant-general, was the fact.

By a singular coincidence, Lord Cornwallis on the very same evening sallied forth from Camden to attack the American camp at Clermont. About two o'clock at night, the two forces blundered on each other about half way. A skirmish took place between their advance guards, in which Porterfield was mortally wounded and some prisoners were taken on either side. From these the respective commanders learned the nature of the forces each had stumbled upon. Both halted, formed their troops for action, but deferred further hostilities until daylight.

Gates was astounded at being told that the enemy at hand was Cornwallis with three thousand men. Calling a council of war, he demanded what was best to be done. For a moment or two there was blank silence. It was broken by General Stevens, of the Virginia militia, with the question, "Gentlemen, is it not too late *now* to do anything but fight?" No other advice was asked or offered, and all were required to repair to their respective commands, though General de Kalb, we are told, was of opinion that they should regain their position at Clermont, and there await an attack.

In forming the line, the second Maryland brigade, including the Delawares, was on the right, commanded by Kalb. The Virginia militia under Stevens, were on the left. Caswell with the

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North Carolinians formed the centre. The artillery was in battery on the road. Each flank was covered by a marsh. The first Maryland brigade formed a reserve, a few hundred yards in rear of the second.

At daybreak (August 16th), the enemy were dimly descried advancing in column. Gates ordered Stevens to advance briskly with his brigade of Virginia militia and attack them while in the act of deploying. No sooner did Stevens receive the order than he put his brigade in motion, but discovered that the right wing of the enemy was already in line. The British rushed on, shouting and firing. The inexperienced militia, dismayed and confounded by this impetuous assault, threw down their loaded muskets and fled. The panic spread to the North Carolina militia, who soon joined with the rest in flight, rendered headlong and disastrous by the charge and pursuit of Tarleton and his cavalry. Gates made several attempts to rally the militia, but was borne along with them. The day was hazy; there was no wind to carry off the smoke, which hung over the field of battle like a thick cloud. Nothing could be seen distinctly. Supposing that the regular troops were dispersed like the militia, Gates gave all up for lost, and retreated from the field.

The regulars, however, had not given way. The Maryland brigades and the Delaware regiment, unconscious that they were deserted by the militia, stood their ground, and bore the brunt of the battle. Though repeatedly broken, they as often rallied, and braved even the deadly push of the bayonet. At length a charge of Tarleton's cavalry on their flank threw them into confusion, and drove them into the woods and swamps. None showed more gallantry on this disastrous day than the Baron de Kalb; he fought on foot with the second Maryland brigade, and fell exhausted after receiving eleven wounds. If the militia fled too soon in this battle, said the adjutant-general, the regulars remained too long, fighting when there was no hope of victory.

Gates, in retreating, had hoped to rally a sufficient force at Clermont to cover the retreat of the regulars, but the further they fled, the more the militia were dispersed, until the generals were

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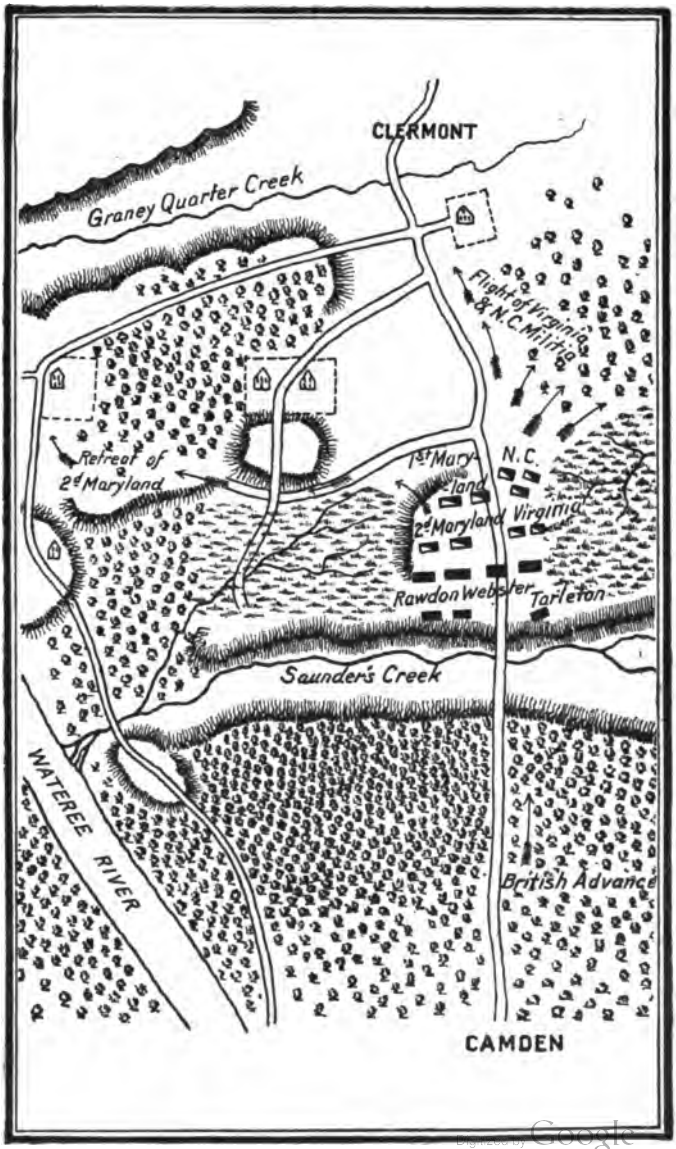

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abandoned by all but their aides. To add to the mortification of Gates, he learned that Sumter had been completely successful, and having reduced the enemy's redoubt on the Wateree, and captured one hundred prisoners and forty loaded wagons, was marching off with his booty on the opposite side of the river; apprehending danger from the quarter in which he had heard firing in the morning. Gates had no longer any means of co-operating with him; he sent orders to him, therefore, to retire in the best manner he could; while he himself proceeded with General Caswell towards the village of Charlotte, about sixty miles distant.

Cornwallis was apprehensive that Sumter's corps might form a rallying point to the routed army. On the morning of the 17th of August, therefore, he detached Tarleton in pursuit with a body of cavalry and light infantry, about three hundred and fifty strong. Sumter was retreating up the western side of the Wateree, much encumbered by his spoils and prisoners. Tarleton pushed up, by forced and concealed marches, on the eastern side. Horses and men suffered from the intense heat of the weather. At dusk Tarleton descried the fires of the American camp about a mile from the opposite shore. He gave orders to secure all boats on the river, and to light no fire in the camp. In the morning his sentries gave word that the Americans were quitting their encampment. It was evident they knew nothing of a British force being in pursuit of them. Tarleton now crossed the Wateree; the infantry with a three-pounder passed in boats; the cavalry swam their horses where the river was not fordable. The delay in crossing, and the diligence of Sumter's march, increased the distance between the pursuers and the pursued. About noon a part of Tarleton's force gave out through heat and fatigue. Leaving them to repose on the bank of Fishing Creek, he pushed on with about one hundred dragoons, the freshest and most able, still marching with great circumspection. As he entered a valley, a discharge of small-arms from a thicket tumbled a dragoon from his saddle. His comrades galloped up to the place, and found two American videttes, whom they sabred before Tarleton could interpose. A sergeant and five dragoons rode up to the summit of a neighboring

hill to reconnoiter. Crouching on their horses they made signs to Tarleton. He cautiously approached the crest of the hill, and looking over beheld the American camp on a neighboring height, and apparently in a most negligent condition.

Sumter, in fact, having pressed his retreat to the neighborhood of the Catawba Ford, and taken a strong position at the mouth of Fishing Creek, and his patrols having scoured the road without discovering any signs of an enemy, considered himself secure from surprise. The two shots fired by his videttes had been heard, but were supposed to have been made by militia shooting cattle. The troops, having for the last four days been almost without food or sleep, were now indulged in complete relaxation. Their arms were stacked, and they were scattered about, some strolling, some lying on the grass under the trees, some bathing in the river. Sumter himself had thrown off part of his clothes on account of the heat of the weather.

Having well reconnoitered this negligent camp, indulging in summer supineness and sultry repose, Tarleton prepared for instant attack. His cavalry and infantry formed into one line, dashed forward with a general shout, and, before the Americans could recover from their surprise, got between them and the parade ground on which the muskets were stacked. All was confusion and consternation in the American camp. Some opposition was made from behind baggage wagons, and there was skirmishing in various quarters, but in a little while there was a universal flight to the river and the woods. Between three and four hundred were killed and wounded; all their arms and baggage, with two brass field-pieces, fell into the hands of the enemy, who also recaptured the prisoners and booty taken at Camden. Sumter, with about three hundred and fifty of his men, effected a retreat; he galloped off, it is said, without saddle, hat, or coat.

Gates, on reaching the village of Charlotte, had been joined by some fugitives from his army. He continued on to Hillsborough, one hundred and eighty miles from Camden, where he made a stand, and endeavored to rally his scattered forces. His regular

troops, however, were little more than one thousand. As to the militia of North and South Carolina, they had dispersed to their respective homes, depending upon the patriotism and charity of the farmers along the road for food and shelter.

It was not until the beginning of September that Washington received word of the disastrous reverse at Camden. The shock was the greater, as previous reports from that quarter had represented the operations a few days preceding the action as much in our favor. It was evident to Washington that the course of war must ultimately tend to the Southern States, yet the situation of affairs in the North did not permit him to detach any sufficient force for their relief. All that he could do for the present was to endeavor to hold the enemy in check in that quarter. For this purpose, he gave orders that some regular troops enlisted in Maryland for the war, and intended for the main army, should be sent to the southward.

He still cherished the idea of a combined attack upon New York as soon as a French naval force should arrive. The destruction of the enemy here would relieve this part of the Union from an internal war, and enable its troops and resources to be united with those of France in vigorous efforts against the common enemy elsewhere. Hearing, therefore, that the Count de Guichen, with his West India squadron, was approaching the coast, Washington prepared to proceed to Hartford, in Connecticut, there to hold a conference with Rochambeau and Ternay, and concert a plan for future operations, of which the attack on New York was to form the principal feature.

Arnold's Treason. — We have now to enter upon a sad episode of our Revolutionary history — the treason of Arnold. Of the military skill, daring enterprise, and indomitable courage of this man, ample evidence has been given in the foregoing pages. Of the implicit confidence reposed in his patriotism by Washington, sufficient proof is manifested in the command with which he was actually entrusted. But Arnold was false at heart, and, at the very time of seeking that command, had been for many months in traitorous correspondence with the enemy.

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The first idea of proving recreant to the cause he had vindicated so bravely appears to have entered his mind when the charges preferred against him by the council of Pennsylvania were referred by Congress to a court-martial. Before that time he had been incensed against Pennsylvania: but now his wrath was excited against his country, which appeared so insensible to his services. Disappointment in regard to the settlement of his accounts added to his irritation, and mingled sordid motives with his resentment; and he began to think how, while he wreaked his vengeance on his country, he might do it with advantange to his fortunes. With this view he commenced a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton in a disguised handwriting, and, over the signature of "Gustavus," representing himself as a person of importance in the American service, who, being dissatisfied with the late proceedings of Congress, particularly the alliance with France, was desirous of joining the cause of Great Britain, could he be certain of personal security, and indemnification for whatever loss of property he might sustain. His letters occasionally communicated articles of intelligence of some moment which proved to be true, and induced Sir Henry to keep up the correspondence; which was conducted on his part by his aide-de-camp, Major John André, likewise in a disguised hand, and over the signature of John "Anderson."

Months elapsed before Sir Henry discovered who was his secret correspondent. Meanwhile Arnold had taken command of West Point about the beginning of August, 1780, fixing his head-quarters at Beverley, a country seat a little below, and on the opposite or eastern side of the river. It stood in a lonely part of the Highlands, high up from the river, at the foot of a mountain covered with woods. It was commonly called the Robinson House, having formerly belonged to Colonel Beverley Robinson, who had entered into the British service, and was now residing in New York, while Beverley with its surrounding lands had been confiscated.

From this place Arnold carried on a secret correspondence with Major André. Their letters, still in disguised hands, and under the names of Gustavus and John Anderson, purported to treat merely of commercial operations, but the real matter in negotia-

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tion was the betrayal of West Point and the Highlands to Sir Henry Clinton. This stupendous piece of treachery was to be consummated at the time when Washington, with the main body of his army, would be drawn down towards King's Bridge, and the French troops landed on Long Island, in the projected co-operation against New York. At such time, a flotilla under Rodney, having on board a large land force, was to ascend the Hudson to the Highlands, which would be surrendered by Arnold almost without opposition, under pretext of insufficient force to make resistance. The immediate result of this surrender, it was anticipated, would be the defeat and dislocation of the whole American scheme of warfare.

Major André was born in London, in 1751, but his parents were of Geneva in Switzerland, where he was educated. Being intended for mercantile life, he entered a London counting-house, but abandoned it and entered the army in 1771. He came to America in 1774, as lieutenant of the Royal Fusileers, and was among the officers captured at Saint John, early in the war, by Montgomery. His varied and graceful talents, and his engaging manners, rendered him generally popular; while his devoted and somewhat subservient loyalty recommended him to the favor of his commander, and obtained him, without any distinguished military services, the appointment of adjutant-general with the rank of major. He was a prime promoter of elegant amusement in camp and garrison; manager, actor, and scene painter in those amateur theatricals in which the British officers delighted. He held, moreover, a facile, and at times, satirical pen, and occasionally amused himself with caricaturing in rhyme the appearance and exploits of the "rebel officers."

André had already employed that pen in a furtive manner, after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British; having carried on a correspondence with the leaders of a body of loyalists near the waters of the Chesapeake, who were conspiring to restore the royal government. In the present instance he had engaged, nothing loth, in a service of intrigue and manœuvre, which, however sanctioned by military usage, should hardly have invited the zeal of a

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high-minded man. We say manœuvre, because he appears to have availed himself of his former acquaintance with Mrs. Arnold, to make her an unconscious means of facilitating a correspondence with her husband. Some have inculpated her in the guilt of the transaction, but, we think, unjustly. Various circumstances connected with this negotiation argue lightness of mind and something of debasing alloy on the part of André. The correspondence carried on for months in the jargon of traffic savored less of the camp than the counting-house; the protracted tampering with a brave but ill-treated and necessitous man for the sacrifice of his fame and the betrayal of his trust, strikes us as being beneath the range of a truly chivalrous nature.

For the completion of the plan, a personal meeting between Arnold and André seemed necessary. Arrangements were made for an interview, after Washington should depart for Hartford, to hold his conference with Count Rochambeau and the other French officers. In the meantime, the British sloop of war, *Vulture*, was anchored a few miles below Teller's Point, to be at hand in aid of the negotiation. On board was Colonel Robinson, who, pretending to believe that General Putnam still commanded in the Highlands, addressed a note to him requesting an interview on the subject of his confiscated property. This letter he sent by a flag, enclosed in one addressed to Arnold; soliciting of him the same boon should General Putnam be absent. On the 18th September, Washington with his suite crossed the Hudson to Verplanck's Point, in Arnold's barge, on his way to Hartford. Arnold accompanied him as far as Peekskill, and on the way laid before him, with affected frankness, the letter of Colonel Robinson, and asked his advice. Washington disapproved of any such interview, observing, that the civil authorities alone had cognizance of these questions of confiscated property.

Arnold now openly sent a flag on board of the *Vulture*, as if bearing a reply to the letter he had communicated to the commander-in-chief. By this means, he informed Colonel Robinson that a person with a boat and flag would be alongside the *Vulture*, on the night of the 20th; and that any matter he might wish to

communicate, would be laid before General Washington on the following Saturday, when he might be expected back from Hartford. On the faith of the information thus covertly conveyed, André proceeded up the Hudson on the 20th, and went on board the *Vulture*, where he found Colonel Robinson, and expected to meet Arnold. The latter, however, had made other arrangements, probably with a view to his personal security. About half-past eleven, of a still and starlight night (the 21st), a boat was descried from on board, gliding silently along, rowed by two men with muffled oars. She was hailed by an officer on watch, and called to account. A man, seated in the stern, gave out that they were from King's Ferry, bound to Dobbs' Ferry. He was ordered alongside, and soon made his way on board. He proved to be Mr. Joshua Smith, whom Arnold had prevailed upon to go on board of the *Vulture*, and bring a person on shore who was coming from New York with important intelligence. He had given him passes to protect him and those with him, in case he should be stopped either in going or returning, by the American water guard, which patrolled the river in whale-boats. He had made him the bearer of a letter addressed to Colonel Beverley Robinson, which was to the following purport: "This will be delivered to you by Mr. Smith, who will conduct you to a place of safety. Neither Mr. Smith nor any other person shall be made acquainted with your proposals; if they (which I doubt not) are of such a nature that I can officially take notice of them, I shall do it with pleasure. I take it for granted Colonel Robinson will not propose anything that is not for the interest of the United States as well as of himself." All this use of Colonel Robinson's name was intended as a blind, should the letter be intercepted.

Robinson introduced André to Smith by the name of John Anderson, who was to go on shore in his place (he being unwell), to have an interview with General Arnold. André wore a blue great coat which covered his uniform, and Smith always declared that at the time he was totally ignorant of his name and military character. Robinson considered this whole nocturnal proceeding full of peril, and would have dissuaded André, but the latter was

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zealous in executing his mission, and, embarking in the boat with Smith, was silently rowed to the western side of the river, about six miles below Stony Point. Here they landed a little after midnight, at the foot of a shadowy mountain called the Long Clove; a solitary place, the haunt of the owl and the whippoorwill, and well fitted for a treasonable conference.

Arnold was in waiting, but standing aloof among thickets. He had come hither on horseback from Smith's house, about three or four miles distant, attended by one of Smith's servants, likewise mounted. The midnight negotiation between André and Arnold was carried on in darkness among the trees. Smith remained in the boat, and the servant drew off to a distance with the horses. One hour after another passed away, when Smith approached the place of conference, and gave warning that it was near daybreak, and if they lingered much longer the boat would be discovered. The nefarious bargain was not yet completed, and Arnold feared the sight of a boat going to the *Vulture* might cause suspicion. He prevailed, therefore, upon André to remain on shore until the following night. The boat was accordingly sent to a creek higher up the river, and André, mounting the servant's horse, set off with Arnold for Smith's house. The road passed through the village of Haverstraw. As they rode along in the dark, the voice of a sentinel demanding the countersign startled André with the fearful conviction that he was within the American lines, but it was too late to recede. It was daybreak when they arrived at Smith's house. They had scarcely entered when the booming of cannon was heard from down the river. It gave André uneasiness, and with reason. American batteries on Teller's Point were firing upon the *Vulture*, which presently weighed anchor, and dropped down the river out of reach of cannon-shot.

After breakfast, the plot for the betrayal of West Point was adjusted. André was furnished with plans of the works, and explanatory papers, which he placed between his stockings and his feet. All matters being thus arranged, Arnold prepared to return in his own barge to his head-quarters at the Robinson House. As the *Vulture* had shifted her ground, he suggested to André a return

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to New York by land, as most safe and expeditious; the latter, however, insisted upon being put on board of the sloop of war, on the ensuing night. Arnold consented; but, before his departure, to provide against the possible necessity of a return by land, he gave André the following pass, dated from the Robinson House: —

"Permit Mr. John Anderson to pass the guards to the White Plains, or below, if he chooses; he being on public business by my direction. B. ARNOLD, M. Genl."

Smith also, who was to accompany him, was furnished with passports to proceed either by water or by land.

Arnold departed about ten o'clock. André passed a lonely day, casting many a wistful look toward the *Vulture*. Once on board of that ship he would be safe; he would have fulfilled his mission; the capture of West Point would be certain, and his triumph would be complete. As evening approached he grew impatient, and spoke to Smith about departure. To his surprise, he found the latter had made no preparation for it; he had discharged his boatmen, who had gone home: in short, he refused to take him on board of the *Vulture*. The cannonade of the morning had probably made him fear for his personal safety, should he attempt to go on board. He offered, however, to cross the river with André at King's Ferry, put him in the way of returning to New York by land, and accompany him some distance on horseback. André was in an agony at finding himself, notwithstanding all his stipulations, forced within the American lines; but there seemed to be no alternative, and he prepared for the hazardous journey. He wore, as we have noted, a military coat under a long blue surtout; he was now persuaded to lay it aside, and put on a citizen's coat of Smith's; thus adding disguise to the other humiliating and hazardous circumstances of the case.

It was about sunset when André and Smith, attended by a negro servant of the latter, crossed from King's Ferry to Verplanck's Point. After proceeding about eight miles on the road toward White Plains, they were stopped between eight and nine o'clock,

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near Crompond, by a patrolling party. The captain of it was uncommonly inquisitive and suspicious. The passports with Arnold's signature satisfied him. He warned them, however, against the danger of proceeding further in the night, as Cow Boys from the British lines were scouring the country. Smith's fears were again excited, and André was obliged to yield to them. A bed was furnished them in a neighboring house, where André passed an anxious and restless night, under the very eye, as it were, of an American patrol.

At daybreak he awoke Smith, and hurried their departure. Their way lay through the Neutral Ground, extending north and south about thirty miles, between the British and American lines; a beautiful region of forest-clad hills, fertile valleys, and abundant streams, but now almost desolated by the scourings of Skinners and Cow Boys: the former professing allegiance to the American cause, the latter to the British, but both arrant marauders. Houses were plundered and dismantled, enclosures broken down, cattle carried away, fields laid waste. The roads were grass-grown; the country was mournful, solitary, silent. About two and a half miles from Pine's Bridge, on the Croton river, André and his companion partook of a scanty meal at a farm-house which had recently been harried by the Cow Boys. Here they parted, Smith to return home, André to pursue his journey alone to New York. His spirits, however, were cheerful; for, having got beyond the patrols, he considered the most perilous part of his route accomplished.

About six miles beyond Pine's Bridge he came to a place where the road forked, the left branch leading toward White Plains, the right inclining toward the Hudson. He had originally intended to take the left-hand road, the other being said to be infested by Cow Boys. These, however, were not to be apprehended by him, as they belonged to the lower party or British; it led, too, more directly to New York; so he turned down it, and took his course along the river road.

He had not proceeded far, when, coming to a place where a small stream crossed the road and ran into a woody dell, a man stepped out from the trees, levelled a musket, and brought him to

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a stand, while two other men similarly armed, showed themselves prepared to second their comrade. The man who had first stepped out wore a Hessian coat. At sight of it, André's heart leapt, and he felt himself secure. Losing all caution, he exclaimed eagerly: "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party?" — "What party?" was asked. — "The lower party," said André. — "We do," was the reply. All reserve was now at an end. André declared himself to be a British officer who had been up the country on particular business, and must not be detained a single moment. He drew out his watch as he spoke. It was a gold one, and served to prove to them that he was what he represented himself, gold watches being seldom worn in those days, excepting by persons of consequence.

To his consternation, the supposed Hessian now avowed himself and his companions to be Americans, and told André he was their prisoner!

It was even so. The yeomanry of that harassed country had turned out in parties to intercept freebooters from the British lines. One of these parties, composed of seven men of the neighborhood, had divided itself. Four took post on a hill above Sleepy Hollow to watch the road which crossed the country; the other three, John Paulding, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams by name, stationed themselves on the road which runs parallel to the Hudson. Two of them were seated on the grass playing at cards to pass away the time, while one mounted guard.

The one who brought André to a stand was John Paulding, a stout-hearted youngster, who had been repeatedly in arms to repel or resent aggressions, and had twice been captured and confined in the loathsome military prisons where patriots suffered in New York. Both times he had made his escape; the last time, only four days previous to the event of which we are treating. The ragged Hessian coat, which had deceived André and been the cause of his betraying himself, had been given to Paulding by one of his captors, in exchange for a good yeoman garment of which they stripped him. This slight circumstance may have produced the whole discovery of the treason.

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André was astounded at finding into what hands he had fallen; and how he had betrayed himself by his heedless avowal. But recovering his self-possession, he endeavored to pass off his previous account of himself as a subterfuge. "A man must do anything," said he laughingly, "to get along." He now declared himself to be a Continental officer, going down to Dobbs' Ferry to get information from below; so saying, he drew forth and showed them the pass of General Arnold. This, in the first instance, would have been sufficient, but his unwary tongue had ruined him. The suspicions of his captors were roused, and seizing the bridle of his horse, they ordered him to dismount and proceeded to search him. He wore a round hat, a blue surtout, a crimson close-bodied coat, somewhat faded; the button-holes worked with gold, and the buttons covered with gold lace; a nankeen vest, and small-clothes and boots. They obliged him to take off his coat and vest, and finding on him nothing to warrant suspicion, were disposed to let him proceed, when Paulding exclaimed: "Boys, I am not satisfied — his boots must come off."

At this André changed color. His boots, he said, came off with difficulty, and he begged he might not be subjected to the inconvenience and delay. His remonstrances were in vain. He was obliged to sit down: his boots were drawn off, and the concealed papers discovered. Hastily scanning them, Paulding exclaimed, "My God! He is a spy!"

He demanded of André where he had gotten these papers.

"Of a man at Pine's Bridge, a stranger to me," was the reply.

While dressing himself, André endeavored to ransom himself from his captors; rising from one offer to another. He would give any sum of money if they would let him go. He would give his horse, saddle, bridle, and one hundred guineas, and would send them to any place that might be fixed upon.

Williams asked him if he would not give more.

He replied, that he would give any reward they might name either in goods or money, and would remain with two of their party while one went to New York to get it.

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Here Paulding broke in and declared with an oath, that if he would give ten thousand guineas, he should not stir one step.

The unfortunate André now submitted to his fate, and the captors set off with their prisoner for North Castle, the nearest American post, distant ten or twelve miles. They proceeded across a hilly and woody region, part of the way by the road, part across fields. One strode in front, occasionally holding the horse by the bridle, the others walked on either side. André rode on in silence, declining to answer further questions until he should come before a military officer. About noon, they halted at a farm-house where the inhabitants were taking their mid-day repast. The worthy housewife, moved by André's prepossessing appearance and dejected air, kindly invited him to partake. He declined, alleging that he had no appetite. Glancing at his gold-laced crimson coat, the good dame apologized for her rustic fare. "O madam," exclaimed poor André, with a melancholy shake of the head, "it is all very good — but, indeed, I cannot eat!"

This was related to us by a venerable matron, who was present on the occasion, a young girl at the time, but who in her old days could not recall the scene and the appearance of André without tears.

The captors with their prisoner having arrived at North Castle, Lieutenant-colonel Jameson, who was in command there, recognized the handwriting of Arnold in the papers found upon André, and, perceiving that they were of a dangerous nature, sent them off by express to General Washington, at Hartford.

André, still adhering to his assumed name, begged that the commander at West Point might be informed that John Anderson, though bearing his passport, was detained. Jameson appears to have completely lost his head. He wrote to Arnold, stating the circumstances of the arrest, and that the papers found upon the prisoner had been dispatched by express to the commander-in-chief, and at the same time, he sent the prisoner himself, under a strong guard, to accompany the letter.

Shortly afterwards Major Tallmadge, next in command to Jameson, but of a much clearer head, arrived at North Castle, having

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been absent on duty at White Plains. When the circumstances were related to him, he at once suspected treachery on the part of Arnold. At his earnest entreaties, an express was sent after the officer who had André in charge, ordering him to bring the latter back to North Castle; but by singular perversity or obtuseness in judgment, Jameson neglected to countermand the letter which he had written to Arnold.

When André was brought back, and was pacing up and down the room, Tallmadge saw at once by his air and movements, and the mode of turning on his heel, that he was a military man. By his advice, and under his escort, the prisoner was conducted to Colonel Sheldon's post at Lower Salem, as more secure than North Castle.

Here André, being told that the papers found upon his person had been forwarded to Washington, addressed to him immediately the following lines: —

"I beg your Excellency will be persuaded that no alteration in the temper of my mind or apprehensions for my safety induces me to take the step of addressing you; but that it is to secure myself from the imputation of having assumed a mean character for treacherous purposes or self-interest. . . . It is to vindicate my fame that I speak, and not to solicit security.

"The person in your possession is Major John André, adjutant-general of the British army.

"The influence of one commander in the army of his adversary is an advantage taken in war. A correspondence for this purpose I held, as confidential (in the present instance) with his Excellency, Sir Henry Clinton. To favor it, I agreed to meet upon ground not within the posts of either army a person who was to give me intelligence. I came up in the *Vulture* man-of-war for this effect, and was fetched from the shore to the beach. Being there, I was told that the approach of day would prevent my return, and that I must be concealed until the next night. I was in my regimentals, and had fairly risked my person.

"Against my stipulation, my intention, and without my knowledge beforehand, I was conducted within one of your posts. Thus

was I betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy within your posts.

"Having avowed myself a British officer, I have nothing to reveal but what relates to myself, which is true, on the honor of an officer and a gentleman.

"The request I have made to your Excellency, and I am conscious that I address myself well, is, that in any rigor policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me may mark, that, though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonorable; as no motive could be mine, but the service of my king, and as I was involuntarily an impostor."

This letter he submitted to the perusal of Major Tallmadge, who was surprised and agitated at finding the rank and importance of the prisoner he had in charge. The letter being dispatched, and André's pride relieved on a sensitive point, he resumed his serenity, apparently unconscious of the awful responsibility of his situation. Having a talent for caricature, he even amused himself in the course of the day by making a ludicrous sketch of himself and his rustic escort under march, and presenting it to an officer in the room with him. "This," said he gayly, "will give you an idea of the style in which I have had the honor to be conducted to my present abode."

Arnold's Flight. — On the very day that the treasonable conference between Arnold and André took place, on the banks of the Haverstraw Bay, Washington had his interview with the French officers at Hartford. It led to no important result. Intelligence was received that the squadron of the Count de Guichen, on which they had relied to give them superiority by sea, had sailed for Europe. This disconcerted their plans, and Washington, in consequence, set out two or three days sooner than had been anticipated on his return to his head-quarters on the Hudson. He was accompanied by Lafayette and Knox with their suites. On approaching the Hudson, Washington took a more circuitous route than the one he had originally intended, striking the river at Fish Kill just above the Highlands. Circumstances detained them a night at Fish Kill. Their baggage was sent on to Arnold's quar-

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ters in the Robinson House, with a message apprising the general that they would breakfast there the next day. In the morning (September 24th) they were in the saddle before break of day, having a ride to make of eighteen miles through the mountains. It was a pleasant and animated one. Washington was in excellent spirits, and the buoyant marquis, and genial, warm-hearted Knox, were companions with whom he was always disposed to unbend.

When within a mile of the Robinson House, Washington turned down a cross-road leading to the banks of the Hudson. Lafayette apprised him that he was going out of the way, and hinted that Mrs. Arnold must be waiting breakfast for him. "Ah, marquis!" replied he good-humoredly, "you young men are all in love with Mrs. Arnold. I see you are eager to be with her as soon as possible. Go you and breakfast with her, and tell her not to wait for me. I must ride down and examine the redoubts on this side of the river, but will be with her shortly."

The marquis and General Knox, however, turned off and accompanied him down to the redoubts, while Colonel Hamilton and Lafayette's aide-de-camp, Major James McHenry, continued along the main road to the Robinson House, bearing Washington's apology, and request that the breakfast might not be retarded.

The family with the two aides-de-camp sat down to breakfast. Mrs. Arnold had arrived but four or five days previously from Philadelphia, with her infant child, then about six months old. She was bright and amiable as usual. Arnold was silent and gloomy. It was an anxious moment with him. This was the day appointed for the consummation of the plot, when the enemy's ships were to ascend the river. The return of the commander-in-chief from the East two days sooner than had been anticipated, and his proposed visit to the forts, threatened to disconcert everything. What might be the consequence Arnold could not conjecture. In the midst of the repast a horseman alighted at the gate. It was the messenger bearing Jameson's letter to Arnold, stating the capture of André, and that dangerous papers found on him had been forwarded to Washington.

The mine had exploded beneath Arnold's feet; yet in this

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awful moment he gave an evidence of that quickness of mind which had won laurels for him when in the path of duty. Controlling his dismay he informed his guests that he must haste to West Point to prepare for the reception of the commander-in-chief. His wife followed him from the room. When alone with her up stairs, he announced in hurried words that he was a ruined man, and must instantly fly for his life! Overcome by the shock, she fell senseless on the floor. Arnold hurried down stairs, sent one of the maids to her assistance, and mounting the horse of the messenger, which stood saddled at the door, galloped down by what is still called Arnold's Path, to the landing-place, where his six-oared barge was moored. Throwing himself into it, he ordered his men to pull out into the middle of the river, and then made down with all speed for Teller's Point, which divides Haverstraw Bay from the Tappan Sea, saying he must be back soon to meet the commander-in-chief.

Washington arrived at the Robinson House shortly after the flight of the traitor. Being informed that Arnold had gone across to West Point to receive him, he took a hasty breakfast and repaired to the fortress, leaving word that he and his suite would return to dinner. In crossing the river, he noticed that no salute was fired from the fort, nor was there any preparation to receive him on his landing. Colonel Lamb, the officer in command, who came down to the shore, manifested surprise at seeing him, and apologized for this want of military ceremony, by assuring him he had not been apprised of his intended visit.

"Is not General Arnold here?" demanded Washington.

"No, sir. He has not been here for two days past; nor have I heard from him in that time."

This was strange and perplexing, but no sinister suspicion entered Washington's mind. He remained at the Point throughout the morning, inspecting the fortifications. In the meantime, the messenger whom Jameson had dispatched to Hartford with a letter covering the papers taken on André, arrived at the Robinson House. He had learnt, while on the way to Hartford, that Washington had left that place, whereupon he turned bridle to

overtake him, but missed him in consequence of the general's change of route. Coming by the lower road, the messenger had passed through Salem, where André was confined, and brought with him the letter written by that unfortunate officer to the commander-in-chief, the purport of which has already been given. These letters being represented as of the utmost moment, were opened and read by Colonel Hamilton, as Washington's aide-de-camp and confidential officer. He maintained silence as to their contents; met Washington, as he and his companions were coming up from the river, on their return from West Point, spoke to him a few words in a low voice, and they retired together into the house. Washington was far from wearing his usual air of equanimity when he rejoined his companions. Taking Knox and Lafayette aside, he communicated to them the intelligence, and placed the papers in their hands. "Whom can we trust now?" was his only comment, but it spoke volumes.

His first idea was to arrest the traitor. Conjecturing the direction of his flight, he dispatched Colonel Hamilton on horseback to spur with all speed to Verplanck's Point, which commands the narrow part of the Hudson, just below the Highlands, with orders to the commander to intercept Arnold should he not already have passed that post. This done, when dinner was announced, he invited the company to table. "Come, gentlemen; since Mrs. Arnold is ill, and the general is absent, let us sit down without ceremony." The repast was a quiet one, for none but Lafayette and Knox, beside the general, knew the purport of the letters just received.

Meanwhile Arnold had passed through the Highlands in safety, but there were the batteries at Verplanck's Point yet to fear. Fortunately for him, Hamilton, with the order for his arrest, had not arrived there. His barge was known by the garrison. A white handkerchief displayed gave it the sanction of a flag of truce: it was suffered to pass without question, and the traitor effected his escape to the *Vulture*, anchored a few miles below.

Colonel Hamilton returned to the Robinson House and reported the escape of the traitor. He brought two letters also to Wash-

ington, which had been sent on shore from the *Vulture*, under a flag of truce. One was from Arnold, of which the following is a transcript: —

"Sir, — The heart which is conscious of its own rectitude, cannot attempt to palliate a step which the world may censure as wrong; I have ever acted from a principle of love to my country, since the commencement of the present unhappy contest between Great Britain and the colonies; the same principle of love to my country actuates my present conduct, however it may appear inconsistent to the world, who seldom judge right of any man's actions.

"I ask no favor for myself. I have too often experienced the ingratitude of my country to attempt it; but, from the known humanity of your Excellency, I am induced to ask your protection for Mrs. Arnold from every insult and injury that a mistaken vengeance of my country may expose her to. It ought to fall only on me; she is as good and as innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong. I beg she may be permitted to return to her friends in Philadelphia, or to come to me as she may choose; from your Excellency I have no fears on her account, but she may suffer from the mistaken fury of the country."

The other letter was from Colonel Beverley Robinson, interceding for the release of André, on the plea that he was on shore under the sanction of a flag of truce, at the request of Arnold.

Notwithstanding Washington's apparent tranquillity and real self-possession, it was a time of appalling distrust. How far the treason had extended; who else might be implicated in it, was unknown. Arnold had escaped, and was actually on board of the *Vulture;* he knew everything about the condition of the posts: might he not persuade the enemy, in the present weak state of the garrisons, to attempt a *coup de main?* Washington instantly, therefore, began making preparations for an obstinate defence, and wrote to Greene, who, in his absence, commanded the army at Tappan, urging him to put the left division in motion as soon as possible for King's Ferry, where they would be met with further orders. "The division," writes he, "will come on light, leaving

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their heavy baggage to follow. You will also hold all the troops in readiness to move on the shortest notice. Transactions of a most interesting nature, and such as will astonish you, have been just discovered."

In the meantime, Mrs. Arnold remained in her room in a state bordering on frenzy. Arnold might well confide in the humanity and delicacy of Washington in respect to her. He regarded her with the sincerest commiseration, acquitting her of all previous knowledge of her husband's guilt. On remitting to her, by one of his aides-de-camp, the letter of her husband, written from on board of the *Vulture*, he informed her that he had done all that depended upon himself to have him arrested, but not having succeeded, he experienced a pleasure in assuring her of his safety.

During the brief time she remained at the Robinson House, she was treated with the utmost deference and delicacy, but soon set off, under a passport of Washington, for her father's house in Philadelphia.

Execution of André. — On the 26th of September, the day after the treason had been revealed to Washington, André arrived at the Robinson House, having been brought on in the night, under escort of Major Tallmadge. Washington made many inquiries of the major, but declined to have the prisoner brought into his presence, apparently entertaining a strong idea of his moral obliquity, from the nature of the scheme in which he had been engaged, and the circumstances under which he had been arrested.

The same evening he transmitted him to West Point, and shortly afterwards, Joshua Smith, who had likewise been arrested. Still, not considering them secure even there, he determined on the following day to send them on to the camp. In a letter to Greene he writes: "They will be under an escort of horse, and I wish you to have separate houses in camp ready for their reception, in which they may be kept perfectly secure; and also strong, trusty guards, trebly officered, that a part may be constantly in the room with them. They have not been permitted to be together, and must be kept apart. I would wish the room for Mr. André to be

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a decent one, and that he may be treated with civility; but that he may be so guarded as to preclude a possibility of his escaping."

The capture of André caused a great sensation at New York. He was universally popular with the army, and an especial favorite of Sir Henry Clinton. The latter addressed a letter to Washington on the 29th, claiming the release of André on similar ground to that urged by Colonel Robinson — his having visited Arnold at the particular request of that general officer, and under the sanction of a flag of truce; and his having been stopped while travelling under Arnold's passports. The same letter enclosed one addressed by Arnold to Sir Henry, and intended as a kind of certificate of André's innocence. Neither the official demand of Sir Henry Clinton, nor the certificate of Arnold, had any effect on the steady mind of Washington. He referred the case to a board of general officers, convened on the 29th of September, the day after his arrival at Tappan. It was composed of six major-generals, Greene, Stirling, St. Clair, Lafayette, Robert Howe, and Steuben; and eight brigadiers, Parsons, James Clinton, Knox, Glover, Paterson, Hand, Huntington, and Stark. General Greene, who was well versed in military law, and was a man of sound head and kind heart, was president, and Colonel John Lawrence, judge advocate-general. Upon André's frank confession, without the trouble of examining a witness, the board made up their report.

It briefly stated the circumstances of the case, and concluded with the opinion of the court, that Major André ought to be considered a spy from the enemy, and, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, ought to suffer death. In a conversation with Hamilton, André acknowledged the candor, liberality, and indulgence with which the board had conducted themselves in their painful inquiry. He met the result with manly firmness, and even in this situation of gathering horrors, thought of others more than of himself. "There is only one thing that disturbs my tranquillity," said he to Hamilton. "Sir Henry Clinton has been too good to me; he has been lavish of his kindness. I am bound to him by too many obligations, and love him too well, to bear the thought that he should reproach himself, or others should reproach him, on the

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supposition of my having conceived myself obliged, by his instructions, to run the risk I did. I would not for the world leave a sting in his mind that should embitter his future days." He could scarce finish the sentence, bursting into tears, in spite of his efforts to suppress them, and with difficulty collected himself enough afterwards to add, "I wish to be permitted to assure him that I did not act under this impression, but submitted to a necessity imposed upon me, as contrary to my own inclination, as to his wishes."

His request was complied with, and he wrote a letter to Sir Henry Clinton to the above purport. This letter accompanied one from Washington to Sir Henry Clinton, stating the report of the board of inquiry. "From these proceedings," observes he, "it is evident that Major André was employed in the execution of measures very foreign to the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorize in the most distant degree; and this gentleman confessed with the greatest candor, in the course of his examination, that it was impossible for him to suppose that he came on shore under the sanction of a flag."

Captain Aaron Ogden, a worthy officer of the New Jersey line, was selected by Washington to bear these dispatches to the enemy's post at Paulus Hook, thence to be conveyed across the Hudson to New York. Before his departure, he called by Washington's request on the Marquis de Lafayette, who gave him instructions to sound the officer commanding at that post whether Sir Henry Clinton might not be willing to deliver up Arnold in exchange for André. Ogden arrived at Paulus Hook in the evening, and made the suggestion, as if incidentally, in the course of conversation. The officer demanded if he had any authority from Washington for such an intimation. "I have no such assurance from General Washington," replied he, "but I am prepared to say, that if such a proposal were made, I believe it would be accepted, and Major André set at liberty." The officer crossed the river before morning, and communicated the matter to Sir Henry Clinton, but the latter instantly rejected the expedient as incompatible with honor and military principle.

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The execution was appointed to take place on the 1st of October, but was postponed till the next day, that due heed might be given to the arguments of Sir Henry Clinton, who sent General Robertson to intercede for the prisoner. On the 1st of October Robertson had an interview with Greene at Dobbs' Ferry, but nothing came of it. A petition from André, that he might be shot rather than hanged, was duly considered and rejected; and on the 2d of October the unfortunate young officer was led to the gallows. His remains were interred near the place of his execution at Tappan; whence in 1821 they were removed to England and buried in Westminster Abbey.

Had Washington consulted his feelings merely, the appeals in behalf of André might not have been in vain. Washington had no popular censure to apprehend should he exercise indulgence, for the popular feeling was with the prisoner. But he had a high and tenacious sense of the duties and responsibilities of his position, and never more than in this trying moment, when he had to elevate himself above the contagious sympathies of those around him, dismiss all personal considerations, and regard the peculiar circumstances of the case. The long course of insidious operations which had been pursued to undermine the loyalty of one of his most trusted officers; the greatness of the evil which the treason would have effected, if successful; the uncertainty how far the enemy had carried, or might still be carrying, their scheme of corruption, — for anonymous intimations spoke of treachery in other quarters, — all these considerations pointed this out as a case in which a signal example was required.

And what called for particular indulgence to the agent, if not instigator of this enormous crime, who had thus been providentially detected in disguise, and with the means of its consummation concealed upon his person? It has been alleged in André's behalf, as a mitigating circumstance, that he was involuntarily a spy. But it certainly should not soften our view of his mission, that he embarked in it without intending to subject himself to danger. A spice of danger would have given it a spice of heroism, however spurious. When the rendezvous was first projected, he sought,

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through an indirect channel, to let Arnold know that he would come out with a flag. If an interview had taken place under that sacred protection, and a triumphant treason had been the result, what a brand it would have affixed to André's name, that he had prostituted a flag of truce to such an end.

We dwell on these matters, not to check the sentiment of sympathy awakened in André's behalf by his personal qualities, but to vindicate the fair name of Washington from that "blot" which some have attempted to cast upon it, because, in exercising his stern duty as protector of the public weal, during a time of secret treason, he listened to policy and justice rather than mercy. In doing so, he took counsel with some of his general officers. Their opinions coincided with his own — that under present circumstances, it was important to give a signal warning to the enemy, by a rigorous observance of the rules of war and the usages of nations in like cases.

Joshua Smith was tried by a court-martial, on a charge of participating in the treason, but was acquitted, no proof appearing of his having had any knowledge of Arnold's plot, though it was thought he must have been conscious of something wrong in an interview so mysteriously conducted.

Arnold was now made brigadier-general in the British service. What reward he was to have received had his treason been successful, is not known; but £6315 were paid to him, as a compensation for losses which he professed to have suffered in going over to the enemies of his country. The vilest culprit, however, shrinks from sustaining the obloquy of his crimes. Shortly after his arrival in New York, Arnold published an address to the inhabitants of America, in which he endeavored to vindicate his conduct. He alleged that he had originally taken up arms merely to aid in obtaining a redress of grievances. He had considered the Declaration of Independence precipitate, and the reasons for it obviated by the subsequent proffers of the British government; and he inveighed against Congress for rejecting those offers, without submitting them to the people. Finally, the treaty with France, a proud, ancient, and crafty foe, the enemy of the Protestant faith

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and of real liberty, had completed, he said, the measure of his indignation, and determined him to abandon a cause sustained by iniquity and controlled by usurpers.

Besides this address, he issued a proclamation inviting the officers and soldiers of the American army, who had the real interest of their country at heart, and who were determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of Congress, and of France, to rally under the royal standard, and fight for true American liberty; holding out promises of large bounties and liberal subsistence, with compensation for all the implements and accoutrements of war they might bring with them.

Both the address and the proclamation were regarded by Americans with the contempt they merited.

At the end of November the army went into winter-quarters; the Pennsylvania line in the neighborhood of Morristown, the Jersey line about Pompton, the New England troops at West Point, and the other posts of the Highlands; and the New York line was stationed at Albany, to guard against any invasion from Canada.

The French army remained stationed at Newport, excepting the Duke of Lauzun's legion, which was cantoned at Lebanon in Connecticut. Washington's head-quarters were established at New Windsor on the Hudson.

We will now turn to the South to note the course of affairs in that quarter during the last few months.

§ 10. Second Great Triumph — Yorktown.

Battle of King's Mountain. — The defeat of General Gates at Camden had withered the laurels snatched at Saratoga. As in the one instance he had received exaggerated praise, so in the other, he suffered undue censure. The sudden annihilation of an army from which so much had been expected, and the retreat of the general before the field was absolutely lost, appeared to demand a strict investigation. Congress therefore passed a resolution (October 5th), requiring Washington to order a court of inquiry into the conduct of Gates as commander of the Southern army,

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and to appoint some other officer to the command until the inquiry should be made. Washington at once selected Greene for the important trust, the well-tried officer whom he would originally have chosen, had his opinion been consulted, when Congress so unadvisedly gave the command to Gates. In the present instance his choice was in concurrence with the expressed wishes of the delegates of the three Southern states, conveyed to him by one of their number.

Cornwallis having, as he supposed, entirely crushed the "rebel cause" in South Carolina, by the defeats of Gates and Sumter, remained for some time at Camden, detained by the excessive heat of the weather and the sickness of part of his troops, broken down by the hardships of campaigning under a southern sun. While awaiting supplies and reinforcements, he detached Major Patrick Ferguson to the western confines of North Carolina. This resolute partisan had with him his own corps of light infantry, and a body of royalist militia of his own training, in all about twelve hundred men, noted for alertness, and unincumbered with baggage or artillery.

His orders were to scour the mountain country between the Catawba and the Yadkin, harass the Whigs, inspirit the Tories, and embody the militia under the royal banner. This done, he was to repair to Charlotte, the capital of Mecklenburg County, where he would find Lord Cornwallis, who intended to make it his rendezvous. Should he, in the course of his tour, be threatened by a superior force, he was immediately to return to the main army. No great opposition, however, was apprehended, the Americans being considered totally broken up and dispirited.

The second week in September Cornwallis set out for North Carolina. In the subjugation of that province, he counted on the co-operation of the troops which Sir Henry Clinton was to send to the lower part of Virginia. Cornwallis took post at Charlotte, where he had given rendezvous to Ferguson. The surrounding country was wild and rugged, and covered with close woods. All attempts at foraging were worse than useless. The plantations were small and afforded scanty supplies. The inhabitants were

stanch Whigs, with the pugnacious spirit of the old Covenanters. Instead of remaining at home and receiving the king's money in exchange for their produce, they turned out with their rifles, stationed themselves in covered places, and fired upon the foraging parties. Convoys of provisions from Camden had to fight their way. Messengers were shot down and their dispatches seized. This was a sore annoyance to Cornwallis, depriving him of all intelligence concerning the movements of Ferguson, whose arrival he was anxiously awaiting. That doughty partisan officer was on his way to join Cornwallis when a chance for a signal exploit presented itself. An American force under Colonel Elijah Clarke of Georgia, was retreating to the mountain districts of North Carolina, after an unsuccessful attack upon the British post at Augusta. Ferguson resolved to cut off their retreat. Turning towards the mountains, he made his way through a rugged wilderness and took post at Gilbert-town, a small frontier village of log-houses. He was encouraged to this step by the persuasion that there was no force in that part of the country able to look him in the face. He had no idea that the behavior of his followers had arrayed the very wilderness against him. The scattered inhabitants of the mountains assembled without noise or warning; a hardy race, half huntsmen, half herdsmen, inhabiting deep narrow valleys, and fertile slopes, adapted to grazing, watered by the coldest of springs and brightest of streams, and embosomed in mighty forest trees. Being subject to inroads and surprisals from the Indians, a tacit league existed among them for mutual defence, and it only needed, as in the present instance, an alarm to be circulated through their settlements by swift messengers, to bring them at once to the point of danger. Now from the upland regions of Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas, these bold backwoodsmen assembled to the number of three thousand, led by their militia colonels, Campbell, Shelby, and Williams, Cleveland, McDowell, and Sevier. Threatened by a force so superior in numbers and fierce in hostility, Ferguson remembered the instructions of Cornwallis, and breaking up his quarters, he pushed for the British

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army, sending messengers ahead to apprise his lordship of the danger. Unfortunately for him, his missives were intercepted.

Gilbert-town had not long been vacated by Ferguson and his troops, when the motley host of mountaineers thronged in. The greater part were on horseback. Some were in homespun garb; but the most part in hunting-shirts, occasionally decorated with colored fringe and tassels. Each man had his long rifle and hunting-knife, his wallet, or knapsack and blanket, and either a buck's tail or sprig of evergreen in his hat. Here and there an officer appeared in the Continental uniform of blue and buff, but most preferred the half-Indian hunting-dress. There was neither tent nor equipage, neither baggage nor wagon to encumber the movements of that extemporaneous host. Prompt warriors of the wilderness, with them it was "seize the weapon — spring into the saddle — and away!" In going into action, it was their practice to dismount and tie their horses so as to have them at hand for use after the battle, either to pursue a flying enemy, or make their own escape by dint of hoof.

There was a clamor of tongues for a time at Gilbert-town; groups on horseback and foot in every part, holding hasty council. Being told that Ferguson had retreated by the Cherokee road toward North Carolina, about nine hundred of the hardiest and best mounted set out in urgent pursuit; leaving those who were on foot, or weakly mounted, to follow as fast as possible. Colonel William Campbell, of Virginia, having come from the greatest distance, was allowed to have command of the whole party; but there was not much order or subordination. Each colonel led his own men in his own way. A rapid and irregular march was kept up all night in murky darkness and through a heavy rain. About daybreak they crossed Broad river, where an attack was apprehended. Not finding the enemy, they halted, lit their fires, made their morning's meal and took a brief repose. By nine o'clock they were again on the march. The rainy night had been succeeded by a bright October morning, and all were in high spirits. Ferguson, they learnt, had taken the road toward King's Mountain, about twelve miles distant. When within three miles

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of it, their scouts brought in word that he had taken post on its summit. The officers now held a short consultation on horseback, and then proceeded. The position taken by Ferguson was a strong one. King's Mountain rises out of a broken country, and is detached, on the north, from inferior heights by a deep valley, so as to resemble an insulated promontory about half a mile in length, with sloping sides, excepting on the north. The mountain was covered for the most part with lofty forest trees, free from underwood, interspersed with boulders and masses of gray rock. The forest was sufficiently open to give free passage to horsemen. As the Americans drew nearer, they could occasionally, through openings of the woodland, descry the glittering of arms along a level ridge, forming the crest of King's Mountain. This, Ferguson had made his stronghold; boasting that "if all the rebels out of hell should attack him, they could not drive him from it."

Dismounting at a small stream which runs through a ravine, the Americans picketed their horses or tied them to the branches of the trees, and gave them in charge of a small guard. They then formed themselves into three divisions of nearly equal size, and prepared to storm the heights on three sides. Campbell, seconded by Shelby, was to lead the centre division; Sevier with McDowell the right, and Cleveland and Williams the left. The divisions were to scale the mountain as nearly as possible at the same time. The fighting directions were in frontier style. When once in action, every one must act for himself. The men were not to wait for the word of command, but to take good aim and fire as fast as possible. When they could no longer hold their ground, they were to get behind trees, or retreat a little, and return to the fight, but never to go quite off.

Campbell allowed time for the flanking divisions to move to the right and left along the base of the mountain, and take their proper distances; he then pushed up in front with the centre division. About four o'clock Campbell arrived within rifle distance of the crest of the mountain, whence a sheeted fire of musketry was opened upon him. He instantly deployed his men, posted them behind trees, and returned the fire with deadly effect. Fer-

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guson, exasperated at being thus hunted into this mountain fastness, had been chafing in his rocky lair and meditating a furious sally. He now rushed out with his regulars, made an impetuous charge with the bayonet, and dislodging his assailants from their coverts, began to drive them down the mountain. He had not proceeded far, when a flanking fire was opened by one of the other divisions; facing about and attacking this he was again successful, when a third fire was opened from another quarter. Thus, as fast as one division gave way before the bayonet, another came to its relief; while those who had given way rallied and returned to the charge. The nature of the ground was more favorable to the rifle than the bayonet, and this was a kind of warfare in which the frontier men were at home. The elevated position of the enemy also was in favor of the Americans, as it secured them from the danger of their own cross-fire. Ferguson found that he was completely in the hunter's toils, beset on every side; but he stood bravely at bay, until the ground around him was strewed with the killed and wounded, picked off by the fatal rifle. His men were at length broken, and retreated in confusion along the ridge. He galloped from place to place endeavoring to rally them, when a rifle ball brought him to the ground, and his white horse was seen careering down the mountain without a rider.

This closed the bloody fight; Ferguson's second in command, seeing all further resistance hopeless, hoisted a white flag, beat a parley, and surrendered at discretion. One hundred and fifty of the enemy had fallen, and as many been wounded; while of the Americans, but twenty were killed, though a considerable number were wounded. Among those slain was Colonel James Williams, who had commanded the troops of Ninety-Six, and proved himself one of the most daring of the partisan leaders.

Eight hundred and ten men were taken prisoners, one hundred of whom were British regulars, the rest loyalists. The rancor awakened by civil war was shown in the treatment of some of the prisoners. A court-martial was held the day after the battle, and a number of Tory prisoners who had been bitter in their hostility to the American cause, and flagitious in their persecution of their

countrymen, were hanged. This was to revenge the death of American prisoners hanged at Camden and elsewhere.

The army of mountaineers and frontier men, thus fortuitously congregated, did not attempt to follow up their signal blow. They had no general scheme, no plan of campaign; it was the spontaneous rising of the sons of the soil, to revenge it on its invaders, and, having effected their purpose, they returned in triumph to their homes. They were little aware of the importance of their achievement. The battle of King's Mountain, inconsiderable as it was in the numbers engaged, turned the tide of Southern warfare. The destruction of Ferguson and his corps gave a complete check to the expedition of Cornwallis. He began to fear for the safety of South Carolina, liable to such sudden irruptions from the mountains; lest, while he was facing to the north, these hordes of stark-riding warriors might throw themselves behind him, and produce a popular combustion in the province he had left. He resolved, therefore, to return with all speed to that province and provide for its security.

On the 14th of October he commenced his retrograde and mortifying march, conducting it in the night, and with such hurry and confusion, that nearly twenty wagons, laden with baggage and supplies, were lost. As he proceeded, the rainy season set in; the brooks and rivers became swollen, and almost impassable; the roads deep and miry; provisions and forage scanty. Sickness attacked the troops. Lord Cornwallis himself was seized with a bilious fever, which obliged him to halt two days in the Catawba settlement, and afterwards to be conveyed in a wagon, giving up the command to Lord Rawdon.

In the course of this desolate march, the British suffered as usual from the vengeance of an outraged country, being fired upon from behind trees and other coverts by the yeomanry; their sentries shot down at their encampments; their foraging parties cut off. "The enemy," writes Lord Rawdon, "are mostly mounted militia, not to be overtaken by our infantry, nor to be safely pursued in this strong country by our cavalry." For two weeks were they toiling on with the very elements arrayed against them, until

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after fording the Catawba where it was six hundred yards wide, they arrived at Winnsborough, in South Carolina. Hence, Lord Cornwallis wrote on the 24th of October to Brigadier-general Leslie — who was at that time in the Chesapeake, with the force detached by Sir Henry Clinton for a descent upon Virginia — suggesting the expediency of his advancing to South Carolina, for the purpose of co-operation with his lordship. In the meantime Cornwallis remained at Winnsborough; a central position, where he might cover the country from partisan incursions, obtain forage and supplies, and await the co-operation of General Leslie.

Marion and Sumter. — The victory at King's Mountain had set the partisan spirit throughout the country in a blaze. Francis Marion was soon in the field. He had been made a brigadier-general by Governor Rutledge, but his brigade, as it was called, was formed of neighbors and friends, and was continually fluctuating in numbers, and often numbered less than a hundred men. Marion was nearly fifty years of age, small of stature, hardy and vigorous; brave but not braggart, never avoiding danger, but never rashly seeking it; taciturn and abstemious; a strict disciplinarian; careful of the lives of his men, but little mindful of his own life; just in his dealings, free from everything selfish or mercenary, and incapable of a meanness. He had his haunts and strongholds in the morasses of the Pedee and Black rivers. His men were hardy and abstemious as himself; they ate their meat without salt, often subsisted on potatoes, were scantily clad, and almost destitute of blankets. Marion was full of stratagems and expedients. Sallying forth from his morasses, he would overrun the lower districts, pass the Santee, beat up the small posts in the vicinity of Charleston, cut up the communication between that city and Camden; and having struck some signal blow, would instantly retreat into his fenny fastnesses. Hence the British nicknamed him the *Swamp Fox*, but those of his countrymen who knew his courage, his loftiness of spirit and spotless integrity, considered him the *Bayard of the South*.

Tarleton undertook to draw the swamp fox from his cover. He marched cautiously down the east bank of the Wateree with a com-

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pact body of dragoons and infantry. The fox kept close; he saw that the enemy was too strong for him. Tarleton now changed his plan. By day he broke up his force into small detachments or patrols, giving them orders to keep near enough to each other to render mutual support if attacked, and to gather together at night. The artifice had its effect. Marion sallied forth from his covert just before daybreak to attack one of these detachments, when, to his surprise, he found himself close upon the British camp. Perceiving the snare that had been spread for him, he made a rapid retreat. A close pursuit took place. For seven hours Marion was hunted from one swamp and fastness to another; several stragglers of his band were captured, and Tarleton was in strong hope of bringing him into action, when an express came spurring from Cornwallis, calling for the immediate services of himself and his dragoons in another quarter.

Sumter was again in the field! That indefatigable partisan having recruited a strong party in the mountainous country, to which he retreated after his defeat on the Wateree, had reappeared on the west side of the Santee, repulsed a British party sent against him, killing its leader; then, crossing Broad river, had effected a junction with other partisan bodies, and now menaced the British posts in the district of Ninety-Six. It was this danger which called Tarleton off from beleaguering Marion. Advancing with his accustomed celerity, he thought to surprise Sumter on the Ennoree river. A deserter apprised the latter of his danger. He pushed across the river, but was hotly pursued, and his rear-guard roughly handled. He now made for the Tyger river, noted for turbulence and rapidity; once beyond this, he might disband his followers in the woods. Tarleton, to prevent his passing it unmolested, spurred forward in advance of his main body with one hundred and seventy dragoons and eighty mounted men of the infantry. Before five o'clock (November 20) his advance guard overtook and charged the rear of the Americans, who retreated to the main body. Sumter finding it impossible to cross Tyger river in safety, and being informed that the enemy were without infantry or cannon, took post on Black Stock Hill, with a

rivulet and rail fence in front, the Tyger river in the rear and on the right flank, and a large log barn on the left. The barn was turned into a fortress, and a part of the force stationed in it to fire through the apertures between the logs.

Tarleton halted on an opposite height to await the arrival of his infantry, and part of his men dismounted to ease their horses. Sumter seized this moment for an attack. He was driven back after some sharp fighting. The enemy pursued, but were severely galled by the fire from the log barn. Enraged at seeing his men shot down, Tarleton charged with his cavalry, but found it impossible to dislodge the Americans from their rustic fortress. At the approach of night he fell back to join his infantry, leaving the ground strewed with his killed and wounded. The latter were treated with great humanity by Sumter. The loss of the Americans was only three killed and four wounded. Sumter, who had received a severe wound in the breast, remained several hours on the field of action; but, understanding the enemy would be powerfully reinforced in the morning, he crossed the Tyger river in the night. He was then placed on a litter between two horses, and thus conducted across the country by a few faithful adherents. The rest of his little army dispersed themselves through the woods. Tarleton, finding his enemy had disappeared, claimed the credit of a victory; but those who considered the affair rightly declared that he had received a severe check.

Greene takes Command in the South. — While the attention of the enemy was thus engaged by the enterprises of Sumter and Marion and their swamp warriors, General Gates was gathering together the scattered fragments of his army at Hillsborough. When all were collected, his whole force, exclusive of militia, did not exceed fourteen hundred men. It was, as he said, "rather a shadow than a substance." His troops, disheartened by defeat, were in a forlorn state, without clothing, without pay, and sometimes without provisions. Destitute of tents, they constructed hovels of fence-rails, poles, brush-wood, and stalks of Indian corn, the officers faring no better than the men.

On the retreat of Cornwallis from Charlotte, Gates advanced to

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that place to make it his winter-quarters. Huts were ordered to be built, and a regular encampment was commenced. Gates's vanity was completely cut down by his late reverses. He had lost, too, the confidence of his officers, and was unable to maintain discipline among his men. To add to his depression of spirits, he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of an only son, and, while yet writhing under the blow, there came official dispatches informing him of his being superseded in command. A letter from Washington accompanied them, sympathizing with him in his domestic misfortunes, and adverting with peculiar delicacy to his reverses in battle. The effect of this letter was overpowering. Gates was found walking about his room in the greatest agitation, pressing the letter to his lips, breaking forth into ejaculations of gratitude.

General Greene arrived at Charlotte, on the 2d of December. On his way from the North he had made arrangements for supplies from the different states; and had left Baron Steuben in Virginia to defend that state and procure and send on reinforcements and stores for the Southern army. On the day following his arrival Greene took formal command. The delicacy with which he conducted himself towards his unfortunate predecessor is said to have been "edifying to the army." Gates was sensibly affected and comforted by this kind treatment, and retired with a lightened heart to his farm in Berkeley County, Virginia.

The whole force at Charlotte, when Greene took command, did not much exceed twenty-three hundred men, and more than half of them were militia. It had been broken in spirit by the recent defeat. The officers had fallen into habits of negligence; the soldiers were loose and disorderly, and prone to relieve their necessities by plundering the inhabitants. Greene's letters written at the time, abound with military aphorisms suggested by the squalid scene around him. "There must be either pride or principle," said he, "to make a soldier. No man will think himself bound to fight the battles of a state that leaves him perishing for want of covering; nor can you inspire a soldier with the sentiment of pride, while his situation renders him an object of pity,

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rather than of envy. Good feeling is the first principle of good service. It is impossible to preserve discipline where troops are in want of everything — to attempt severity will only thin the ranks by a more hasty desertion."

The first care of General Greene was to reorganize his army. He went to work quietly but resolutely: called no councils of war; communicated his plans and intentions to few, and such only as were able and willing to aid in executing them. His efforts were successful; the army soon began to assume what he termed a military complexion. He was equally studious to promote harmony among his officers, of whom a number were young, gallant, and intelligent. It was his delight to have them at his genial but simple table, where parade and restraint were banished, and pleasant and instructive conversation was promoted; which, next to reading, was his great enjoyment. The manly benignity of his manners diffused itself round his board, and a common sentiment of affection for their chief united the young men in a kind of brotherhood.

Finding the country round Charlotte exhausted by repeated foragings, he separated the army into two divisions. One, about one thousand strong, was commanded by Brigadier-general Morgan, of rifle renown, and was composed of four hundred Continental infantry, under Lieutenant-colonel Howard of the Maryland line, five hundred Virginia militia, and one hundred dragoons, under Lieutenant-colonel William Washington, a distant cousin of the commander-in-chief. With these, Morgan was detached towards the district of Ninety-Six, in South Carolina, with orders to take a position near the confluence of the Pacolet and Broad rivers, and assemble the militia of the country. With the other division, Greene made a toilful march through a barren country to Hicks' Creek, on the east side of the Pedee river, opposite the Cheraw Hills. There he posted himself, on the 26th, partly to discourage the enemy from attempting to possess themselves of Cross Creek, which would give them command of the greatest part of the provisions of the lower country — partly to form a

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camp of repose; "and no army," writes he, "ever wanted one more, the troops having totally lost their discipline."

"I will not pain your Excellency," writes he to Washington, "with further accounts of the wants and sufferings of this army; but I am not without great apprehension of its entire dissolution, unless the commissary's and quartermaster's departments can be rendered more competent to the demands of the service. Nor are the clothing and hospital departments upon a better footing. Not a shilling in the pay chest, nor a prospect of any for months to come. This is really making bricks without straw."

While Greene was writing these lines, another hostile expedition was on its way southward from New York. Sir Henry Clinton had received information that the troops already mentioned as being under Leslie in the Chesapeake, had, by orders from Cornwallis, sailed for Charleston, to reinforce his lordship; and this fresh detachment was to take their place in Virginia. It was composed of British, German, and Tory troops, about seventeen hundred strong, and was commanded by Benedict Arnold, now a brigadier-general in His Majesty's service. He was to make an incursion into Virginia, destroy the public magazines, assemble and arm the loyalists, and hold himself ready to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis.

As Washington beheld one hostile armament after another winging its way to the South, and received applications from that quarter for assistance, which he had not the means to furnish, it became painfully apparent to him that the efforts to carry on the war had exceeded the natural capabilities of the country. Its widely diffused population and the composition and temper of some of its people, rendered it difficult to draw together its resources. Commerce was almost extinct; there was not sufficient natural wealth on which to found a revenue; paper currency had depreciated through want of funds for its redemption, until it was nearly worthless. The mode of supplying the army by assessing a proportion of the productions of the earth had proved ineffectual, oppressive, and productive of an alarming opposition. Domestic loans yielded but trifling assistance. The patience of the army was nearly exhausted. In January, 1781, the dissatisfaction of the Pennsylvania

and New Jersey troops, encamped at Morristown and Pompton, found expression in an insurrection which, for a time, spread alarm among the friends of American liberty, and excited the highest hopes of its foes.

In the midst of such disheartening difficulties, a great cause of satisfaction to Washington was the ratification of the articles of confederation between the states, which took place not long afterward. A set of articles had been submitted to Congress by Dr. Franklin, as far back as 1775. A form had been prepared and digested by a committee in 1776, and agreed upon, with some modifications, in 1777, but had ever since remained in abeyance, in consequence of objections made by individual states. The confederation was now complete, and Washington, in a letter to the President of Congress, congratulated him and the body over which he presided, on an event long wished for, and which he hoped would have the happiest effects upon the politics of this country, and be of essential service to our cause in Europe.

It was, after all, an instrument far less efficacious than its advocates had anticipated; but it served an important purpose in binding the states together as a nation, and keeping them from falling asunder into individual powers, after the pressure of external danger should cease to operate.

Battle of the Cowpens. — The stress of war, as Washington apprehended, was at present shifted to the South. We left General Greene, in the latter part of December, posted with one division of his army on the east side of the Pedee river, having detached General Morgan with the other division, one thousand strong, to take post near the confluence of the Pacolet and Broad rivers.

Cornwallis lay encamped about seventy miles to the southwest of Greene, at Winnsborough. General Leslie had recently arrived at Charleston from Virginia, and was advancing to reinforce him with fifteen hundred men. This would give Cornwallis such a superiority of force, that he prepared for a second invasion of North Carolina. His plan was to leave Lord Rawdon at the central post of Camden with a considerable body of troops to

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keep all quiet, while his lordship, by rapid marches, would throw himself between Greene and Virginia, cut him off from all reinforcements in that quarter, and oblige him to fight at a disadvantage. In either case, Cornwallis counted on a general rising of the loyalists; a re-establishment of British government in the Carolinas, and the clearing away of all impediments to further triumphs in Virginia and Maryland.

By recent information, he learnt that Morgan had passed both the Catawba and Broad rivers, and was about seventy miles to the northwest of him, on his way to the district of Ninety-Six. As Morgan might prove extremely formidable if left in his rear, Tarleton was sent in quest of him, with about eleven hundred choice troops, cavalry and infantry, and two field-pieces.

Cornwallis moved with his main force on the 12th of December, in a northwest direction between the Broad river and the Catawba, leading toward the back country. This was for the purpose of crossing the great rivers at their fords near their sources; for they are fed by innumerable petty streams which drain the mountains, and are apt, in the winter time, when storms of rain prevail, to swell and become impassable below their forks. He took this route also, to cut off Morgan's retreat, or prevent his junction with Greene, should Tarleton's expedition fail of its object. General Leslie, whose arrival was daily expected, was to move up along the eastern side of the Wateree and Catawba, keeping parallel with his lordship and joining him above. Everything on the part of Cornwallis was well planned, and seemed to promise him a successful campaign.

Tarleton, after several days' hard marching, came upon the traces of Morgan, who was posted on the north bank of the Pacolet, to guard the passes of that river. He sent word to Cornwallis of his intention to force a passage across the river, and compel Morgan either to fight or retreat, and suggested that his lordship should proceed up the eastern bank of Broad river, so as to be at hand to co-operate. His lordship, in consequence, took up a position at Turkey Creek, on Broad river.

Morgan had been recruited by North Carolina and Georgia

militia, so that his force was nearly equal in number to that of Tarleton, but, in point of cavalry and discipline, vastly inferior. Cornwallis, too, was on his left, and might get in his rear; checking his impulse, therefore, to dispute the passage of the Pacolet, he crossed that stream and retreated towards the upper fords of Broad river.

Tarleton reached the Pacolet on the evening of the 15th, but halted on observing some troops on the opposite bank. It was merely a party of observation which Morgan had left there, but he supposed that officer to be there in full force. After some manœuvring to deceive his adversary he crossed the river before daylight at Easterwood shoals. There was no opposition. Still he proceeded warily, until he learnt that Morgan, instead of being in his neighborhood, was in full march toward Broad river. Tarleton now pressed on in pursuit. At ten o'clock at night he reached an encampment which Morgan had abandoned a few hours previously, apparently in great haste, for the camp-fires were still smoking, and provisions had been left behind half cooked. Eager to come upon his enemy while in the confusion of a hurried flight, Tarleton allowed his exhausted troops but a brief repose, and, leaving his baggage under a guard, resumed his dogged march about two o'clock in the night; tramping forward through swamps and rugged broken grounds, round the western side of Thickety Mountain. A little before daylight of the 17th, he captured two videttes, from whom he learnt, to his surprise, that Morgan, instead of a headlong retreat, had taken a night's repose, and was actually preparing to give him battle.

Morgan, in fact, had been urged by his officers to retreat across Broad river, which was near by, and make for the mountainous country; but, closely pressed as he was, he feared to be overtaken while fording the river, and while his troops were fatigued, and in confusion; besides, being now nearly equal in number to the enemy, military pride would not suffer him to avoid a combat.

The place where he came to halt was known in the early grants by the name of Hannah's Cowpens, being part of a grazing establishment of a man named Hannah. It was in an open wood,

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favorable to the action of cavalry. There were two eminences of unequal height, and separated from each other by an interval about eighty yards wide. To the first eminence, which was the highest, there was an easy ascent of about three hundred yards. On these heights Morgan had posted himself. His flanks were unprotected, and the Broad river, running parallel on his rear, about six miles distant, and winding round on the left, would cut off retreat, should the day prove unfortunate. The ground, in the opinion of tacticians, was not well chosen; Morgan, a veteran bush-fighter, vindicated it in after times in his own characteristic way. "Had I crossed the river, one-half of the militia would have abandoned me. Had a swamp been in view, they would have made for it. As to covering my wings, I knew the foe I had to deal with, and that there would be nothing but downright fighting. As to a retreat, I wished to cut off all hope of one. Should Tarleton surround me with his cavalry, it would keep my troops from breaking away, and make them depend upon their bayonets. When men are forced to fight, they will sell their lives dearly."

In arranging his troops for action, he drew out his infantry in two lines. The first was composed of the North and South Carolina militia, under Colonel Pickens, having an advanced corps of North Carolina and Georgia volunteer riflemen. This line, on which he had the least dependence, was charged to wait until the enemy were within dead shot; then to take good aim, fire two volleys and fall back.

The second line, drawn up a moderate distance in the rear of the first, and near the brow of the main eminence, was composed of Colonel Howard's light infantry and the Virginia riflemen; all Continental troops. They were informed of the orders which had been given to the first line, lest they should mistake their falling back for a retreat. Colonel Howard had the command of this line, on which the greatest reliance was placed.

About a hundred and fifty yards in the rear of the second line, and on the slope of the lesser eminence, was Colonel Washington's troop of cavalry, about eighty strong; with about fifty mounted Carolinian volunteers, armed with sabres and pistols.

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British writers of the day gave Morgan credit for uncommon ability and judgment in the disposition of his force; placing the militia, in whom he had no great confidence, in full view on the edge of the wood, and keeping his best troops out of sight, but drawn up in excellent order and prepared for all events.

It was about eight o'clock in the morning (January 17th) when Tarleton came up. The position of the Americans seemed to him to give great advantage to his cavalry, and he made hasty preparation for immediate attack, anticipating an easy victory. Part of his infantry he formed into a line, with dragoons on each flank. The rest of the infantry and cavalry were to be a reserve, and to wait for orders.

There was a physical difference in the condition of the adverse troops. The British were haggard from want of sleep and a rough night-tramp; the Americans, on the contrary, were fresh from a night's rest, invigorated by a morning's meal, and deliberately drawn up. Tarleton took no notice of these circumstances, or disregarded them. Impetuous at all times, and now confident of victory, he did not even wait until the reserve could be placed, but led on his first line, which rushed shouting to the attack. The North Carolina and Georgia riflemen in the advance delivered their fire with effect, and fell back to the flanks of Pickens's militia. These, as they had been instructed, waited until the enemy were within fifty yards, and then made a destructive volley, but soon gave way before the push of the bayonet. The British infantry pushed up to the second line, while forty of their cavalry attacked it on the right, seeking to turn its flank. Colonel Howard made a brave stand, and for some time there was a bloody conflict; seeing himself, however, in danger of being outflanked, he endeavored to change his front to the right. His orders were misunderstood, and his troops were falling into confusion, when Morgan rode up and ordered them to retreat over the hill, where Colonel Washington's cavalry were hurried forward for their protection.

The British, seeing the troops retiring over the hill, rushed forward irregularly in pursuit of what they deemed a routed foe. To their astonishment, they were met by Colonel Washington's dra-

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goons, who spurred on them impetuously, while Howard's infantry, facing about, gave them an effective volley of musketry, and then charged with the bayonet. The enemy now fell into complete confusion. Some few artillerymen attempted to defend their guns, but were cut down or taken prisoners, and the cannon and colors captured. A panic seized upon the British troops, aided no doubt by fatigue and exhaustion. A general flight took place. Tarleton endeavored to bring his legion cavalry into action to retrieve the day. They had stood aloof as a reserve, and now, infected by the panic, turned their backs upon their commander, and galloped off through the woods, riding over the flying infantry. Fourteen of his officers, however, and forty of his dragoons, remained true to him; with these he attempted to withstand the attack of Washington's cavalry, and a fierce mêlée took place; but on the approach of Howard's infantry Tarleton gave up all for lost, and spurred off with his few but faithful adherents, thence to seek the main army under Cornwallis.

The loss of the British in this action was ten officers and above one hundred men killed, two hundred wounded, and between five and six hundred rank and file made prisoners; while the Americans had but twelve men killed and sixty wounded. The disparity of loss shows how complete had been the confusion and defeat of the enemy.

Morgan did not linger on the field of battle. Leaving Colonel Pickens with a body of militia to bury the dead and provide for the wounded of both armies, he set out the same day about noon, with his prisoners and spoils. His object was to get to the Catawba before he could be intercepted by Cornwallis, who lay nearer than he did to the fords of that river. Before nightfall he crossed Broad river at the Cherokee Ford, and halted for a few hours on its northern bank. Before daylight of the 18th he was again on the march. Colonel Washington, who had been in pursuit of the enemy, rejoined him in the course of the day, as also did Colonel Pickens, who had left such of the wounded as could not be moved, under the protection of a flag of truce.

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Still fearing that he might be intercepted before he could reach

the Catawba, he put his prisoners in charge of Colonel Washington and the cavalry, with orders to move higher up into the country and cross the main Catawba at the Island Ford; while he himself pushed forward for that river by the direct route; thus to distract the attention of the enemy should they be in pursuit, and to secure his prisoners from being recaptured.

Cornwallis, on the eventful day of the 17th, was at his camp on Turkey Creek, confidently waiting for tidings of victory, when, towards evening, some of Tarleton's routed dragoons came straggling into camp, to tell the tale of his defeat. It seemed incredible, but was confirmed next morning, by the arrival of Tarleton himself, discomfited and crestfallen. In his account of the battle, he represented the force under Morgan to be two thousand. This exaggerated estimate, together with the idea that the militia would now be out in great force, rendered his lordship cautious. He remained a day or two at Turkey Creek to collect the scattered remains of Tarleton's forces, and await the arrival of Leslie, whose march had been much retarded by the waters. On the 19th, having been joined by Leslie, his lordship moved in the direction of King's Mountain, until informed of Morgan's retreat toward the Catawba. Cornwallis now altered his course in that direction, and, trusting that Morgan, encumbered, as he supposed him to be, by prisoners and spoils, might be overtaken before he could cross that river, detached a part of his force, without baggage, in pursuit of him, while he followed on with the remainder.

Nothing, say the British chroniclers, could exceed the exertions of the detachment; but Morgan succeeded in reaching the Catawba and crossing it in the evening, just two hours before those in pursuit of him arrived on its banks. A heavy rain came on and fell all night, and by daybreak the river was so swollen as to be impassable. This gave Morgan time to send off his prisoners who had crossed several miles above, and to call out the militia of Mecklenburg and Rowan counties to guard the fords of the river.

Lord Cornwallis had moved slowly with his main body. He

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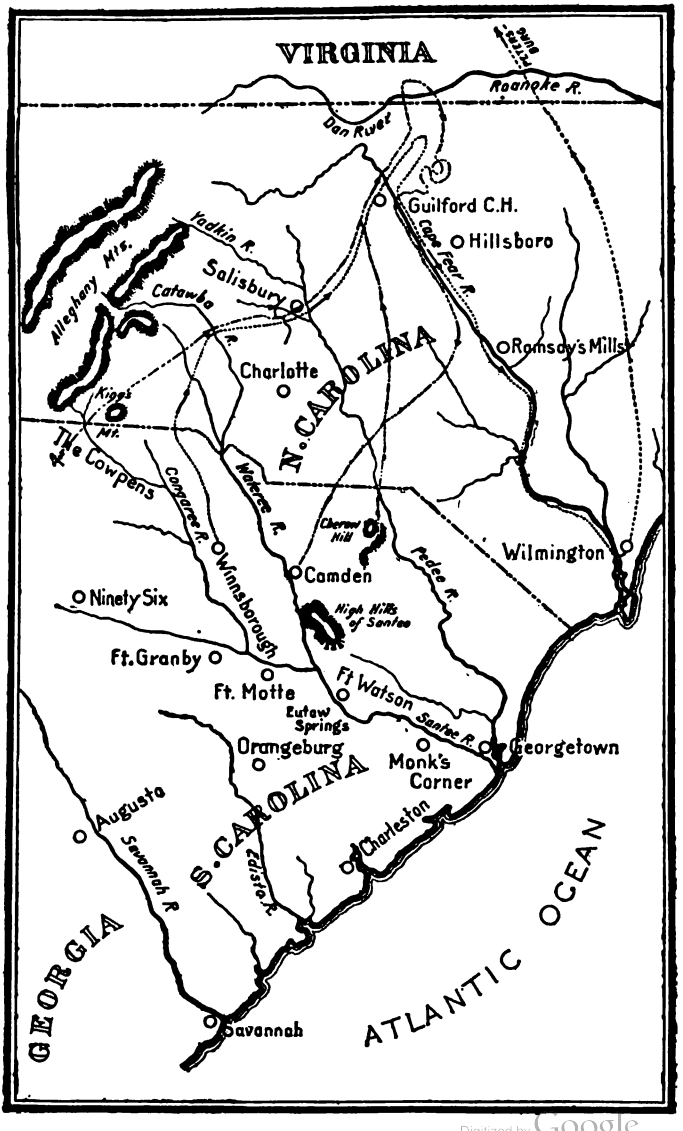

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was encumbered by an immense train of baggage; the roads were through deep red clay, and the country was cut up by streams and morasses. It was not until the 25th that he assembled his whole force at Ramsour's Mills, on the Little Catawba, as the south fork of that river is called, and learnt that Morgan had crossed the main stream. Now he felt the serious loss he had sustained, in Tarleton's defeat, since light troops were especially needed in such a country as he was entangled in. In this crippled condition, he determined to relieve his army of everything that could impede rapid movement in his future operations. Two days, therefore, were spent by him at Ramsour's Mills, in destroying all such baggage and stores as could possibly be spared. He began with his own. His officers followed his example. Superfluities of all kinds were sacrificed without flinching. Casks of wine and spirituous liquors were staved: quantities of provisions were sacrificed. No wagons were spared but those laden with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four empty ones, for the sick and wounded. The alacrity with which these sacrifices of comforts, conveniencies, and even necessaries, were made, was honorable to both officers and men.

The whole expedient was subsequently sneered at by Sir Henry Clinton, as being "something too like a Tartar move"; but his lordship was preparing for a trial of speed, where it was important to carry as light weight as possible.

Greene's Masterly Retreat. — General Greene was gladdened by a letter from Morgan, written shortly after his brilliant victory. He had already received intelligence of the landing of troops at Wilmington, from a British squadron, supposed to be a force under Arnold, destined to push up Cape Fear river, and co-operate with Cornwallis; he had to prepare, therefore, not only to succor Morgan, but to prevent this co-operation. He accordingly detached General Stevens with his Virginia militia (whose term of service was nearly expired) to take charge of Morgan's prisoners, and conduct them to Charlottesville in Virginia. At the same time he wrote to the governors of North Carolina and Virginia, for all the aid they could furnish; to Steuben, to hasten forward his recruits;

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and to Shelby, Campbell, and others, to take arms once more, and rival their achievements at King's Mountain.

This done, Greene left General Huger in command of the division on the Pedee, with orders to hasten on by forced marches to Salisbury, to join Morgan's division: in the meantime he set off himself on horseback for Morgan's camp, attended merely by a guide, an aide-de-camp, and a sergeant's guard of dragoons. His object was to aid Morgan in checking the enemy until the junction of his forces could be effected. It was a hard ride of more than a hundred miles through a rough country. On the last day of January he reached Morgan's camp at Sherrard's Ford on the east side of the Catawba. The British army lay on the opposite side, but a few miles distant, and appeared to be making preparations to force a passage, as the river was subsiding, and would soon be fordable. Greene supposed Cornwallis had in view a junction with Arnold at Cape Fear; he wrote, therefore, to General Huger to hurry on, so that with their united forces they could give his lordship a defeat before he could effect the junction. "*I am not without hopes*," writes he, "*of ruining Lord Cornwallis if he persists in his mad scheme of pushing through the country;* and it is my earnest desire to form a junction as early for this purpose as possible. Desire Colonel Lee to force a march to join us. *Here is a fine field, and great glory ahead.*"

More correct information relieved him from the apprehension of a co-operation of Arnold and Cornwallis. The British troops which landed at Wilmington were merely a small detachment sent from Charleston to establish a military dépôt for the use of Cornwallis in his Southern campaign. They had taken possession of Wilmington without opposition. Greene now changed his plans. He was aware of the ill-provided state of the British army, from the voluntary destruction of their wagons, tents, and baggage. When he first heard of this measure, on arriving at Sherrard's Ford, he had exclaimed, "Then Cornwallis is ours." His plan now was to tempt the enemy continually with the prospect of a battle, but continually to elude one; to harass them by a long pursuit, draw them higher into the country, and gain time for

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the division advancing under Huger to join him. It was the Fabian policy that he had learnt under Washington, of whom he prided himself on being a disciple.

As the subsiding of the Catawba would enable Cornwallis to cross, Greene ordered Morgan to move off silently with his division, on the evening of the 31st, and to press his march all night, so as to gain a good start in advance, while he himself would remain to bring on the militia, who were employed to check the enemy. These militia, assembled from the neighboring counties, did not exceed five hundred. Two hundred of them were distributed at different fords; the remainder, forming a corps of mounted riflemen under General Davidson, were to watch the enemy's movements, and attack him wherever he should make his main attempt to cross. When the enemy should have actually crossed, the different bodies of militia were to make the best of their way to a rendezvous, sixteen miles distant, on the road to Salisbury, where Greene would be waiting to receive them, and conduct their further movements.

While these dispositions were being made by the American commander, Cornwallis was preparing to cross the river. The night of the 31st was chosen for the attempt. To divert the attention of the Americans, he detached colonels Webster and Tarleton with a part of the army to a public ford called Beattie's Ford, where he supposed Davidson to be stationed. There they were to open a cannonade, and make a feint of forcing a passage. The main attempt, however, was to be made six miles lower down, at McGowan's, a private and unfrequented ford, where little, if any, opposition was anticipated.

Cornwallis set out for McGowan's ford, with the main body of his army, at one o'clock in the morning. The night was dark and rainy. He had to make his way through a wood and swamp where there was no road. His artillery stuck fast. The line passed on without them. It was near daybreak when the head of the column reached the ford. To their surprise, they beheld numerous camp-fires on the opposite bank. Word was hastily carried to Cornwallis that the ford was guarded. It was so indeed: Davidson was there with his riflemen.

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His lordship would have waited for his artillery, but the rain was still falling, and might render the river unfordable. At that place the Catawba was nearly five hundred yards wide, about three feet deep, very rapid, and full of large stones. The troops entered the river in platoons, to support each other against the current, and were ordered not to fire until they should gain the opposite bank. Colonel Hall, of the light infantry, led the way; the grenadiers followed. The noise of the water and the darkness covered their movements until they were nearly half-way across, when they were descried by an American sentinel. He challenged them three times, and receiving no answer, fired. Terrified by the report, the man who was guiding the British turned and fled. Colonel Hall, thus abandoned, led the way directly across the river; whereas the true ford inclined diagonally further down. Hall had to pass through deeper water, but he reached a part of the bank where it was unguarded. The American pickets, too, which had turned out at the alarm given by the sentinel, had to deliver a distant and slanting fire. Still it had its effect. Three of the British were killed, and thirty-six wounded. Colonel Hall pushed on gallantly, but was shot down as he ascended the bank. The horse on which Cornwallis rode was wounded, but the brave animal carried his lordship to the shore, where he sank under him. The steed of Brigadier-general O'Hara rolled over with him into the water, and General Leslie's horse was borne away by the tumultuous current and with difficulty recovered.

General Davidson hastened with his men towards the place where the British were landing. The latter formed as soon as they found themselves on firm ground, charged Davidson's men before he had time to get them in order, killed and wounded about forty, and put the rest to flight. Davidson himself, the last to leave the ground, was killed as he was mounting his horse. When the enemy had effected the passage, Tarleton was detached in pursuit of the militia, most of whom dispersed to their homes.

Greene, learning that the enemy had crossed the Catawba at daybreak, awaited anxiously at the rendezvous the arrival of the militia. It was not until after midnight that he heard of their dis-

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persion, and Davidson's death. Apprehending the rapid advance of Cornwallis, he hastened to rejoin Morgan, who with his division was pushing forward for the Yadkin, first sending orders to General Huger to conduct the other division by the most direct route to Guilford Court-house, where the forces were to be united. Greene spurred forward through heavy rain and deep, miry roads. It was a dreary ride and a lonely one, for he had detached his aides-de-camp in different directions, to collect the scattered militia. At mid-day he alighted, weary and travel-stained, at the inn at Salisbury, where the army physician who had charge of the sick and wounded prisoners received him at the door, and inquired after his well-being. "Fatigued, hungry, alone, and penniless," was Greene's heavy-hearted reply. The landlady, Mrs. Elizabeth Steele, overheard his desponding words. While he was seated at table, she entered the room, closed the door, and drawing from under her apron two bags of money, which she had carefully hoarded in these precarious times, "Take these," said the noble-hearted woman; "you will want them, and I can do without them." This is one of the numberless instances of the devoted patriotism of our women during the Revolution.

Cornwallis did not advance so rapidly as had been apprehended. After crossing the Catawba, he had to wait for his wagons and artillery, which had remained on the other side in the woods; so that by nightfall of the 1st of February he was not more than five miles on the road to Salisbury. Eager to come up with the Americans, he mounted some of the infantry upon the baggage horses, joined them to the cavalry, and sent the whole forward under General O'Hara. They arrived on the banks of the Yadkin at night, between the 2d and 3d of February, just in time to capture a few wagons lingering in the rear of the American army, which had passed. The riflemen who guarded them retreated after a short skirmish. There were no boats with which to cross; the Americans had secured them on the other side. The rain which had fallen throughout the day had overflooded the ford by which the American cavalry had passed. The pursuers were again brought to a stand. After some doubt and delay, Cornwallis took

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his course up the south side of the Yadkin, and crossed by what is still called the Shallow Ford, while Greene continued on unmolested to Guilford Court-house, where he was joined by General Huger and his division on the 9th.

Cornwallis was now encamped about twenty-five miles above them, at the old Moravian town of Salem. Greene summoned a council of war (almost the only time he was known to do so), and submitted the question whether or not to offer battle. There was a unanimous vote in the negative. A fourth part of the force was on the sick list, from nakedness and exposure. The official returns gave but two thousand and thirty-six, rank and file, fit for duty. Of these upwards of six hundred were militia. Cornwallis had from twenty-five hundred to three thousand men, including three hundred cavalry, all thoroughly disciplined and well equipped. It was determined to continue the retreat.

Greene's great object now was to get across the river Dan and throw himself into Virginia. With the reinforcements he might there expect to find, he hoped to effect the salvation of the South. The object of Cornwallis was to get between him and Virginia, and force him to a combat before he could receive those reinforcements. His lordship had been informed that the lower part of the Dan could only be crossed in boats, and that the country did not afford a sufficient number for the passage of Greene's army; he trusted, therefore, to cut him off from the upper part of the river, where alone it was fordable. Greene, however, had provided against such a contingency. Boats had been secured at various places by his agents, and could be collected at a few hours' notice at the lower ferries. Instead, therefore, of striving with his lordship for the upper fords, Greene shaped his course for Boyd's and Irwin's ferries, just above the confluence of the Dan and Staunton rivers which forms the Roanoke, and about seventy miles from Guilford Court-house. This gave him twenty-five miles advantage of Lord Cornwallis at the outset.

In ordering his march, General Greene took the lead with the main body, the baggage, and stores. General Morgan would have had the command of the rear-guard, composed of seven hundred

of the most alert and active troops, cavalry and light infantry; but as he was disabled by a violent attack of rheumatism, it was given to Colonel Otho Williams who had with him colonels Howard, Washington, and Lee. This rear-guard did admirable service. Being lightly equipped, it could manœuvre in front of the British line of march, break down bridges, sweep off provisions, and impede its progress in a variety of ways, while the main body moved forward unmolested. It was now that Cornwallis most felt the severity of the blow he had received at the battle of the Cowpens in the loss of his light troops, which left him quite unable to cope with Williams.

Great abilities were shown by the commanders on either side in this momentous trial of activity and skill. It was a long and severe march for both armies, through a wild and rough country. We forbear to enter into the details of the many stratagems and manœuvres by which the enemy was delayed and hoodwinked. So thoroughly had Cornwallis been misinformed as to the means of passing the river, and so difficult was it, from want of light troops, to gain information while on the march, that he pushed on in the firm conviction that he was driving the American army into a trap and would give it a signal blow before it could cross the Dan.

In the meantime, Greene, with the main body, reached the banks of the river, and succeeded in crossing over with ease in the course of a single day at Boyd's and Irwin's ferries, sending back word to Williams, who with his covering party was far in the rear. That intelligent officer encamped, as usual, in the evening, at a wary distance in front of the enemy, but stole a march upon them after dark, leaving his camp-fires burning. He pushed on all night, arrived at the ferry in the morning of the 15th, having marched forty miles within four and twenty hours; and made such dispatch in crossing, that his last troops had landed on the Virginia shore by the time the astonished enemy arrived on the opposite bank. Nothing, according to their own avowal, could surpass the grief and vexation of the British at discovering, on their arrival at Boyd's Ferry, "that all their toils and exertions had been vain, and that all their hopes were frustrated."

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Battle of Guilford Court-House. — For a day the two armies lay panting within sight of each other on the opposite banks of the river which had put an end to the race.

On the 16th, the river began to subside: the enemy might soon be able to cross. Greene prepared for a further retreat by sending forward his baggage on the road to Halifax, and securing the passage of the Staunton. At Halifax he was resolved to make a stand, rather than suffer the enemy to take possession of it without a struggle. Its situation on the Roanoke would make it a strong position for their army, supported by a fleet, and would favor their designs both on Virginia and the Carolinas. With a view to its defence, entrenchments had already been thrown up, under the direction of Kosciuszko. Lord Cornwallis, however, did not deem it prudent to venture into Virginia, where Greene would be sure of powerful reinforcements. North Carolina was in a state of the utmost disorder and confusion; he thought it better to remain in it for a time, and profit by Greene's absence. After giving his troops a day's repose, therefore, he put them once more in motion on the 18th, along the road by which he had pursued Greene. The latter, incessantly on the alert, was informed of this retrograde move, by a preconcerted signal; the waving of a white handkerchief from the opposite bank, by a female patriot.

This changed the game. Lee, with his legion, strengthened by two veteran Maryland companies, and Pickens, with a corps of South Carolina militia, all light troops, were transported across the Dan in the boats, with orders to gain the front of Cornwallis, hover as near as safety would permit, cut off his intercourse with the disaffected parts of the country, and check the rising of the loyalists. "If we can but delay him for a day or two," said Greene, "he must be ruined." Greene, in the meanwhile, remained with his main force on the northern bank of the Dan, waiting to ascertain his lordship's real designs, and ready to cross at a moment's warning.

The movements of Cornwallis, for a day or two, were designed to perplex his opponents; on the 20th, however, he took post at Hillsborough. Here he erected the royal standard, and issued a

proclamation, stating that, whereas it had pleased Divine Providence to prosper the operations of His Majesty's arms in driving the rebel army out of the province, he invited all his loyal subjects to hasten to his standard with their arms and ten days' provisions, to assist in suppressing the remains of rebellion, and re-establishing good order and constitutional government. This sounding appeal produced but little effect. Many people, says Tarleton, rode into camp to talk over the proclamation, inquire the news of the day, and take a look at the king's troops. They acknowledged that the Continentals had been chased out of the province, but surmised they would soon return. Some of the most zealous promised to raise companies, but their followers and dependents were slow to enlist.

Rumor in the meantime had magnified the effect of his lordship's proclamation. Word was brought to Greene that the Tories were flocking from all quarters to the royal standard. Seven companies, it was said, had been raised in a single day. At this time the reinforcements to the American camp had been little more than six hundred Virginia militia, under General Stevens. Greene saw that at this rate, if Cornwallis were allowed to remain undisturbed, he would soon have complete command of North Carolina; he boldly determined, therefore, to recross the Dan at all hazards with the scanty force at his command and give his lordship check. In this spirit he broke up his camp and crossed the river on the 23d.

The reappearance of Greene in North Carolina, heralded as it was by daring raids of Lee and Pickens, disconcerted the schemes of Lord Cornwallis. The recruiting service was interrupted. Many loyalists who were on the way to his camp returned home. Forage and provisions became scarce in the neighborhood. He found himself, he said, "amongst timid friends and adjoining to inveterate rebels." On the 26th, therefore, he abandoned Hillsborough, threw himself across the Haw, and encamped near Alamance Creek, one of its principal tributaries, in a country favorable to supplies and with a Tory population. His position was commanding, at the point of concurrence of roads from Salisbury, Guilford, High Rockford, Cross Creek, and Hillsborough. It covered also

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the communication with Wilmington, where a dépôt of military stores, so important to his half-destitute army, had recently been established.

Greene, with his main army, took post about fifteen miles above him, on the heights between Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork, one of the tributaries of the Haw. His plan was to cut the enemy off from the upper counties; to harass him by skirmishes, but to avoid a general battle; thus gaining time for the arrival of reinforcements daily expected. He rarely lay more than two days in a place, and kept his light troops under Pickens and Williams between him and the enemy, hovering about the latter, intercepting his intelligence, attacking his foraging parties, and striking at his flanks whenever exposed. Sharp skirmishes occurred between them and Tarleton's cavalry with various success. The country being much of a wilderness obliged both parties to be on the alert; but the Americans, accustomed to bush-fighting, were not easily surprised.

After a fortnight of such skirmishing, the long-expected reinforcements arrived, having been hurried on by forced marches. They consisted of a brigade of Virginia militia under General Lawson, two brigades of North Carolina militia under generals Butler and Eaton, and four hundred regulars enlisted for eighteen months. His whole effective force, according to official returns, amounted to four thousand two hundred and forty-three foot, and one hundred and sixty-one cavalry. His force nearly doubled in number that of Cornwallis, which did not exceed two thousand four hundred men; but many of Greene's troops were raw and inexperienced, and had never been in battle; those of the enemy, as it is needless to repeat, were all veterans of the finest quality. Greene knew the inferiority of his troops in this respect; his reinforcements, too, fell far short of what he had been led to expect, yet he determined to accept the battle which had so long been offered. The corps of light troops, under Williams, which had rendered such efficient service, was now incorporated with the main body, and all detachments were ordered to assemble at Guilford, within eight miles of the enemy, where Greene encamped on

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the 14th, sending his wagons and heavy baggage to the Iron Works at Troublesome Creek, ten miles in his rear.

Cornwallis, from the difficulty of getting correct information, and from Greene's frequent change of position, had an exaggerated idea of the American force, rating it as high as eight thousand men: still he trusted in his well-seasoned veterans, and determined to attack Greene in his encampment. At daybreak on the 15th he set out for Guilford. Within four miles of that place, near the New Garden meeting-house, Tarleton with the advanced guard of cavalry, infantry, and yagers, came upon the American advanced guard, composed of Lee's partisan legion, and some mountaineers and Virginia militia. Tarleton and Lee were well matched in military prowess, and the skirmish between them was severe. Lee's horses, taken from Virginia and Pennsylvania, were superior in weight and strength to those of his opponent, which had been chiefly taken from plantations in South Carolina. The latter were borne down by a charge in close column; several of their riders were dismounted, and killed or taken prisoners. Tarleton, seeing that his weakly mounted men fought to a disadvantage, sounded a retreat; Lee endeavored to cut him off: a general conflict of the vanguards, horse and foot, ensued, when the appearance of the main body of the enemy obliged Lee, in his turn, to retire with precipitation.

During this time, Greene was preparing for action on a woody eminence, a little more than a mile south of Guilford Court-house. The neighboring country was covered with forest, excepting some cultivated fields about the court-house, and along the Salisbury road, which passed through the centre of the place, from south to north. Greene had drawn out his troops in three lines. The first, composed of North Carolina militia, under generals Butler and Eaton, was posted behind a fence, with an open field in front, and woods on the flanks and in the rear. About three hundred yards behind this was the second line, composed of the Virginia militia, under generals Stevens and Lawson, drawn up across the road, and covered by a wood. The third line, about four hundred yards in the rear of the second, was composed of Continental troops or

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regulars; those of Virginia under General Huger on the left, those of Maryland under Colonel Williams on the right. Colonel Washington with a body of dragoons, Kirkwood's Delaware infantry, and a battalion of Virginia militia, covered the right flank; Lee's legion, with the Virginia riflemen under Colonel Campbell, covered the left. Two six-pounders were in the road, in advance of the first line; two field-pieces with the rear line near the court-house, where General Greene took his station.

About noon the head of the British army was descried advancing spiritedly from the south along the Salisbury road, and defiling into the fields. A cannonade was opened from the two six-pounders, in front of the first American line. It was answered by the British artillery. Neither produced much effect. The enemy now advanced coolly and steadily in three columns; the Hessians and Highlanders under General Leslie, on the right, the Royal Artillery and Guards in the centre, and Webster's Brigade on the left. The North Carolinians, who formed the first line, waited until the enemy were within one hundred and fifty yards, when, agitated by their martial array and undaunted movement, they began to fall into confusion; some fired off their pieces without taking aim; others threw them down, and took to flight. A volley from the foe, a shout, and a charge of the bayonet, completed their discomfiture. Some fled to the woods, others fell back upon the Virginians, who formed the second line. General Stevens, who commanded the latter, ordered his men to open and let the fugitives pass, pretending that they had orders to retire. He had taken care, however, to post forty riflemen in the rear of his own line, with orders to fire upon any one who should leave his post. Under his spirited command and example, the Virginians kept their ground and fought bravely. The action became broken up and diversified by the extent of the ground. The thickness of the woods impeded the movements of the cavalry. The reserves on both sides were called up. The British bayonet again succeeded; the second line gave way, and General Stevens, who had kept the field for some time, after being wounded in the thigh by a musket-ball, ordered a retreat. The enemy pressed with increasing ardor against the

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third line, composed of Continental troops, well disciplined, fresh, and in perfect order. Greene counted on these to retrieve the day. He rode along the line, calling on them to stand firm, and give the enemy a warm reception.

The first Maryland regiment, which was on the right wing, was attacked by Colonel Webster, with the British left. It stood the shock bravely, and being seconded by some Virginia troops, and Kirkwood's Delawares, drove Webster across a ravine. The second Maryland regiment was not so successful. Impetuously attacked by Colonel Stewart, with a battalion of the Guards, and a company of grenadiers, it faltered, gave way, and fled, abandoning two field-pieces, which were seized by the enemy. Stewart was pursuing, when the first regiment, which had driven Webster across the ravine, came to the rescue with fixed bayonets, while Colonel Washington spurred up with his cavalry. The fight now was fierce and bloody. Stewart was slain; the two field-pieces were retaken, and the enemy in their turn gave way and were pursued with slaughter; a destructive fire of grape-shot from the enemy's artillery checked the pursuit. Two regiments approached on the right and left; Webster recrossed the ravine and fell upon Kirkwood's Delawares. There was intrepid fighting in different parts of the field; but Greene saw that all hope of victory was lost; there was no retrieving the effect produced by the first flight of the North Carolinians. Unwilling to risk the total defeat of his army, he directed a retreat, which was made in good order, but they had to leave their artillery on the field, most of the horses having been killed. About three miles from the field of action he made a halt to collect stragglers, and then continued on to the place of rendezvous at Speedwell's Iron Works on Troublesome Creek.

The British were too much cut up and fatigued to follow up their advantage, — it could hardly be called a victory. Two regiments with Tarleton's cavalry attempted a pursuit, but were called back. Efforts were made to collect the wounded of both armies, but they were dispersed over so wide a space, among woods and thickets, that night closed before the task was accomplished. It

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was a dismal night even to the victors; a night of unusual darkness, with torrents of rain. The army was destitute of tents; there were not sufficient houses in the vicinity to receive the wounded; provisions were scanty; many had tasted very little food for the last two days; comforts were out of the question. Many of the wounded sank under their aggravated miseries, and expired before morning.

The loss of the Americans in this hard-fought affair was never fully ascertained. Their official returns, made immediately after the action, give little more than four hundred killed and wounded, and between eight and nine hundred missing. The loss sustained by Cornwallis was far more fatal; for, in the circumstances in which he was placed, it was not to be supplied, and it completely maimed him. Of his small army about six hundred, or more than one-fourth of the whole, were either killed or disabled, while the survivors were exhausted by fatigue and hunger; his camp was encumbered by the wounded. His victory, in fact, was almost as ruinous as a defeat. He could not even hold the ground he had so bravely won, but was obliged to retreat from the scene of triumph, to some secure position where he might obtain supplies for his famished army. Leaving many of his wounded under the protection of a flag of truce, he set out, on the third day after the battle, for Cross Creek, an eastern branch of Cape Fear river, where was a settlement of Scottish Highlanders, whom he supposed to be stout adherents to the royal cause. Here he expected to be plentifully supplied with provisions, and to have his sick and wounded well taken care of. From this point he supposed he could open a communication by Cape Fear river, with Wilmington, and obtain from the dépôt recently established there such supplies as the country about Cross Creek did not afford.

No sooner did Greene learn that Cornwallis was retreating, than he set out to follow him, thus presenting the singular spectacle of the vanquished pursuing the victor. His troops suffered greatly in this pursuit from wintry weather and scarcity of provisions; but they harassed the enemy's rear-guard with frequent skirmishes.

On the 28th Greene arrived at Ramsey's Mills, on Deep river, hard on the traces of Cornwallis, who had left the place a few hours previously, with such precipitation that several of his wounded, who had died while on the march, were left behind unburied. Several fresh quarters of beef had likewise been forgotten, and were seized upon with eagerness by the hungry soldiery. Such had been the urgency of the pursuit this day that many of the American troops sank upon the road exhausted with fatigue.

At Deep river Greene was brought to a stand. Cornwallis had broken down the bridge by which he had crossed; and further pursuit for the present was impossible. The constancy of the militia now gave way. Every step had led them from their homes and increased their privations. The term for which most of them had enlisted was expired, and they now demanded their discharge. Greene saw that with his force thus reduced it would be impossible to pursue the enemy further. Moreover, the halt he was obliged to make to rebuild the bridge would give them such a start as to leave no hope of overtaking them. Suddenly he determined to change his course and carry the war into South Carolina. This would oblige the enemy either to follow him, and thus abandon North Carolina; or else to sacrifice all his posts in the upper part of South Carolina and Georgia. He apprised Sumter, Pickens, and Marion by letter, of his intentions, and called upon them to be ready to co-operate with all the militia they could collect; promising to send forward cavalry and small detachments of light infantry, to aid them in capturing outposts before the army should arrive.

In pursuance of this extremely sagacious plan, Greene, on the 30th of March, discharged all his militia with many thanks for the courage and fortitude with which they had followed him through so many scenes of peril and hardship; and joyously did the poor fellows set out for their homes. Then, after giving his "little, distressed, but successful army," a short taste of the repose they needed, and having collected a few days' provision, he set forward on the 5th of April toward Camden, where Lord Rawdon had his head-quarters.

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Cornwallis, in the meantime, was grievously disappointed in the hopes he had formed of obtaining ample provisions and forage at Cross Creek, and strong reinforcements from the loyalists in that neighborhood. Neither could he open a communication by Cape Fear river for the conveyance of his troops to Wilmington. The distance by water was upwards of a hundred miles, the breadth of the river seldom above one hundred yards, the banks high, and the inhabitants on each side generally hostile. He was compelled, therefore, to continue his retreat by land, quite to Wilmington, where he arrived on the 7th of April.

It was his lordship's intention, as soon as he should have rested his weary corps and received some expected reinforcements from Ireland, to return to the upper country, in hopes of giving protection to the royal interests in South Carolina, until he could concert new measures with Sir Henry Clinton. His plans were all disconcerted, however, by intelligence of Greene's rapid march toward Camden. Never, we are told, was his lordship more dismayed than by this news. It was too late for him to render any aid to Lord Rawdon by a direct move toward Camden. Before he could arrive there, Greene would have made an attack; if successful, his lordship's army might be hemmed in among the great rivers, in an exhausted country, revolutionary in its spirit, where Greene might cut off their subsistence and effect their ruin. At the same time, all thoughts of offensive operations against North Carolina were at an end. Sickness, desertion, and the loss sustained at Guilford Court-house, had reduced his little army to fourteen hundred and thirty-five men.

In this sad predicament, after remaining several days in a painful state of irresolution, he determined to take advantage of Greene's having left the back part of Virginia open, to march directly into that province, and attempt a junction with the force acting there under General Phillips, who had been sent down to supersede Arnold. By this move he might draw Greene back to the northward, and by the reduction of Virginia he might promote the subjugation of the South. The move, however, he felt to be perilous. His troops were worn down by upwards of eight hundred miles of marching

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and counter-marching through an inhospitable and impracticable country; they had now three hundred more before them, under still worse circumstances than those in which they first set out; for so destitute were they, notwithstanding the supplies received at Wilmington, that his lordship, sadly humorous, declared "his cavalry wanted everything, and his infantry everything but shoes."

There was no time for hesitation or delay. Greene might return and render the junction with Phillips impracticable: having sent an express to the latter, therefore, informing him of his coming, and appointing a meeting at Petersburg, his lordship set off on the 25th of April on his fated march into Virginia.

Cornwallis and Lafayette in Virginia.—On arriving at Petersburg on the 20th of May, after a weary march of nearly a month, Lord Cornwallis found his force increased to more than five thousand men. General Phillips had just died of a fever, leaving the command to Arnold, who now, upon Cornwallis's arrival, returned to New York. For more than a month the British forces in Virginia had been watched, annoyed, and to some extent held at bay by Lafayette, whom Washington had sent down for the purpose. The first object of Cornwallis was to strike a blow at Lafayette. The marquis was encamped on the north side of James river, between Wilton and Richmond, with about one thousand regulars, two thousand militia, and fifty dragoons. He was waiting for reinforcements of militia, and for the arrival of General Wayne with the Pennsylvania line. The latter had been ordered to the South by Washington nearly three months previously, but was unavoidably delayed. Joined by these, Lafayette would venture to receive a blow, "that, being beaten, he might at least be beaten with decency, and Cornwallis pay something for his victory."

His lordship hoped to draw him into an action before thus reinforced, and with that view, marched, on the 24th of May, from Petersburg to James river, which he crossed at Westover, about thirty miles below Richmond. Lafayette conscious of the inferiority of his forces, at once decamped and directed his march toward the upper country, inclining to the north, to favor a junction with Wayne. Cornwallis followed him as far as the upper

part of Hanover County, destroying public stores wherever found. He appears to have undervalued Lafayette, on account of his youth. "The boy cannot escape me," said he, in a letter which was intercepted. Nevertheless, Cornwallis soon found it impossible either to overtake Lafayette, or prevent his junction with Wayne; he turned his attention, therefore, to other objects.

Greene, in his passage through Virginia, had urged the importance of removing horses out of the way of the enemy; his caution had been neglected; the consequences were now felt. The great number of fine horses in the stables of Virginia gentlemen had enabled Cornwallis to mount many of his troops in first-rate style. These he employed in scouring the country, and destroying public stores. Tarleton and his legion, it is said, were mounted on race-horses. On the 4th of June they made a dash upon Charlottesville, whither the state legislature had been removed for security, and even tried to capture the governor, Thomas Jefferson, in his house at Monticello, in the neighborhood. The attempts were unsuccessful. Presently Cornwallis turned and retreated, first to Richmond, then down the peninsula to Yorktown, where he intended to wait in a secure position for reinforcements. He was closely followed by Lafayette, who had been reinforced by Steuben and Wayne. The position at Yorktown seemed secure to Cornwallis because it was near the water; and ever since the beginning of the war the British had ruled the water. The position was not so safe as it seemed. But before giving the sequel, we must turn back and follow for a moment the fortunes of General Greene.

Greene and Rawdon in South Carolina. — It will be recollected that Greene, on the 5th of April, set out from Deep river on a retrograde march, to carry the war again into South Carolina, beginning by an attack on Lord Rawdon's post at Camden. Sumter and Marion had been keeping alive the revolutionary fire in that state; the former on the northwest frontier, the latter in his favorite fighting ground between the Pedee and Santee rivers. On the reappearance of Greene, they stood ready to aid with heart and hand.

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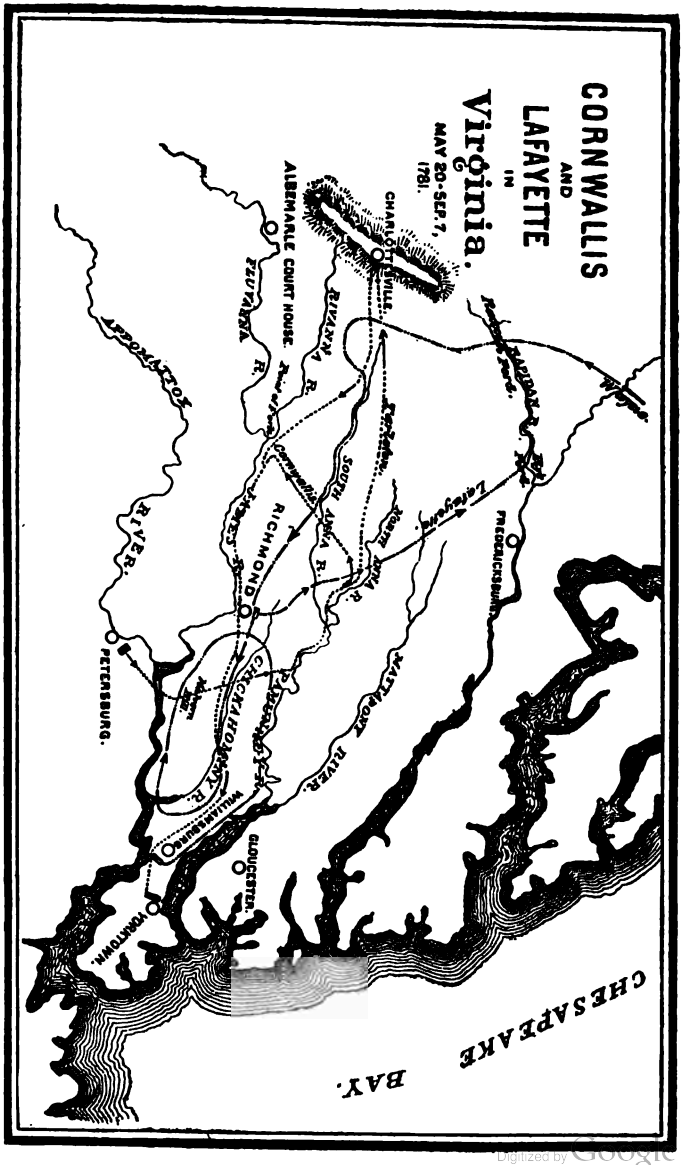

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On his way to Camden, Greene detached Lee to join Marion with his legion, and make an attack upon Fort Watson in order to cut off Rawdon's supplies. For himself, he appeared before Camden, but finding it too strong and too well garrisoned, fell back about two miles, and took post at Hobkirk's Hill, hoping to draw his lordship out. There Rawdon attacked him on the 25th of April, coming upon him partly by surprise. There was a hard-fought battle, but through some false move among part of his troops, Greene was obliged to retreat. His lordship did not pursue, but shut himself up in Camden, waiting to be rejoined by part of his garrison which was absent.

Greene posted himself near Camden Ferry on the Wateree, to intercept these reinforcements. Lee and Marion, who had succeeded in capturing Fort Watson, also took a position on the high hills of Santee for the same purpose. Their efforts were unavailing. Lord Rawdon was rejoined by the other part of his troops. His superior force now threatened to give him the mastery. Greene felt the hazardous nature of his situation. His troops were fatigued by their long marchings; he was disappointed of promised reinforcements from Virginia; still he was undismayed, and prepared for another of his long and stubborn retreats. "We must always operate," said he, "on the maxim that your enemy will do what he ought to do. Lord Rawdon will push us back to the mountains, but we will dispute every inch of ground in the best manner we can." Such were his words to General Davie on the evening of the 9th of May, as he sat in his tent with a map before him studying the roads and fastnesses of the country. An express was to set off for Philadelphia the next morning, and he requested General Davie, who was of that city, to write to the members of Congress with whom he was acquainted, painting in the strongest colors their situation and gloomy prospects.

The next morning there was a joyful reverse. Greene sent for General Davie. "Rawdon," cried he, exultingly, "is preparing to evacuate Camden; that place was the key of the enemy's line of posts; they will now all fall or be evacuated; all will now go well. Burn your letters. I shall march immediately to the Congaree."

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His lordship had heard of the march of Cornwallis into Virginia, and that all hope of aid from him was at an end. His garrison was out of provisions. All supplies were cut off by the Americans; he had no choice but to evacuate the town. He left Camden in flames. Immense quantities of stores and baggage were consumed, together with the court-house, the jail, and many private houses.

Rapid successes now attended the American arms. Fort Motte, the middle post between Camden and Ninety Six, was taken by Marion and Lee. Lee next captured Granby, and marched to aid Pickens in the siege of Augusta; while Greene, having acquired a supply of arms, ammunition, and provisions from the captured forts, sat down before the fortress of Ninety Six, on the 22d of May. It was the great mart and stronghold of the royalists, and was principally garrisoned by royalists from New Jersey and New York, commanded by Colonel Cruger, a native of New York. The siege lasted for nearly a month. The place was valiantly defended. Lee arrived with his legion, having failed before Augusta, and invested a stockaded fort which formed part of the works.

Word was brought that Lord Rawdon was pressing forward with reinforcements, and but a few miles distant on the Saluda. Greene endeavored to get up Sumter, Marion, and Pickens, to his assistance, but they were too far on the right of Lord Rawdon to form a junction. The troops were eager to storm the works before his lordship should arrive. A partial assault was made on the 18th of June. It was a bloody contest. The stockaded fort was taken, but the troops were repulsed from the main works. Greene retreated across the Saluda, and halted at Bush river, at twenty miles distance, to observe the motion of the enemy. Lord Rawdon entered Ninety Six on the 21st, but sallied forth again on the 24th, taking with him all the troops capable of fatigue, two thousand in number, without wheel carriage of any kind, or even knapsacks, hoping by a rapid move to overtake Greene. Want of provisions soon obliged him to give up the pursuit, and return to Ninety Six. Leaving about one-half of his force there, under Colonel Cruger, he sallied a second time from Ninety Six, at the head of eleven hundred infantry, with cavalry, artillery, and field-

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pieces, marching by the south side of the Saluda for the Congaree.

He was now pursued in his turn by Greene and Lee. In this march more than fifty of his lordship's soldiers fell dead from heat, fatigue, and privation. At Orangeburg, where he arrived on the 8th of July, his lordship was joined by a large detachment under Colonel Stuart. Greene had followed him closely, and having collected all his detachments, and being joined by Sumter, appeared within four miles of Orangeburg, on the 10th of July, and offered battle. The offer was not accepted, and the position of Lord Rawdon was too strong to be attacked. Greene remained there two or three days; when, learning that Colonel Cruger was advancing with the residue of the forces from Ninety Six, which would again give his lordship a superiority of force, he moved off with his infantry on the night of the 13th of July, crossed the Saluda, and posted himself on the east side of the Waterce, at the high hills of Santee. In this salubrious and delightful region, where the air was pure and breezy, and the water delicate, he allowed his weary soldiers to repose and refresh themselves, awaiting the arrival of some continental troops and militia from North Carolina, when he intended to resume his enterprise of driving the enemy from the interior of the country.

In these movements Rawdon had abandoned the interior country, and confessed himself outgeneralled and baffled. He sailed not long after from Charleston for Europe. Colonel Stuart, who was left in command at Orangeburg, moved forward from that place, and encamped on the south side of the Congaree river, near its junction with the Wateree, and within sixteen miles of Greene's position on the high hills of Santee. The two armies lay in sight of each other's fires, but two large rivers intervened, to secure each party from sudden attack. Both armies, however, needed repose, and military operations were suspended, as if by mutual consent, during the sultry summer heat.

The campaign had been a severe and trying one, and checkered with vicissitudes; but Greene had succeeded in regaining the greater part of Georgia and the two Carolinas, and, as he said, only

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wanted a little assistance from the North to complete their recovery. He was soon rejoiced by a letter from Washington, informing him that a detachment from the army of Lafayette might be expected to bring him the required assistance; but he was made still more happy by the following cordial passage in the letter: "It is with the warmest pleasure I express my full approbation of the various movements and operations which your military conduct has lately exhibited, while I confess to you that I am unable to conceive what more could have been done under your circumstances, than has been displayed by your little, persevering, and determined army."

Washington's March against Cornwallis. — In the summer of 1781 a remarkable event occurred, which, when taken prompt advantage of by Washington's genius, put an end to the war. This event was the temporary loss, by the British, of their control over the water! An immense French fleet, under Count de Grasse, was sent to the West Indies, with the view of capturing Jamaica; and for a short time its services were available on the coast of the United States. On the 22d of May, Washington held a conference with Rochambeau at Wethersfield, and it was thought best to take advantage of the presence of the French fleet to attempt the capture of New York, with Sir Henry Clinton and his army. To this end, Rochambeau marched his troops from Rhode Island to the Hudson river, where early in July he effected a junction with the American army under Washington. Late in July a French frigate arrived at Newport, bringing dispatches from the Count de Grasse. He was to leave St. Domingo on the 3d of August, with between twenty-five and thirty ships of the line, and a considerable body of land forces, and to steer immediately for the Chesapeake.

This changed the face of affairs, and called for a change in the game. All attempt upon New York was postponed; the whole of the French army, and as large a part of the Americans as could be spared, were to move to Virginia, and co-operate with the Count de Grasse for the redemption of the Southern States. Washington apprised the count and Lafayette of this intention by letter.

Washington's "soul was now in arms." At length, after being baffled and disappointed so often by the incompetency of his means, and above all, thwarted by the enemy's naval potency, he had the possibility of coping with them both on land and sea. The contemplated expedition was likely to consummate his plans, and wind up the fortunes of the war, and he determined to lead it in person. He would take with him something more than two thousand of the American army; the rest, chiefly Northern troops, were to remain with General Heath, who was to hold command of West Point and the other posts of the Hudson.

Perfect secrecy was maintained as to this change of plan. Preparations were still carried on, as if for an attack upon New York. An extensive encampment was marked out in the Jerseys, and ovens erected and fuel provided for the baking of bread; as if a part of the besieging force was to be stationed there, thence to make a descent upon the enemy's garrison on Staten Island, in aid of the operations against the city. The American troops, themselves, were kept in ignorance of their destination. "General Washington," observes one of the shrewdest of them, "matures his great plans and designs under an impenetrable veil of secrecy, and while we repose the fullest confidence in our chief, our opinions (as to his intentions) must be founded only on doubtful conjecture."

Previous to his decampment, Washington sent forward a party of pioneers to clear the roads towards King's Bridge, as if the posts recently reconnoitered were about to be attempted. On the 19th of August, his troops were paraded with their faces in that direction. When all were ready, however, they were ordered to face about, and were marched up along the Hudson river towards King's Ferry. Rochambeau, in like manner, broke up his encampment, and took the road by White Plains, North Castle, Pine's Bridge, and Crompond, toward the same point. All Westchester County was again alive with the tramp of troops, the gleam of arms, and the lumbering of artillery and baggage wagons along its roads.

On the 20th, Washington arrived at King's Ferry, and his

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troops began to cross the Hudson with their baggage, stores, and cannon, and encamp at Haverstraw. On the 22d, the French troops arrived by their circuitous route, and began to cross to Stony Point with their artillery, baggage, and stores. The operation occupied between two and three days; during which time Washington took the Count de Rochambeau on a visit to West Point, to show him the citadel of the Highlands, an object of intense interest, in consequence of its having been the scene of Arnold's treason.

The two armies having safely crossed the Hudson, commenced on the 25th, their several lines of march towards the Jerseys; the Americans for Springfield on the Rahway, the French for Whippany towards Trenton. Both armies were still kept in the dark as to the ultimate object of their movement.

Washington had in fact reached the Delaware with his troops, before Sir Henry Clinton was aware of their destination. It was too late to oppose their march, even had his forces been adequate. As a kind of counterplot, therefore, and in the hope of distracting the attention of the American commander, and drawing off a part of his troops, he hurried off an expedition to the eastward, to insult the state of Connecticut, and attack her seaport of New London. The command of this expedition, which was to be one of ravage and destruction, was given to Arnold, as if it was necessary to complete the measure of his infamy, that he should carry fire and sword into his native state, and desecrate the very cradle of his infancy.

On the 6th of September he appeared off the harbor of New London with a fleet of ships and transports and a force of two thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry; partly British troops, but a great part made up of American loyalists and Hessians.

New London stands on the west bank of the river Thames. The approach to it was defended by two forts on opposite sides of the river, and about a mile below the town; Fort Trumbull on the west and Fort Griswold on the east side, on a height called Groton Hill. The troops landed in two divisions of about eight hundred men each; one under Lieutenant-colonel Eyre on the

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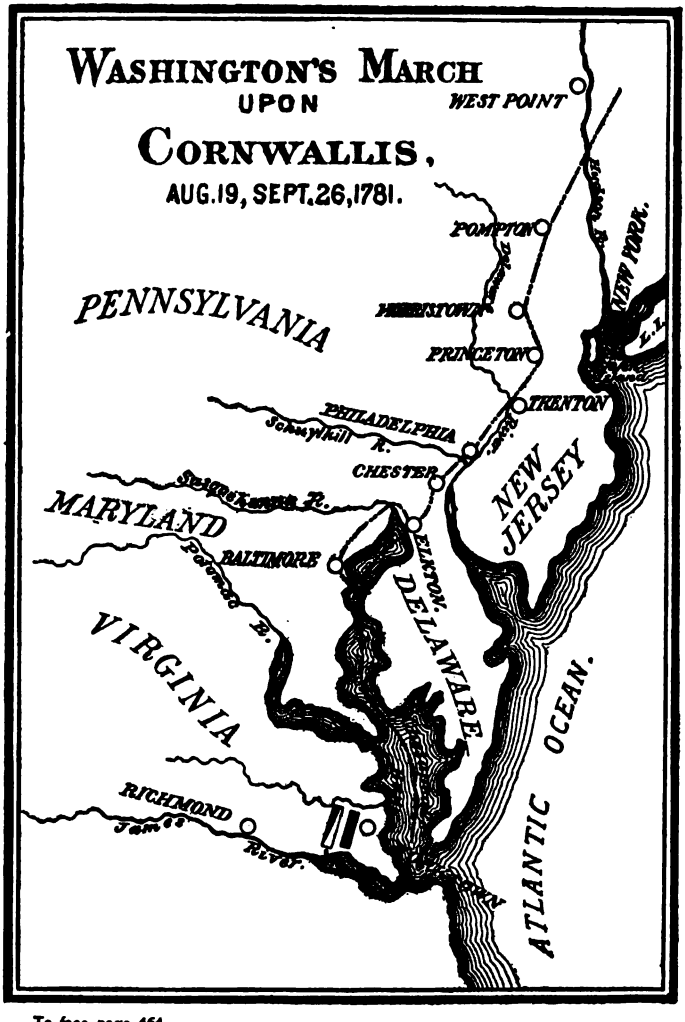

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east side, the other under Arnold on the west, on the same side with New London, and about three miles below it. Arnold met with but little opposition. The few militia which manned an advance battery and Fort Trumbull, abandoned their posts, and crossed the river to Fort Griswold. He pushed on and took possession of the town.

Colonel Eyre had a harder task. The militia, about one hundred and fifty-seven strong, had collected in Fort Griswold, hastily and imperfectly armed it is true, some of them merely with spears; but they were brave men, and had a brave commander, Colonel William Ledyard, brother of the celebrated traveller. The fort was square and regularly built. Arnold, unaware of its strength, had ordered Colonel Eyre to take it by a *coup de main*. He discovered his mistake, and sent counter-orders, but too late.

Colonel Eyre forced the pickets; made his way into the fosse, and attacked the fort on three sides; it was bravely defended; the enemy were repeatedly repulsed; they returned to the assault, scrambled up on each other's shoulders, effected a lodgement, and made their way with fixed bayonets. Colonel Eyre received a mortal wound near the works; Major Montgomery took his place; a negro thrust him through with a spear as he mounted the parapet; Major Bromfield succeeded to the command, and carried the fort at the point of the bayonet. The enemy, exasperated by the stubborn resistance, continued the deadly work of musket and bayonet. Seventy of the garrison were slain, and thirty-five desperately wounded; and most of them after the fort had been taken.

Arnold, in the meantime, had carried on the work of destruction at New London. Some of the American shipping had effected their escape up the river, but a number were burnt. Fire was set to the public stores; it was communicated to the dwelling-houses, and, in a little while, the whole place was wrapped in flames. The destruction was immense: many families once living in affluence were ruined and rendered homeless. Having completed his ravage, Arnold retreated to his boats, leaving the town still burning. Alarm guns had roused the country; the traitor

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was pursued by the exasperated yeomanry; he escaped their well-merited vengeance, but several of his men were killed and wounded. So ended his career of infamy in his native land; a land which had once delighted to honor him, but in which his name was never thenceforth to be pronounced without a malediction.

The expedition, while it added one more hateful and disgraceful incident to this unnatural war, failed of its main object. It had not diverted Washington from the grand object on which he had fixed his mind. On the 30th of August, he, with his suite, had arrived at Philadelphia about noon, and alighted at the city tavern amidst enthusiastic crowds, who welcomed him with acclamations, but wondered at the object of this visit.

At Philadelphia Washington received dispatches from Lafayette, dated the 21st and 24th of August, giving an account of affairs in Virginia.

Yorktown, where Lord Cornwallis had taken his stand, was a small place situated on a projecting bank on the south side of York river, opposite a promontory called Gloucester Point. The river between was not more than a mile wide, but deep enough to admit ships of a large size and burden. Here concentrating his forces, he had proceeded to fortify the opposite points, calculating to have the works finished by the beginning of October; at which time Sir Henry Clinton intended to recommence operations on the Chesapeake. Believing that he had no present enemy but Lafayette to guard against, Cornwallis felt so secure in his position, that he wrote to Sir Henry on the 22d of August, offering to detach a thousand or twelve hundred men to strengthen New York against the apprehended attack of the combined armies.

While Cornwallis, undervaluing his youthful adversary, felt thus secure, Lafayette, in conformity to the instructions of Washington, was taking measures to cut off any retreat by land which his lordship might attempt on the arrival of Grasse. With this view he called upon the governor of Virginia, for six hundred militia to be collected upon the Blackwater; he detached troops to the south of James river, and was prepared himself, as soon as he should

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hear of the arrival of Grasse, to march at once to Williamsburg and form a junction with the troops which were to be landed from the fleet. Thus a net was quietly drawn round Cornwallis by the youthful general, while the veteran felt himself so secure that he was talking of detaching troops to New York.

Washington left Philadelphia on the 5th of September, on his way to the Head of Elk. About three miles below Chester, he was met by an express bearing tidings of the arrival of the Count de Grasse in the Chesapeake with twenty-eight ships of the line. Washington instantly rode back to Chester to rejoice with the Count de Rochambeau, who was coming down to that place from Philadelphia by water. They had a joyous dinner together, after which Washington proceeded in the evening on his destination.

The express meantime reached Philadelphia most opportunely. There had been a grand review of the French troops, at which the President of Congress and all the fashion of the city were present. It was followed by a banquet given to the officers by the French minister, the Chevalier de Luzerne. Scarce were the company seated at table, when dispatches came announcing the arrival of Grasse and the landing of three thousand troops under the Marquis de St. Simon, who, it was added, had opened a communication with Lafayette. All now was mutual gratulation at the banquet. The news soon went forth and spread throughout the city. Acclamations were to be heard on all sides, and crowds assembling before the house of the French Minister rent the air with hearty huzzas for Louis XVI.

Washington reached the Head of Elk on the 6th. The troops and a great part of the stores were already arrived, and beginning to embark. Thence he wrote to the Count de Grasse, felicitating him on his arrival, and informing him that the vans of the two armies were about to embark and fall down the Chesapeake, form a junction with the troops under the Marquis de St. Simon and the Marquis de Lafayette, and co-operate in blocking up Cornwallis in York river, so as to prevent his retreat by land or his getting any supplies from the country. "As it will be of the greatest importance," writes he, "to prevent the escape of his lordship from his

present position, I am persuaded that every measure which prudence can dictate will be adopted for that purpose, until the arrival of our complete force, when I hope his lordship will be compelled to yield his ground to the superior power of our combined forces."

Everything had thus far gone on well, but there were not vessels enough at the Head of Elk for the immediate transportation of all the troops, ordnance, and stores; a part of the troops would have to proceed to Baltimore by land. Washington, accompanied by Rochambeau, crossed the Susquehanna early on the 8th, and pushed forward for Baltimore. He was met by a deputation of the citizens, who made him a public address, to which he replied, and his arrival was celebrated in the evening with illuminations. On the 9th he left Baltimore a little after daybreak, accompanied only by Colonel Humphreys; the rest of his suite were to follow at their ease; for himself, he was determined to reach Mount Vernon that evening. Six years had elapsed since last he was under its roof; six wearing years of toil, of danger, and of constant anxiety. During all that time, and amid all his military cares, he had kept up a regular weekly correspondence with his steward or agent, regulating all the affairs of his rural establishment with as much exactness as he did those of the army. It was a late hour when he arrived at Mount Vernon, where he was joined by his suite at dinner-time on the following day, and by the Count de Rochambeau in the evening. General Chastellux and his aides-de-camp arrived there on the 11th, and Mount Vernon was now crowded with guests, who were all entertained in the ample style of old Virginian hospitality. On the 12th, tearing himself away once more from the home of his heart, Washington with his military associates continued onward to join Lafayette at Williamsburg.

Cornwallis entrapped. — Lord Cornwallis had been completely roused from his dream of security by the appearance, on the 28th of August, of the fleet of Count de Grasse within the Capes of the Delaware. Three French ships of the line and a frigate soon anchored at the mouth of York river. The boats of the fleet were immediately busy conveying three thousand three hundred

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land forces, under the Marquis de St. Simon, up James river to form the preconcerted junction with Lafayette.

Awakened to his danger, Cornwallis, as Washington had foreseen, meditated a retreat to the Carolinas. It was too late. York river was blocked up by French ships; James river was filled with armed vessels covering the transportation of the troops. His lordship reconnoitered Williamsburg; it was too strong to be forced, and Wayne had crossed James river to join his troops to those under the marquis. Seeing his retreat cut off in every direction, Cornwallis proceeded to strengthen his works; sending off repeated expresses to apprise Sir Henry Clinton of his perilous situation.

The Count de Grasse, eager to return to the West Indies, urged Lafayette to make an immediate attack upon the British army, with the American and French troops under his command, without waiting for the combined force under Washington and Rochambeau, offering to aid him with marines and sailors from the ships. The admiral was seconded by the Marquis de St. Simon. They represented that the works at Yorktown were yet incomplete; and that that place and Gloucester, immediately opposite, might be carried by storm by their superior force. It was a brilliant achievement which they held out to tempt the youthful commander, but he remained undazzled. He would not, for the sake of personal distinction, lavish the lives of the brave men confided to him, but would await the arrival of the combined forces, when success might be attained with little loss, and would leave to Washington the *coup de grace*, — in all probability the closing triumph of the war.

The Count de Grasse had been but a few days anchored within the Chesapeake, and fifteen hundred of his seamen were absent, conveying the troops up James river, when Admiral Graves, who then commanded the British naval force on the American coast, appeared with twenty sail off the capes of Virginia. Grasse, anxious to protect the squadron of the Count de Barras, which was expected from Rhode Island, and which it was the object of Graves to intercept, immediately slipped his cables and put to sea

with twenty-four ships, leaving the rest to blockade York and James rivers.

Washington received information of the sailing of the fleet from the capes, shortly after his departure from Mount Vernon, and instantly dispatched missives, ordering the troops who were embarked at the Head of Elk to stop until the receipt of further intelligence, fearing that the navigation in Chesapeake Bay might not be secure. For two days he remained in anxious uncertainty, until, at Bowling Green, he was relieved by favorable rumors concerning the fleet, which were confirmed on his arriving at Williamsburg on the evening of the 14th.

Admiral Graves, it appeared, on the sallying forth of the French fleet, immediately prepared for action, although he had five ships less than Grasse. The latter, however, was not disposed to accept the challenge, his force being weakened by the absence of so many of his seamen, employed in transporting troops. His plan was to occupy the enemy by partial actions and skilful manœuvres, so as to retain his possession of the Chesapeake, and cover the arrival of Barras.

The vans of the two fleets, and some ships of the centre, engaged about four o'clock in the afternoon of the 7th of September. The conflict soon became animated. Several ships were damaged, and many men killed and wounded on both sides. Grasse, who had the advantage of the wind, drew off after sunset; satisfied with the damage done and sustained, and not disposed for a general action; nor was the British admiral inclined to push the engagement so near night, and on a hostile coast. Among his ships that had suffered, one had been so severely handled, that she was no longer seaworthy, and had to be burnt. For four days the fleets remained in sight of each other, repairing damages and manœuvring; but the French having still the advantage of the wind, maintained their prudent policy of avoiding a general engagement. At length Grasse, learning that Barras was arrived within the capes, formed a junction with him, and returned with him to his former anchoring ground, with two English frigates which he had captured. Admiral Graves,

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disappointed in his hope of intercepting Barras, and finding the Chesapeake guarded by a superior force with which he could not prudently contend, left the coast and bore away for New York.

On the 18th Washington and Rochambeau proceeded down James river, and came next morning in sight of the French fleet riding at anchor in Lynn Haven Bay. About noon they got alongside of the admiral's ship, the *Ville de Paris*, and were received on board with great ceremony, and naval and military parade. Admiral de Grasse was a tall, fine-looking man, plain in his address and prompt in the discharge of business. A plan of co-operation was soon arranged, to be carried into effect on the arrival of the American and French armies from the North, which were actually on their way down the Chesapeake from the Head of Elk. Business being dispatched, dinner was served, after which they were conducted throughout the ship, and received the visits of the officers of the fleet, almost all of whom came on board.

About sunset Washington and his companions took their leave of the admiral. Owing to storms and contrary winds, the party did not reach Williamsburg until the 22d, when intelligence was received that threatened to disconcert all the plans formed in the recent council on board ship. Admiral Digby, it appeared, had arrived in New York with six ships of the line and a reinforcement of troops. This intelligence Washington instantly transmitted to the Count de Grasse, who in reply expressed great concern, observing that the position of affairs was changed by the arrival of Digby. "The enemy," writes he, "is now nearly equal to us in strength, and it would be imprudent in me to place myself in a situation that would prevent my attacking them should they attempt to afford succor." He proposed, therefore, to leave two vessels at the mouth of York river, and the corvettes and frigates in James river, which, with the French troops on shore, would be sufficient assistance; and to put to sea with the rest, either to intercept the enemy and fight them where there was good sea room, or to blockade them in New York should they not have sailed.

On reading this letter, Washington dreaded that the present plan of co-operation might likewise fall through, and the fruits of

all his schemes and combinations be lost when within his reach. With the assistance of the fleet the reduction of Yorktown was demonstrably certain, and the surrender of the garrison must go far to terminate the war; whereas the departure of the ships, by leaving an opening for succor to the enemy, might frustrate these brilliant prospects and involve the whole enterprise in ruin and disgrace. Even a momentary absence of the French fleet might enable Cornwallis to evacuate Yorktown and effect a retreat, with the loss merely of his baggage and artillery, and perhaps a few soldiers. These and other considerations were urged in a letter to the count, remonstrating against his putting to sea. Lafayette was the bearer of the letter, and seconded it with so many particulars respecting the situation of the armies, and argued the case so earnestly and eloquently, that the count consented to remain. By the 25th the American and French troops were mostly arrived and encamped near Williamsburg, and preparations were made for the decisive blow.

Yorktown, as already noted, is situated on the south side of York river, immediately opposite Gloucester Point. Cornwallis had fortified the town with seven redoubts and six batteries on the land side, connected by entrenchments, and there was a line of batteries along the river. The town was flanked on each side by deep ravines and creeks emptying into York river; their heads, in front of the town, being not more than half a mile apart. The enemy had availed themselves of these natural defences in the arrangement of extensive outworks, with redoubts mounted with cannon, and trees cut down and left with the branches pointed outward. Gloucester Point had likewise been fortified, its batteries, with those of Yorktown, commanding the intervening river. Ships of war were likewise stationed on it, protected by the guns of the forts, and the channel was obstructed by sunken vessels. The defence of Gloucester Point was confided to Lieutenant-colonel Dundas, with six or seven hundred men. The enemy's main army was encamped about Yorktown, within the range of the outer redoubts and field-works.

Washington and his staff bivouacked that night on the ground

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in the open air. He slept under a mulberry tree, the root serving for his pillow. On the following morning the two armies drew out on each side of Beaver Dam Creek. The Americans, forming the right wing, took station on the east side of the creek; the French, forming the left wing, on the west. That evening Cornwallis received dispatches from Sir Henry Clinton, informing him of the arrival of Admiral Digby, and that a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line, with about five thousand troops, would sail to his assistance probably on the 5th of October. A heavy firing would be made by them on arriving at the entrance of the Chesapeake. On hearing it, if all went on well at Yorktown, his lordship was to make three separate columns of smoke; and four, should he still possess the post at Gloucester Point.

Cornwallis immediately wrote in reply: "I have ventured these last two days to look General Washington's whole force in the face in the position on the outside of my works, and have the pleasure to assure your Excellency that there is but one wish throughout the army, which is that the enemy would advance. . . . I shall retire this night within the works, and have no doubt, if relief arrives in any reasonable time, York and Gloucester will be both in the possession of His Majesty's troops. I believe your Excellency must depend more on the sound of our cannon than the signal of smokes for information; however, I will attempt it on the Gloucester side."

That night his lordship accordingly abandoned his outworks, and drew his troops within the town, — a measure strongly censured by Tarleton in his Commentaries as premature; as cooping up the troops in narrow quarters, and giving up a means of disputing, inch by inch, the approaches of the besiegers, and thus gaining time to complete the fortifications of the town. The outworks thus abandoned were seized the next morning by detachments of American light infantry, and served to cover the troops employed in throwing up breastworks. Colonel Alexander Scammel, officer of the day, while reconnoitering the ground abandoned by the enemy, was set upon by a party of Hessian troopers. He attempted to escape, but was wounded, captured, and carried off.

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The combined French and American forces were now twelve thousand strong, exclusive of the Virginia militia. On the morning of the 28th of September they marched from Williamsburg toward Yorktown, about twelve miles distant, and encamped at night within two miles of it, driving in the pickets and some patrols of cavalry. By the first of October the line of the besiegers, nearly two miles from the works, formed a semicircle, each end resting on the river, so that the investment by land was complete; while the Count de Grasse, with the main fleet, remained in Lynn Haven Bay to keep off assistance by sea.

At this momentous time, when the first parallel before the besieged camp was about to be opened, Washington received dispatches from his faithful coadjutor, General Greene, giving him important intelligence of his co-operations in the South; to consider which we will suspend for a moment our narrative of affairs before Yorktown.

Battle of Eutaw Springs. — For some weeks Greene had remained encamped with his main force on the high hills of Santee, refreshing and disciplining his men. On the 22d of August he broke up his encampment, to march against Colonel Stuart. The latter still lay encamped about sixteen miles distant in a straight line; but the Congaree and Wateree lay between, bordered by swamps overflowed by recent rains. To cross them and reach the hostile camp, it was necessary to make a circuit of seventy miles. While Greene was making it, Stuart abandoned his position, and moved down forty miles to the vicinity of Eutaw Springs, where he was reinforced by a detachment from Charleston with provisions.

Greene followed by easy marches. He had been joined by Pickens with a party of militia, and by the state troops under Lieutenant-colonel Henderson; and now moved slowly to give time for Marion, who was scouring the country about the Edisto, to rejoin him. This was done on the 5th of September at Laurens' place, within seventeen miles of Stuart's camp. Here baggage, tents, everything that could impede motion, was left behind, and on the afternoon of the seventh the army was pushed on

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within seven miles of the Eutaws, where it bivouacked for the night. At four o'clock in the morning his little army was in motion. His whole force did not exceed two thousand men; that of the enemy was about twenty-three hundred. The Americans, however, were superior in cavalry. Owing to the difficulty of receiving information, the enemy were not aware of Greene's approach until he was close upon them.

His army advanced in two columns, which were to form the two lines of battle. Within four miles of Eutaw they met with a small British detachment, sent forward to reconnoiter; it was put to flight after a severe skirmish. Supposing this to be the van of the enemy, Greene halted his columns and formed. The South Carolinians in equal divisions formed the right and left of the first line, the North Carolinians the centre. General Marion commanded the right; General Pickens, the left; Colonel Malmedy, the centre. Colonel Henderson with the state troops covered the left of the line; Colonel Lee with his legion, the right. Of the second line, composed of regulars, the North Carolinians, under General Sumner, were on the right; the Marylanders, under Colonel Williams, on the left; the Virginians, under Colonel Campbell, in the centre. Colonel Washington with his cavalry followed in the rear as a *corps de reserve*. Two three-pounders moved on the road in the centre of the first line. Two six-pounders in a like position in the second line.

In this order the troops moved forward, keeping their lines as well as they could through open woods, which covered the country on each side of the road. Within a mile of the camp they encountered a body of infantry thrown forward by Colonel Stuart, to check their advance while he had time to form his troops in order of battle. These were drawn up in line in a wood two hundred yards west of Eutaw Springs. The right rested on Eutaw Creek, and was covered by a battalion of grenadiers and infantry under Major Majoribanks, partly concealed among thickets on the margin of the stream. The left of the line extended across the Charleston road, with a reserve corps in a commanding situation covering the road. About fifty yards in the rear of the British line

was a cleared field, in which was their encampment, with the tents all standing. Adjoining it was a brick house with a palisadoed garden which Colonel Stuart intended as a protection, if too much pressed by cavalry.

The advanced party of infantry, which had retired firing before the Americans, formed on the flanks of Colonel Stuart's line. The Carolinian militia had pressed after them. About nine o'clock the action was commenced by the left of the American line, and soon became general. The militia fought for a time with the spirit and firmness of regulars. Their two field-pieces were dismounted; so was one of the enemy's; and there was great carnage on both sides. The militia fought until they had expended seventeen rounds, when they gave way, covered by Lee and Henderson, who fought bravely on the flanks on the line.

Sumner, with the regulars who formed the second line, advanced in fine style to take the place of the first. The enemy likewise brought their reserve into action; the conflict continued to be bloody and severe. Colonel Henderson, who commanded the state troops in the second line, was severely wounded; this caused some confusion. Sumner's brigade, formed partly of recruits, gave way under the superior fire of the enemy. The British rushed forward to secure their fancied victory. Greene, seeing their line disordered, instantly ordered Williams with his Marylanders to "sweep the field with the bayonet." Williams was seconded by Colonel Campbell with the Virginians. The order was gallantly obeyed. They delivered a deadly volley at forty yards' distance, and then advanced at a brisk rate, with loud shouts and trailed arms, prepared to make the deadly thrust. The British recoiled. While the Marylanders and Virginians attacked them in front, Lee with his legion turned their left flank and charged them in rear. Colonel Hampton with the state cavalry made a great number of prisoners, and Colonel Washington, coming up with his reserve of horse and foot, completed their defeat. They were driven back through their camp; many were captured; many fled along the Charleston road, and others threw themselves into the brick house.

Major Majoribanks and his troops could still enfilade the left

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flank of the Americans from their covert among the thickets on the border of the stream. Greene ordered Colonel Washington with his dragoons and Kirkwood's Delaware infantry to dislodge them, and Colonel Wade Hampton to assist with the state troops. Colonel Washington, without waiting for the infantry, dashed forward with his dragoons. It was a rash move. The thickets were impervious to cavalry. The dragoons separated into small squads, and endeavored to force their way in. Horses and riders were shot down or bayoneted; most of the officers were either killed or wounded. Colonel Washington had his horse shot under him; he himself was bayoneted, and would have been slain, had not a British officer interposed, and taken him prisoner. By the time Hampton and Kirkwood came up, the cavalry were routed; the ground was strewed with the dead and the wounded; horses were plunging and struggling in the agonies of death; others were galloping about without their riders. While Hampton rallied the scattered cavalry, Kirkwood's Delawares charged with bayonets upon the enemy in the thicket. Majoribanks fell back with his troops and made a stand in the palisadoed garden of the brick house.

Victory now seemed certain on the side of the Americans. They had driven the British from the field, and had taken possession of their camp; unfortunately, the soldiers, thinking the day their own, fell to plundering the tents, devouring the food and carousing on the liquors found there. Many of them became intoxicated and unmanageable — the officers interfered in vain; all was riot and disorder.

The enemy in the meantime recovered from their confusion and opened a fire from every window of the house and from the palisadoed garden. There was a scattering fire also from the woods and thickets on the right and left. Four cannon, one of which had been captured from the enemy, were now advanced by the Americans to batter the house. The fire from the windows was so severe, that most of the officers and men who served the cannon were either killed or wounded. Greene ordered the survivors to retire; they did so, leaving the cannon behind.

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Colonel Stuart was by this time rallying his left wing, and advancing to support the right; when Greene, finding his ammunition nearly exhausted, determined to give up the attempt to dislodge the enemy from their places of refuge, since he could not do it without severe loss; whereas the enemy could maintain their posts but a few hours, and he should have a better opportunity of attacking them on their retreat. He remained on the ground long enough to collect his wounded, excepting those who were too much under the fire of the house, and then, leaving Colonel Hampton with a strong picket on the field, he returned to the position seven miles off which he had left in the morning, not finding water anywhere nearer.

The enemy decamped in the night after destroying a large quantity of provisions, staving many barrels of rum, and breaking upwards of a thousand stand of arms which they threw into the springs of the Eutaw; they left behind also seventy of their wounded, who might have impeded the celerity of their retreat. Their loss in killed, wounded, and captured, in this action, was six hundred and thirty-three, of whom five hundred were prisoners in the hands of the Americans; the loss sustained by the latter in killed, wounded, and missing, was five hundred and thirty-five. Stuart met with reinforcements about fourteen miles from Eutaw, but continued his retreat to Monk's Corner, within twenty-five miles of Charleston. Greene pursued him almost to Monk's Corner; finding the number and position of the enemy too strong to be attacked with prudence, he fell back to Eutaw, where he remained a day or two to rest his troops, and then returned by easy marches to his old position near the heights of Santee.

The victory at Eutaw Springs, incomplete as it was, finished the overthrow of the enemy in South Carolina. Hereafter the British were practically cooped up in Charleston.

Surrender of Cornwallis. — General Lincoln had the honor on the night of the 6th of October, 1781, of opening the first parallel before Yorktown. It was within six hundred yards of the enemy; nearly two miles in extent, and the foundations were laid for two redoubts. He had under him a large detachment of French and

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American troops, and the work was conducted with such silence in a night of extreme darkness, that the enemy were not aware of it until daylight. A severe cannonade was then opened from the fortifications; but the men were under cover and continued working — the greatest emulation and good will prevailing between the officers and soldiers of the allied armies thus engaged.

By the afternoon of the 9th the parallel was completed, and two or three batteries were ready to fire upon the town. "General Washington put the match to the first gun," says an observer who was present; "a furious discharge of cannon and mortars immediately followed, and Earl Cornwallis received his first salutation." The cannonade was kept up almost incessantly for three or four days from the batteries above mentioned, and from three others managed by the French. The half-finished works of the enemy suffered severely, the guns were dismounted or silenced, and many men killed. The red-hot shot from the French batteries northwest of the town reached the English shipping. The *Charon*, a forty-four-gun ship, and three large transports, were set on fire by them. The flames ran up the rigging to the tops of the masts. The conflagration, seen in the darkness of the night, with the accompanying flash and thundering of cannon, and soaring and bursting of shells, and the tremendous explosions of the ships, all presented a scene of mingled magnificence and horror.

On the night of the 11th the second parallel was opened by Steuben's division, within three hundred yards of the works. The British now made new embrasures, and for two or three days kept up a galling fire upon those at work. The latter were still more annoyed by the flanking fire of two redoubts three hundred yards in front of the British works. As they enfiladed the entrenchments, and were supposed also to command the communication between Yorktown and Gloucester, it was resolved to storm them both, on the night of the 14th; the one nearest the river by a detachment of Americans commanded by Lafayette; the other by a French detachment led by the Baron de Viomenil. The grenadiers of the regiment of Gatinais were to be at the head of the French detachment. This regiment had been formed out of that of

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Auvergne, of which Rochambeau had been colonel, and which, by its brave and honorable conduct, had won the appellation of the regiment *d'Auvergne sans tache* (Auvergne without a stain).

About eight o'clock in the evening rockets were sent up as signals for the simultaneous attack. Hamilton led the advance of the Americans. The men, without waiting for the sappers to demolish the abatis in regular style, pushed them aside or pulled them down with their hands, and scrambled over, like rough bush-fighters. Hamilton was the first to mount the parapet, placing one foot on the shoulder of a soldier, who knelt on one knee for the purpose. The men mounted after him. Not a musket was fired. The redoubt was carried at the point of the bayonet. Not a man was killed after he ceased to resist.

The French stormed the other redoubt, which was more strongly garrisoned, with equal gallantry, but less precipitation. They proceeded according to rule. The soldiers paused while the sappers removed the abatis, during which time they were exposed to a destructive fire, and lost more men than did the Americans in their headlong attack. As the Baron de Viomenil, who led the party, was thus waiting, Major Barbour, Lafayette's aide-de-camp, came through the tremendous fire of the enemy, with a message from the marquis, letting him know that he was in his redoubt, and wished to know where the baron was. "Tell the marquis," replied the latter, "that I am not in mine, but will be in it in five minutes."

Washington was an intensely excited spectator of these assaults, on the result of which so much depended. He had dismounted, given his horse to a servant, and taken his stand in the grand battery with generals Knox and Lincoln and their staffs. The risk he ran of a chance shot, while watching the attack through an embrasure, made those about him uneasy. One of his aides-de-camp ventured to observe that the situation was very much exposed. "If you think so," replied he gravely, "you are at liberty to step back." Shortly afterwards a musket-ball struck the cannon in the embrasure, rolled along it, and fell at his feet. General Knox grasped his arm. "My dear general," exclaimed he, "we can't

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spare you yet." "It is a spent ball," replied Washington quietly; "no harm is done." When all was over, and the redoubts were taken, he drew a long breath, and turning to Knox, observed, "The work is done, *and well done!*" Then called to his servant, "William, bring me my horse."

The redoubts thus taken were included the same night in the second parallel, and howitzers were mounted upon them the following day. The capture of them reduced Lord Cornwallis almost to despair. Had the fleet and army sailed, as he had been given to expect, about the 5th of October, they might have arrived in time to save his lordship; but at the date of the above letter they were still lingering in port. The second parallel was now nearly ready to open. Cornwallis dreaded the effect of its batteries on his almost dismantled works. At this time the garrison could not show a gun on the side of the works exposed to attack, and the shells were nearly expended; the place was no longer tenable. Rather than surrender, Cornwallis determined to attempt an escape. His plan was to leave his sick and wounded and his baggage behind, cross over in the night to Gloucester Point, push for the upper country by rapid marches until opposite the fords of the great rivers, then turn suddenly northward, force his way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys, and join Sir Henry Clinton in New York.

It was a wild and daring scheme, but his situation was desperate, and the idea of surrender intolerable. In pursuance of the design, sixteen large boats were secretly prepared; a detachment was appointed to remain and capitulate for the town's people, the sick, and the wounded; a large part of the troops were transported to the Gloucester side of the river before midnight, and the second division had actually embarked, when a violent storm of wind and rain scattered the boats, and drove them a considerable distance down the river. They were collected with difficulty. It was now too late to effect the passage of the second division before daybreak, and an effort was made to get back the division which had already crossed. It was not done until the morning was far advanced, and the troops in recrossing were exposed to the fire of the American batteries.

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The hopes of Lord Cornwallis were now at an end. His works were tumbling in ruins about him, under an incessant cannonade; his garrison was exhausted by constant watching and severe duty. Unwilling to expose the residue of his brave troops to the dangers and horrors of an assault, he ordered a parley to be beaten about ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th, and dispatched a flag with a letter to Washington proposing a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, and that two officers might be appointed by each side to meet and settle terms for the surrender of the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester.

Washington felt unwilling to grant such delay, when reinforcements might be on the way for Cornwallis from New York. In reply, therefore, he requested that, previous to the meeting of commissioners, his lordship's proposals might be sent in writing to the American lines, for which purpose a suspension of hostilities during two hours from the delivery of the letter, would be granted. This was complied with; but as the proposals offered by Cornwallis were not all admissible, Washington drew up a schedule of such terms as he would grant, and transmitted it to his lordship.

The armistice was prolonged. Commissioners met, and after much discussion, a rough draft was made of the terms of capitulation to be submitted to the British general. These Washington caused to be promptly transcribed, and sent to Lord Cornwallis early in the morning of the 19th, with a note expressing his expectation that they would be signed by eleven o'clock, and that the garrison would be ready to march out by two o'clock in the afternoon. Lord Cornwallis was fain to comply, and, accordingly, on the same day, the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester were surrendered to General Washington as commander-in-chief of the combined army; and the ships of war, transports, and other vessels, to the Count de Grasse, as commander of the French fleet. The garrisons of Yorktown and Gloucester, including the officers of the navy and seamen of every denomination, were to surrender as prisoners of war to the combined army; the land force to remain prisoners to the United States, the seamen to the King of France.

The number of prisoners made by this capitulation amounted

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to 7073, of whom 5950 were rank and file. The loss sustained by the garrison during the siege, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 552. That of the combined army in killed was about 300. The combined army to which Cornwallis surrendered, was estimated at 16,000, of whom 7000 were French, 5500 Continentals, and 3500 militia.

Cornwallis felt deeply the humiliation of this close to all his wide and wild campaigning, and was made more sensitive on the subject by circumstances of which he soon became apprised. On the very day that he had been compelled to lay down his arms before Yorktown, the lingering armament intended for his relief sailed from New York. It consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, two fifty-gun ships, and eight frigates; with Sir Henry Clinton and seven thousand of his best troops. Sir Henry arrived off the Capes of Virginia on the 24th, and gathered information which led him to apprehend that Lord Cornwallis had capitulated. He hovered off the mouth of the Chesapeake until the 29th, when, having fully ascertained that he had come too late, he turned his tardy prows toward New York.

In the meantime, the rejoicings which Washington had commenced with appropriate solemnities in the victorious camp, had spread throughout the Union. "Cornwallis is taken!" was the universal acclaim. It was considered a death-blow to the war. Congress gave way to transports of joy. Thanks were voted to the commander-in-chief, to Rochambeau and Grasse, to the officers of the allied armies generally, and to the corps of artillery and engineers especially. Finally, Congress issued a proclamation, appointing a day for general thanksgiving and prayer, in acknowledgment of this signal interposition of Divine Providence.

Far different was the feeling of the British ministry when news of the event reached the other side of the Atlantic. Lord George Germaine was the first to announce it to Lord North at his office in Downing Street. "And how did he take it?" was the inquiry. "As he would have taken a ball in the breast," replied Lord George, "for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly as he paced up and down the apartment, 'O God! it is all over!'"

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§ 11. Return of Peace.

Last Incidents of the War. — A dissolution of the combined forces now took place. The Marquis de St. Simon embarked his troops on the last of October, and the Count de Grasse made sail on the 4th of November, taking with him two beautiful horses which Washington had presented to him in token of cordial regard. Lafayette, seeing there was no probability of further active service at present, returned to France on a visit to his family. The British prisoners were marched to Winchester in Virginia and Frederick in Maryland, and Lord Cornwallis and his principal officers sailed for New York on parole.

The main part of the American army embarked for the Head of Elk, and returned northward under the command of General Lincoln, to be cantoned for the winter in the Jerseys and on the Hudson. The French army remained for the winter in Virginia, and the Count de Rochambeau established his head-quarters at Williamsburg. Washington himself, after spending the winter in Philadelphia with Congress, set out in March to rejoin the army at Newburgh on the Hudson river.

Sir Guy Carleton arrived in New York early in May to take the place of Sir Henry Clinton. Great discontents prevailed at this time in the American army, among both officers and men. The neglect of the states to furnish their proportions of the sum voted by Congress for the prosecution of the war, had left the army almost destitute. There was scarce money sufficient to feed the troops from day to day; indeed, there were days when they were absolutely in want of provisions. The pay of the officers, too, was greatly in arrear; many of them doubted whether they would ever receive the half-pay decreed to them by Congress for a term of years after the conclusion of the war, and fears began to be expressed that, in the event of peace, they would all be disbanded with their claims unliquidated, and themselves cast upon the community penniless, and unfitted, by long military habit, for the gainful pursuits of peace.

At this juncture Washington received an extraordinary letter

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from Colonel Lewis Nicola, a veteran officer, once commandant of Fort Mifflin, who had been in habits of intimacy with him, and had warmly interceded in behalf of the suffering army. In this letter he attributed all the ills experienced and anticipated by the army and the public at large, to the existing form of government. He condemned a republican form as incompatible with national prosperity, and advised a mixed government like that of England; which, he had no doubt, on its benefits being properly pointed out, would be readily adopted. "In that case," he adds, "it will, I believe, be uncontroverted, that the same abilities which have led us through difficulties apparently insurmountable by human power, to victory and glory; those qualities that have merited and obtained the universal esteem and veneration of an army, would be most likely to conduct and direct us in the smoother paths of peace. Some people have so connected the idea of tyranny and monarchy, as to find it very difficult to separate them. It may, therefore, be requisite to give the head of such a constitution as I propose, some title apparently more moderate; but, if all other things were once adjusted, I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the title of King, which, I conceive, would be attended with some material advantages."

Washington saw at once that Nicola was but the organ of a military faction, disposed to make the army the basis of an energetic government, and to place him at the head. The suggestion, backed by the opportunity, might have tempted a man of meaner ambition: from him it drew the following indignant letter: —

"With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army, as you have expressed, and I must view them with abhorrence, and reprehend them with severity. For the present, the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary.

"I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could

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have given encouragement to an address, which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add, that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the army than I do; and as far as my powers and influence, in a constitutional way, extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself, or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature."

At length arrived the wished-for news of peace. A general treaty was signed at Paris on the 20th of January, 1783. An armed vessel, the *Triumph*, belonging to the Count d'Estaing's squadron, arrived at Philadelphia from Cadiz, on the 23d of March, bringing a letter from the Marquis de Lafayette to the President of Congress, communicating the intelligence. In a few days Sir Guy Carleton informed Washington by letter, that he was ordered to proclaim a cessation of hostilities by sea and land.

A similar proclamation issued by Congress, was received by Washington on the 17th of April. On the 19th Congress resolved that the service of the men engaged in the war did not expire until the ratification of the definitive articles of peace; but that the commander-in-chief might grant furloughs to such as he thought proper, and that they should be allowed to take their arms with them. Washington availed himself freely of this permission: furloughs were granted without stint; the men set out singly or in small parties for their rustic homes, and the danger and inconvenience were avoided of disbanding large masses, at a time, of unpaid soldiery. Now and then were to be seen three or four in a group, bound probably to the same neighborhood, beguiling the way with camp jokes and camp stories. The war-worn soldier was always kindly received at the farm-houses along the road, where he might shoulder his gun and fight over his battles. The

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men thus dismissed on furlough were never called upon to rejoin the army. Once at home, they sank into domestic life; their weapons were hung up over their fire-places, military trophies of the Revolution to be prized by future generations.

In the meantime Sir Guy Carleton was making preparations for the evacuation of the city of New York. The moment he had received the royal order for the cessation of hostilities, he had written for all the shipping that could be procured from Europe and the West Indies. As early as the 27th of April a fleet had sailed for different parts of Nova Scotia, carrying off about seven thousand persons, with all their effects. A great part of these were troops, but many were loyalists, exiled by the laws of the United States. They looked forward with a dreary eye to their voyage, "bound," as one of them absurdly said, "to a country where there were nine months of winter and three months of cold weather every year."

By a proclamation of Congress, dated 18th of October, all officers and soldiers absent on furlough were discharged from further service; and all others who had engaged to serve during the war, were to be discharged from and after the 3d of November. A small force only, composed of those who had enlisted for a definite time, were to be retained in service until the peace establishment should be organized.

Notwithstanding every exertion had been made for the evacuation of New York, such was the number of persons and the quantity of effects of all kinds to be conveyed away, that the month of November was far advanced before it could be completed. On the morning of the 25th the American troops moved from Harlem to the Bowery at the upper part of the city. There they remained until the troops in that quarter were withdrawn, when they marched into the city and took possession, the British embarking from the lower parts. A formal entry then took place of the military and civil authorities. General Washington and Governor Clinton, with their suites, on horseback, led the procession, escorted by a troop of Westchester cavalry. Then came the lieutenant-governor and members of the council, General Knox and

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the officers of the army, the speaker of the Assembly, and a large number of citizens on horseback and on foot.

An American lady, who was at that time very young and had resided during the latter part of the war in the city, has given us an account of the striking contrast between the American and British troops. "We had been accustomed for a long time," said she, "to military display in all the finish and finery of garrison life; the troops just leaving us were as if equipped for show, and with their scarlet uniforms and burnished arms made a brilliant display; the troops that marched in, on the contrary, were ill-clad and weather-beaten, and made a forlorn appearance; but then they were *our* troops, and as I looked at them, and thought upon all they had done and suffered for us, my heart and my eyes were full, and I admired and gloried in them the more, because they were weather-beaten and forlorn."

The city was now a scene of public festivity and rejoicing. The governor gave banquets to the French ambassador, the commander-in-chief, the military and civil officers, and a large number of the most eminent citizens, and at night the public were entertained by splendid fireworks. In the course of a few days Washington prepared to depart for Annapolis, where Congress was assembling, with the intention of asking leave to resign his command. A barge was in waiting about noon on the 4th of December at Whitehall Ferry to convey him across the Hudson to Paulus Hook. The principal officers of the army assembled at Fraunces' Tavern in the neighborhood of the ferry, to take a final leave of him. On entering the room, and finding himself surrounded by his old companions in arms, who had shared with him so many scenes of hardship, difficulty, and danger, his agitated feelings overcame his usual self-command. Filling a glass of wine, and turning upon them his benignant but saddened countenance, "With a heart full of love and gratitude," said he, "I now take leave of you, most devoutly wishing that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drunk this farewell benediction, he added with emotion, "I cannot come to each of you to take

my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand."

General Knox, who was nearest, was the first to advance. Washington, affected even to tears, grasped his hand and gave him a brother's embrace. In the same affectionate manner he took leave severally of the rest. Not a word was spoken. The deep feeling and manly tenderness of these veterans in the parting moment could find no utterance in words. Silent and solemn they followed their loved commander as he left the room, passed through a corps of light infantry, and proceeded on foot to Whitehall Ferry. Having entered the barge, he turned to them, took off his hat and waved a silent adieu. They replied in the same manner, and having watched the barge until the intervening point of the Battery shut it from sight, returned, still solemn and silent, to the place where they had assembled.

On his way to Annapolis, Washington stopped for a few days at Philadelphia, where with his usual exactness in matters of business, he adjusted with the Comptroller of the Treasury his accounts from the commencement of the war down to the 13th of the actual month of December. These were all in his own handwriting, and kept in the clearest and most accurate manner, each entry being accompanied by a statement of the occasion and object of the charge. The gross amount was about fourteen thousand five hundred pounds sterling; in which were included moneys expended for secret intelligence and service, and in various incidental charges. All this, it must be noted, was an account of money actually expended in the progress of the war; not for arrearage of pay; for it will be recollected Washington accepted no pay. Indeed, on the final adjustment of his accounts, he found himself a considerable loser, having frequently, in the hurry of business, neglected to credit himself with sums drawn from his private purse in moments of exigency. The schedule of his public account furnishes not the least among the many noble and impressive lessons taught by his character and example. It stands a touchstone of honesty in office, and a lasting rebuke on that lavish expenditure of the public money, too often heedlessly, if not wilfully, indulged by military commanders.

In passing through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the scenes of his anxious and precarious campaigns, Washington was everywhere hailed with enthusiasm by the people, and greeted with addresses by legislative assemblies and learned and religious institutions. He accepted them all with that modesty inherent in his nature; little thinking that this present popularity was but the early outbreaking of a fame that was to go on widening and deepening from generation to generation, and extending over the whole civilized world.

Being arrived at Annapolis, he addressed a letter to the President of Congress, on the 20th of December, requesting to know in what manner it would be most proper to offer his resignation; whether in writing or at an audience. The latter mode was adopted, and the Hall of Congress appointed for the ceremonial. A letter from Washington to the Baron Steuben, written on the 23d, concludes as follows: "This is the last letter I shall write while I continue in the service of my country. The hour of my resignation is fixed at twelve to-day, after which I shall become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac."

At twelve o'clock the gallery, and a great part of the floor of the Hall of Congress, were filled with ladies, with public functionaries of the state, and with general officers. The members of Congress were seated and covered, as representatives of the sovereignty of the Union. The gentlemen present as spectators were standing and uncovered. Washington entered, conducted by the Secretary of Congress, and took his seat in a chair appointed for him. After a brief pause the president (General Mifflin) informed him, that "the United States, in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communication." Washington then rose, and in a dignified and impressive manner delivered a short address.

"The great events," said he, "on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I now have the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country."

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After expressing his obligations to the army in general, and acknowledging the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the confidential officers who had been attached to his person, and composed his family during the war, and whom he especially recommended to the favor of Congress, he continued: —

"I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God; and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping. Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

"Few tragedies ever drew so many tears from so many beautiful eyes," says a writer who was present, "as the moving manner in which his Excellency took his final leave of Congress."

Having delivered his commission into the hands of the president, the latter, in reply to his address, bore testimony to the patriotism with which he had answered to the call of his country, and defended its invaded rights before it had formed alliances, and while it was without funds or a government to support him; to the wisdom and fortitude with which he had conducted the great military contest, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power, through all disasters and changes. "You retire," added he, "from the theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages."

The very next morning Washington left Annapolis, and hastened to his beloved Mount Vernon, where he arrived the same day, on Christmas-eve, in a frame of mind suited to enjoy the sacred and genial festival. "The scene is at last closed," said he in a letter to Governor Clinton; "I feel myself eased of a load of public care. I hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of the domestic virtues."

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The Federal Constitution. — From his quiet retreat at Mount Vernon, Washington, though ostensibly withdrawn from public affairs, was watching with intense solicitude the working together of the several parts in the great political confederacy; anxious to know whether the thirteen distinct states, under the present organization, could form a sufficiently efficient general government. He was daily becoming more and more doubtful of the solidity of the fabric he had assisted to raise. The form of confederation which had bound the states together and met the public exigencies during the Revolution, when there was a pressure of external danger, was daily proving more and more incompetent to the purposes of a national government. Congress had devised a system of credit to provide for the national expenditure and the extinction of national debts, which amounted to something more than forty millions of dollars. The system experienced neglect from some states and opposition from others; each consulting its local interests and prejudices, instead of the interests and obligations of the whole. In like manner treaty stipulations, which bound the good faith of the whole, were slighted, if not violated, by individual states, apparently unconscious that they must each share in the discredit thus brought upon the national name.

In a letter to James Warren, who had formerly been president of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, Washington writes: "The confederation appears to me to be little more than a shadow without the substance, and Congress a nugatory body, their ordinances being little attended to. To me it is a solecism in politics; indeed, it is one of the most extraordinary things in nature, that we should confederate as a nation, and yet be afraid to give the rulers of that nation (who are creatures of our own making, appointed for a limited and short duration, and who are amenable for every action and may be recalled at any moment, and are subject to all the evils which they may be instrumental in producing) sufficient powers to order and direct the affairs of the same. By such policy as this the wheels of government are clogged, and our brightest prospects, and that high expectation which was entertained of us by the wondering world, are turned into astonishment;

and from the high ground on which we stood, we are descending into the vale of confusion and darkness."

Not long previous to the writing of this letter, Washington had been visited at Mount Vernon by commissioners, who had been appointed by the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland to form a compact relative to the navigation of the rivers Potomac and Pocomoke, and of part of the Chesapeake Bay, and who had met at Alexandria for the purpose. During their visit at Mount Vernon, the policy of maintaining a naval force on the Chesapeake, and of establishing a tariff of duties on imports to which the laws of both states should conform, was discussed, and it was agreed that the commissioners should propose to the governments of their respective states the appointment of other commissioners, with powers to make conjoint arrangements for the above purposes; to which the assent of Congress was to be solicited.

The idea of conjoint arrangements between states, thus suggested in the quiet councils of Mount Vernon, was a step in the right direction, and led to important results.

From a letter, written two or three months subsequently, we gather some of the ideas on national policy which were occupying Washington's mind. "I have ever been a friend to adequate powers in Congress, without which it is evident to me, we never shall establish a national character, or be considered as on a respectable footing by the powers of Europe. — We are either a united people under one head and for federal purposes, or we are thirteen independent sovereignties, eternally counteracting each other. — If the former, whatever such a majority of the states as the constitution points out, conceives to be for the benefit of the whole, should in my humble opinion, be submitted to by the minority. — I can foresee no evil greater than disunion; than those *unreasonable* jealousies (I say unreasonable, because I would have a *proper* jealousy always awake, and the United States on the watch to prevent individual states from infracting the constitution with impunity) which are continually poisoning our minds and filling them with imaginary evils for the prevention of real ones."

An earnest correspondence took place some months subse-

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quently between Washington and the illustrious patriot, John Jay, at that time Secretary of Foreign Affairs, wherein the signs of the times were feelingly discussed.

"Our affairs," writes Jay, "seem to lead to some crisis, something that I cannot foresee or conjecture. I am uneasy and apprehensive, more so than during the war. Then we had a fixed object, and though the means and time of obtaining it were problematical, yet I did firmly believe that we should ultimately succeed, because I did firmly believe that justice was with us. The case is now altered. We are going and doing wrong, and therefore I look forward to evils and calamities, but without being able to guess at the instrument, nature, or measure of them. . . . What I most fear is, that the better kind of people, by which I mean the people who are orderly and industrious, who are content with their situations, and not uneasy in their circumstances, will be led by the insecurity of property, the loss of public faith and rectitude, to consider the charms of liberty as imaginary and delusive. A state of uncertainty and fluctuation must disgust and alarm." Washington, in reply, coincided in opinion that public affairs were drawing rapidly to a crisis, and he acknowledged the event to be equally beyond his foresight.

His anxiety on this subject was quickened by accounts of discontents and commotions in the Eastern States produced by the pressure of the times, the public and private indebtedness, and the imposition of heavy taxes, at a moment of financial embarrassment. General Knox, now Secretary of War, who had been sent by Congress to Massachusetts to inquire into these troubles, thus writes about the insurgents who had collected under the banner of Daniel Shays: "Their creed is, that the property of the United States has been protected from the confiscation of Britain by the joint exertions of *all*, and therefore ought to be *the common property of all*, and he that attempts opposition to this creed, is an enemy to equity and justice, and ought to be swept from off the face of the earth." Again, "They are determined to annihilate all debts, public and private, and have agrarian laws, which are easily effected by the means of unfunded paper, which shall be a tender in all cases whatever."

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In reply to Colonel Henry Lee in Congress, who had addressed several letters to him on the subject, Washington writes, "You talk, my good sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. *Influence* is not *government.* Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once. There is a call for decision. Know precisely what the insurgents aim at. If they have *real* grievances, redress them, if possible; or acknowledge the justice of them, and your inability to do it at the moment. If they have not, employ the force of government against them at once. If this is inadequate, *all* will be convinced that the superstructure is bad and wants support. To delay one or other of these expedients is to exasperate on the one hand, or to give confidence on the other. . . . Let the reins of government, then, be braced and held with a steady hand, and every violation of the constitution be reprehended. If defective, let it be amended; but not suffered to be trampled upon whilst it has an existence."

A letter to him from his former aide-de-camp, Colonel Humphreys, dated New Haven, November 1, says: "The troubles in Massachusetts still continue. Government is prostrated in the dust, and it is much to be feared that there is not energy enough in that state to re-establish the civil powers. The leaders of the mob, whose fortunes and measures are desperate, are strengthening themselves daily; and it is expected that they will soon take possession of the continental magazine at Springfield, in which there are from ten to fifteen thousand stand of arms in excellent order. A general want of compliance with the requisitions of Congress for money seems to prognosticate that we are rapidly advancing to a crisis. Congress, I am told, is seriously alarmed, and hardly knows which way to turn or what to expect. Indeed, my dear General, nothing but a good Providence can extricate us from the present convulsion. In case of civil discord, I have already told you it was seriously my opinion that you could not remain neutral, and that you would be obliged, in self-defence,

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to take one part or the other, or withdraw from the continent. Your friends are of the same opinion."

Thus Washington, even though in retirement, was almost unconsciously exercising a powerful influence on national affairs; no longer the soldier, he was now becoming the statesman. The opinions and counsels given in his letters were widely effective. The leading expedient for federate organization, mooted in his conferences with the commissioners of Maryland and Virginia, during their visit to Mount Vernon in the previous year, had been extended and ripened in legislative assemblies, and ended in a plan of a convention composed of delegates from all the states, to meet in Philadelphia for the sole and express purpose of revising the federal system, and correcting its defects; the proceedings of the convention to be subsequently reported to Congress, and the several legislatures, for approval and confirmation.

Washington was unanimously put at the head of the Virginia delegation; but for some time objected to accept the nomination. He feared to be charged with inconsistency in again appearing in a public situation, after his declared resolution to the contrary. "It will have also," said he, "a tendency to sweep me back into the tide of public affairs, when retirement and ease are so much desired by me, and so essentially necessary."

These considerations were strenuously combated, for the weight and influence of his name and counsel were felt to be all-important in giving dignity to the delegation. Two things contributed to bring him to a favorable decision: First, an insinuation that the opponents of the convention were monarchists, who wished the distractions of the country should continue, until a monarchical government might be resorted to as an ark of safety. The other was the insurrection in Massachusetts.

Having made up his mind to serve as a delegate to the convention, he went into a course of preparatory reading on the history and principles of ancient and modern confederacies. An abstract of the general principles of each, with notes of their vices or defects, exists in his own handwriting, among his papers; though it is doubted by a judicious commentator whether it was origi-

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nally drawn up by him, as several works are cited which are written in languages that he did not understand.

Before the time arrived for the meeting of the convention, which was the second Monday in May, his mind was relieved from one source of poignant solicitude, by learning that the insurrection in Massachusetts had been suppressed with but little bloodshed.

On the 9th of May, Washington set out in his carriage from Mount Vernon to attend the convention. It was not until the 25th of May that a sufficient number of delegates were assembled to form a quorum; when they proceeded to organize the body, and by a unanimous vote called Washington to the chair as president.

We forbear to go into the voluminous proceedings of this memorable convention, which occupied from four to seven hours each day for four months; and in which every point was the subject of able and scrupulous discussion by the best talent and noblest spirits of the country. Washington felt restrained by his situation as president, from taking a part in the debates, but his well-known opinions influenced the whole. The result was the formation of the constitution of the United States, which (with some amendments made in after years) still exists.

"The business being closed," says Washington in his diary (Sept. 17th), "the members adjourned to the city tavern, dined together, and took a cordial leave of each other. After which I returned to my lodgings, did some business with, and received the papers from, the secretary of the convention, and retired to meditate on the momentous work which had been executed."

"It appears to me little short of miracle," writes he to Lafayette, "that the delegates from so many states, different from each other, as you know, in their manners, circumstances, and prejudices, should unite in forming a system of national government so little liable to well-founded objections. Nor am I such an enthusiastic, partial, or undiscriminating admirer of it, as not to perceive it is tinctured with some real, though not radical defects. With regard to the two great points, the pivots upon which the whole machine must move, my creed is simply, First, that the

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general government is not invested with more powers than are indispensably necessary to perform the functions of a good government; and consequently, that no objection ought to be made against the quantity of power delegated to it.

"Secondly, that these powers, as the appointment of all rulers will forever arise from, and at short, stated intervals recur to, the free suffrages of the people, are so distributed among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches into which the general government is arranged, that it can never be in danger of degenerating into a monarchy, an oligarchy, an aristocracy, or any other despotic or oppressive form, so long as there shall remain any virtue in the body of the people.

"It will at least be a recommendation to the proposed constitution, that it is provided with more checks and barriers against the introduction of tyranny, and those of a nature less liable to be surmounted, than any government hitherto instituted among mortals."

"We are not to expect perfection in this world; but mankind, in modern times, have apparently made some progress in the science of government. Should that which is now offered to the people of America, be found on experiment less perfect than it can be made, a constitutional door is left open for its amelioration."

The constitution thus formed, was forwarded to Congress, and thence transmitted to the state legislatures, each of which submitted it to a state convention composed of delegates chosen for that express purpose by the people. The ratification of the instrument by nine states was necessary to carry it into effect; and as the several state conventions would assemble at different times, nearly a year must elapse before the decisions of the requisite number could be obtained.

During this time, Washington resumed his retired life at Mount Vernon, seldom riding, as he says, beyond the limits of his own farms, but kept informed by his numerous correspondents, such as James Madison, John Jay, and generals Knox, Lincoln, and Armstrong, of the progress of the constitution through its various ordeals, and of the strenuous opposition which it met with in dif-

ferent quarters, both in debate and through the press. A diversity of opinions and inclinations on the subject had been expected by him. "The various passions and motives by which men are influenced," said he, "are concomitants of fallibility, and ingrafted into our nature." Still he never had a doubt that it would ultimately be adopted; and, in fact, the national decision in its favor was more fully and strongly pronounced than even he had anticipated.

The testimonials of ratification having been received by Congress from a sufficient number of states, an act was passed by that body on the 13th of September, appointing the first Wednesday in January, 1789, for the people of the United States to choose electors of a President according to the constitution, and the first Wednesday in the month of February following for the electors to meet and make a choice. The meeting of the government was to be on the first Wednesday in March, and in the city of New York.

Washington chosen President of the United States. — The adoption of the Federal Constitution was another epoch in the life of Washington. Before the official forms of an election could be carried into operation, a unanimous sentiment throughout the Union pronounced him the nation's choice to fill the presidential chair. He looked forward to the possibility of his election with characteristic modesty and unfeigned reluctance; as his letters to his confidential friends bear witness. "It has no fascinating allurements for me," writes he to Lafayette. "At my time of life and under my circumstances, the increasing infirmities of nature and the growing love of retirement do not permit me to entertain a wish beyond that of living and dying an honest man on my own farm. Let those follow the pursuits of ambition and fame who have a keener relish for them, or who may have more years in store for the enjoyment."

The election took place at the appointed time, and it was soon ascertained that Washington was chosen President for the term of four years from the 4th of March. By this time the arguments and entreaties of his friends, and his own convictions of public

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expediency, had determined him to accept; and he made preparations to depart for the seat of government as soon as he should receive official notice of his election. Among other duties, he paid a visit to his mother at Fredericksburg; it was a painful, because likely to be a final, one; for she was afflicted with a malady which, it was evident, must soon terminate her life. Their parting was affectionate, but solemn; she had always been reserved and moderate in expressing herself in regard to the successes of her son; but it must have been a serene satisfaction at the close of her life to see him elevated by his virtues to the highest honor of his country.

From a delay in forming a quorum of Congress, the votes of the electoral college were not counted until early in April, when they were found to be unanimous in favor of Washington. "The delay," said he, in a letter to General Knox, "may be compared to a reprieve; for in confidence I tell you (with the *world* it would obtain little credit), that my movements to the chair of government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of his execution; so unwilling am I, in the evening of a life nearly consumed in public cares, to quit a peaceful abode for an ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities, and inclination, which are necessary to manage the helm. I am sensible that I am embarking the voice of the people, and a good name of my own, on this voyage; but what returns will be made for them, Heaven alone can foretell. Integrity and firmness are all I can promise. These, be the voyage long or short, shall never forsake me, although I may be deserted by all men; for of the consolations which are to be derived from these, under any circumstances, the world cannot deprive me."

At length, on the 14th of April, he received a letter from the President of Congress, duly notifying him of his election; and he prepared to set out immediately for New York, the seat of government. An entry in his diary, dated the 16th, says, "About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious

and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

His progress to the seat of government was a continual ovation. Old and young, women and children, thronged the highways to bless and welcome him. Deputations of the most respectable inhabitants from the principal places came forth to meet and escort him. At Baltimore, on his arrival and departure, his carriage was attended by a numerous cavalcade of citizens, and he was saluted by the thunder of artillery.

At the frontier of Pennsylvania he was met by his former companion in arms, Mifflin, now governor of the state, who, with Judge Peters and a civil and military escort, was waiting to receive him. Washington had hoped to be spared all military parade, but found it was not to be evaded. At Chester, where he stopped to breakfast, there were preparations for a public entrance into Philadelphia. Cavalry had assembled from the surrounding country; a superb white horse was led out for Washington to mount, and a grand procession set forward, with General St. Clair of Revolutionary notoriety at its head. It gathered numbers as it advanced, passed under triumphal arches entwined with laurel, and entered Philadelphia amid the shouts of the multitude.

We question whether any of these testimonials of a nation's gratitude affected Washington more sensibly than those he received at Trenton. It was on a sunny afternoon when he arrived on the banks of the Delaware, where, twelve years before he had crossed in darkness and storm, through clouds of snow and drifts of floating ice, on his daring attempt to strike a blow at a triumphant enemy.

Here at present all was peace and sunshine, the broad river flowed placidly along, and crowds awaited him on the opposite bank, to hail him with love and transport.

We will not dwell on the joyous ceremonials with which he was welcomed, but there was one too peculiar to be omitted. The reader may remember Washington's gloomy night on the banks of

the Assunpink, which flows through Trenton; the camp fires of Cornwallis in front of him; the Delaware full of floating ice in the rear; and his sudden resolve on that midnight retreat which turned the fortunes of the campaign. On the bridge crossing that eventful stream, the ladies of Trenton had caused a triumphal arch to be erected. It was entwined with evergreens and laurels, and bore the inscription, "The defender of the mothers will be the protector of the daughters." At this bridge the matrons of the city were assembled to pay him reverence; and as he passed under the arch, a number of young girls, dressed in white and crowned with garlands, strewed flowers before him, singing an ode expressive of their love and gratitude. Never was ovation more graceful, touching, and sincere; and Washington, tenderly affected, declared that the impression of it on his heart could never be effaced.

His whole progress through New Jersey must have afforded a similar contrast to his weary marchings to and fro, harassed by doubts and perplexities, with bale fires blazing on its hills, instead of festive illuminations, and when the ringing of bells and booming of cannon, now so joyous, were the signals of invasion and maraud.

In respect to his reception at New York, Washington had signified in a letter to Governor Clinton, that none could be so congenial to his feelings as a quiet entry devoid of ceremony; but his modest wishes were not complied with. At Elizabethtown Point, a committee of both Houses of Congress, with various civic functionaries, waited by appointment to receive him. He embarked on board of a splendid barge, constructed for the occasion. It was manned by thirteen branch pilots, masters of vessels, in white uniforms, and commanded by Commodore Nicholson. Other barges, fancifully decorated, followed, having on board the heads of departments and other public officers, and several distinguished citizens.

As they passed through the strait between the Jerseys and Staten Island, called the Kills, other boats decorated with flags fell in their wake, until the whole, forming a nautical procession, swept up the broad and beautiful bay of New York, to the sound of instrumental music. On board of two vessels were parties of ladies and gentlemen who sang congratulatory odes as Washington's barge

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approached. The ships at anchor in the harbor, dressed in colors, fired salutes as it passed. One alone, the *Galveston*, a Spanish man-of-war, displayed no signs of gratulation until the barge of the general was nearly abreast; when suddenly, as if by magic, the yards were manned, the ship burst forth, as it were, into a full array of flags and signals, and thundered a salute of thirteen guns.

He approached the landing-place of Murray's Wharf amid the ringing of bells, the roaring of cannon, and the shouting of multitudes collected on every pier-head. On landing, he was received by Governor Clinton. General Knox, too, who had taken such affectionate leave of him on his retirement from military life, was there to welcome him in his civil capacity. Other of his fellow-soldiers of the Revolution were likewise there, mingled with the civic dignitaries. At this juncture, an officer stepped up and requested Washington's orders, announcing himself as commanding his guard. Washington desired him to proceed according to the directions he might have received in the present arrangements, but that for the future the affection of his fellow-citizens was all the guard he wanted.

Carpets had been spread to a carriage prepared to convey him to his destined residence, but he preferred to walk. He was attended by a long civil and military train. In the streets through which he passed, the houses were decorated with flags, silken banners, garlands of flowers and evergreens, and bore his name in every form of ornament. The streets were crowded with people, so that it was with difficulty a passage could be made by the city officers. Washington frequently bowed to the multitude as he passed, taking off his hat to the ladies, who thronged every window, waving their handkerchiefs, throwing flowers before him, and many of them shedding tears of enthusiasm.

That day he dined with his old friend Governor Clinton, who had invited a numerous company of public functionaries and foreign diplomatists to meet him, and in the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated.

Would the reader know the effect upon Washington's mind of this triumphant entry into New York? It was to depress rather

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than to excite him. Modestly diffident of his abilities to cope with the new duties on which he was entering, he was overwhelmed by what he regarded as proofs of public expectation.

The inauguration was delayed for several days, in which a question arose as to the form or title by which the President-elect was to be addressed; and a committee in both Houses was appointed to report upon the subject. The question was stated without Washington's privity, and contrary to his desire, as he feared that any title might awaken the sensitive jealousy of republicans, at a moment when it was all-important to conciliate public good-will to the new form of government. It was a relief to him, therefore, when it was finally resolved that the address should be simply "the President of the United States," without any addition of title; a judicious form, which has remained to the present day.

The inauguration took place on the 30th of April. At nine o'clock in the morning there were religious services in all the churches, and prayers put up for the blessing of Heaven on the new government. At twelve o'clock the city troops paraded before Washington's door; and soon after, the committees of Congress and heads of departments came in their carriages. At half-past twelve the procession moved forward, preceded by the troops; next came the committees and heads of departments in their carriages; then Washington in a coach-of-state, his aide-de-camp, Colonel Humphreys, and his secretary, Mr. Lear, in his own carriage. The foreign ministers and a long train of citizens brought up the rear.

About two hundred yards before reaching the hall, Washington and his suite alighted from their carriages, and passed through the troops, who were drawn up on each side, into the hall and senate chamber, where the Vice-President, the Senate, and House of Representatives were assembled. The Vice-President, John Adams, recently inaugurated, advanced and conducted Washington to a chair-of-state at the upper end of the room. A solemn silence prevailed, when the Vice-President rose, and informed him that all things were prepared for him to take the oath of office required by the Constitution.

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The oath was to be administered by the Chancellor of the State of New York, in a balcony in front of the senate chamber, and in full view of an immense multitude occupying the street, the windows, and even roofs of the adjacent houses. The balcony formed a kind of open recess, with lofty columns supporting the roof. In the centre was a table with a covering of crimson velvet, upon which lay a superbly bound Bible on a crimson velvet cushion. This was all the paraphernalia for the august scene.

All eyes were fixed upon the balcony, when, at the appointed hour, Washington made his appearance, accompanied by various public functionaries, and members of the Senate and House of Representatives. He was clad in a full suit of dark-brown cloth, of American manufacture, with a steel-hilted dress sword, white silk stockings, and silver shoe-buckles. His hair was dressed and powdered in the fashion of the day, and worn in a bag and solitaire.

His entrance on the balcony was hailed by universal shouts. He was evidently moved by this demonstration of public affection. Advancing to the front of the balcony, he laid his hand upon his heart, bowed several times, and then retreated to an arm-chair near the table. The populace appeared to understand that the scene had overcome him, and were hushed at once into profound silence.

After a few moments Washington rose and again came forward. John Adams, the Vice-President, stood on his right; on his left the Chancellor of the State, Robert Livingston; somewhat in the rear were Roger Sherman, Alexander Hamilton, generals Knox, St. Clair, the Baron Steuben and others.

The chancellor advanced to administer the oath prescribed by the Constitution, and Mr. Otis, the Secretary of the Senate, held up the Bible on its crimson cushion. The oath was read slowly and distinctly, Washington at the same time laying his hand on the open Bible. When it was concluded, he replied solemnly, "I swear — so help me God!" Mr. Otis would have raised the Bible to his lips, but he bowed down reverently and kissed it.

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The chancellor now stepped forward, waved his hand and ex-

claimed, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" At this moment a flag was displayed on the cupola of the hall, on which signal there was a general discharge of artillery on the Battery. All the bells of the city rang out a joyful peal, and the multitude rent the air with acclamations.

Washington again bowed to the people and returned into the senate chamber where he delivered, to both houses of Congress, his inaugural address, characterized by his usual modesty, moderation, and good sense, but uttered with a voice deep, slightly tremulous, and so low as to demand close attention in the listeners. After this he proceeded with the whole assemblage on foot to St. Paul's church, where prayers suited to the occasion were read by Dr. Prevost, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York, who had been appointed by the Senate one of the chaplains of Congress. So closed the ceremonies of the inauguration.

The whole day was one of sincere rejoicing, and in the evening there were brilliant illuminations and fireworks.

We have been accustomed to look to Washington's private letters for the sentiments of his heart. Those written to several of his friends immediately after his inauguration show how little he was excited by his official elevation. "I greatly fear," writes he, "that my countrymen will expect too much from me. I fear, if the issue of public measures should not correspond with their sanguine expectations, they will turn the extravagant, and I might almost say undue, praises which they are heaping upon me at this moment, into equally extravagant, though I will fondly hope unmerited, censures."

Little was his modest spirit aware that the praises so dubiously received were but the opening notes of a theme that was to increase from age to age, to pervade all lands and endure throughout all generations.

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CONTINUATION.

HOW THE UNITED STATES BECAME A NATION.

§ 1. The Period of Weakness.

Conditions of American Progress. — The nation over which George Washington was called to preside in 1789 was a third-rate power, inferior in population and wealth to Holland, for example, and about on a level with Portugal or Denmark. The population, numbering less than four million, was thinly scattered through the thirteen states between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies, beyond which mountainous barrier a few hardy pioneers were making the beginnings of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio. Roads were few and bad, none of the great rivers were bridged, mails were irregular. There were few manufactures. There were many traders and merchant seamen in the coast towns of the north, but the great majority of the people were farmers who lived on the produce of their own estates and seldom undertook long journeys. Hence the different parts of the country knew very little about each other, and entertained absurd prejudices; and the sentiment of union between the states was extremely weak. East of the Alleghanies the red man had ceased to be dangerous, but tales of Indian massacre still came from regions no more remote than Ohio and Georgia. By rare good fortune and consummate diplomacy the United States had secured, at the peace of 1783, all the territory as far as the Mississippi river, but all the vast regions beyond, together with the important city of New Orleans at its mouth, belonged to Spain, the European power which most cordially hated us. The only other power which had possessions in North America was England, from which we had lately won our

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independence. The feeling entertained toward us in England was one of mortification and chagrin, accompanied by a hope that our half-formed union would fall in pieces, and its separate states be driven by disaster to beg to be taken back into the British empire. The rest of Europe knew little about the United States and cared less.

This country, however, which seemed so insignificant beside the great powers of Europe, contained within itself the germs of an industrial and political development far greater than anything the world had ever seen. The American population was settled upon a territory much more than capable of supporting it. The natural resources of the country were so vast as to create a steady demand for labor far greater than ordinary increase of population could supply. This is still the case, and for a long time will continue to be the case. It is this simple economic fact which has always been at the bottom of the wonderful growth of the United States. But it was very necessary that the nation should be provided with such a government as would enable it to take full advantage of this fact. It was necessary *first*, that the Federal government should be strong enough to preserve peace at home and make itself respected abroad; *secondly*, that local self-government should be maintained in every part of the Union; *thirdly*, that there should be absolute free trade between the states. These three great ends our Federal Constitution has secured. The requisite strength in the central government was, indeed, not all acquired in a moment. It took a second war with England in 1812–15, to convince foreign nations that the American flag could not be insulted with impunity; and it took the terrible civil war of 1861–65, to prove that our government was too strong to be overthrown by the most formidable domestic combination that could possibly be brought against it. The result of both these wars has been to diminish the probable need for further wars on the part of the United States. In spite of these and other minor contests, our Federal Constitution has for a century kept the American Union in such profound peace as was never seen before in any part of the earth since men began to live upon its surface. Local self-government and free trade within

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the limits of the Union have not been interfered with. As a result, we have been able largely to profit by our natural advantages, so that the end of our first century of national existence finds us the strongest and richest nation in the world.

Hamilton's Measures. — For these blessings, in so far as they are partly the work of wise statesmanship, a large share of our gratitude is due to the administration of George Washington. The problem before that administration was to organize the government upon the lines laid down in the Constitution, so that its different departments would work smoothly together. This difficult work was so successfully accomplished that little change has been found necessary from that day to this. The success was mainly due to the organizing genius of Hamilton in the cabinet, assisted by the skill and tact of Madison as leading member of the House of Representatives. Though these great men were often opposed to each other in regard to special measures, their work all tended toward a common result. Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, occupied the most important position in Washington's cabinet. The first thing to be done was to restore the credit of the United States, which had been completely ruined during the Revolutionary War and the troubled years which followed it. Hamilton proposed three measures: *first*, that the government should assume the foreign debt of the Confederation, and pay it in full; *secondly*, that the domestic debt, which seemed to have been virtually repudiated, should likewise be assumed and paid; *thirdly*, that the debts of the separate states should also be assumed and paid by the Federal government. The first of these measures met with no opposition. The second was opposed on the ground that it would only benefit speculators who had bought up United States securities at a discount; but Hamilton's friends argued, let us teach people who hold government securities hereafter not to sell them at a discount; and so the measure was carried. The third measure met with violent opposition, for many people thought the Federal government had no legal power to assume a state debt. No doubt it was a somewhat heroic measure. There was a fierce and bitter fight over it, which at last was only settled by what in

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political slang is called "log-rolling," or an exchange of favors. The site for a Federal capital was to be selected. The northern people generally wished to have it not further south than the Delaware river, while the southerners were determined not to have it further north than the Potomac. Jefferson, who was Washington's Secretary of State, was prominent in urging the southern view of this question, as well as in opposing the assumption of the state debts. The two controversies were settled by a bargain between Jefferson and Hamilton, in which the former withdrew his opposition to assumption, while the latter used his influence with the Federalist party in favor of the Potomac as a site for the Federal capital. The assumption of state debts was a master-stroke of policy. All those persons to whom any state owed money were at once won over to the support of the Federal government. There were many such persons, and many of them were wealthy and powerful. All these now felt a common interest in upholding the national credit, which, through these wise and vigorous measures of Hamilton, was soon completely restored.

Whiskey Insurrection. — In order to carry out these measures, money was necessary, and this must be raised by Federal taxation. There were two ways in which this could be done, either by internal taxes or by custom-house duties. The latter method was mainly resorted to, because it is more indirect, and while it takes vastly more money out of people's pockets, they are usually too dull to realize this as they would in the case of a direct tax. When a tax is wrapped up in the extra fifty cents paid to a merchant for a yard of foreign cloth, it is so effectually hidden that most people do not know it is there. Hence this method of taxation is dangerous; it enables taxes to be laid for the benefit of greedy manufacturers, and thus furtively takes from the people vast sums of money which never get into the treasury. This sort of thing is called "protection," which is so pleasing a word that it makes many people loth to see taxes reduced. In Hamilton's time these dangers were not so well understood as they are now. But the most indirect and covert method of taxation was the one that must needs be adopted, because people had not been used to

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pay taxes except to their town, county, and state governments, and would be likely to rebel against taxes too directly demanded for the Federal treasury.

An instance of this was furnished in 1794 by the tax on whiskey. The settlers in the mountains of Pennsylvania and Virginia had long since found that it cost more to carry their corn and wheat to market than they could sell it for, and accordingly they distilled it into whiskey. When Congress now laid a tax upon whiskey, they grumbled, and when the revenue officers called upon them, they refused to pay the tax, and threatened to take up arms. It was necessary to show people that such proceedings would not be allowed; and Washington summarily suppressed the insurrection by sending to the disaffected region an army of sixteen thousand men, — a force so large as to make the mere idea of resistance ridiculous.

Indian War. — Then, as ordinarily, the western frontier was the scene of troubles with the Indians. This frontier was then near the Wabash river. In 1790 the red men won a great victory over General Harmar near the site of Fort Wayne, and in the following year they inflicted a terrible defeat upon General St. Clair near the head-waters of the Wabash. They now tried to make a treaty which should exclude white settlers from this region. But in 1794, in a fierce battle near the site of Toledo, they were totally defeated by General Wayne, and were forced to make a treaty by which they were moved further west.

Rise of Parties. — The divisions between political parties had now become strongly marked. People were first divided into two great national parties in the autumn of 1787, when the question was whether the Federal Constitution should be ratified by the states. These first parties were called Federalist and Anti-Federalist, names which explain themselves. The adoption of the Constitution was a decisive defeat for the Anti-Federalist party; the financial measures of Hamilton completed its destruction. Parties then became divided in the only sound and healthy way possible in a free country, namely, into those who wished to extend, and those who wished to limit, the powers of government. The former kept the name of Federalists, the second received the name of

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Democratic-Republicans. They preferred to be called Republicans, while their enemies tried to call them Democrats, an epithet which was then supposed to convey a stigma. Until about 1825–30 the correct name for this party is Republican; after that time it is right to speak of it as the Democratic party. The reader must bear in mind the awkward fact that in American politics at the beginning of the century the name Republican meant exactly the opposite to what it means now. So far as the word goes, it might as well have been applied to one party as the other. American party names have but little descriptive significance anyway. But at the outset the name Democrat really had a meaning. It was properly applied to those who wished to increase the direct participation of the people in the government, to abolish all remnants of privilege, and to extend the suffrage which at that time was more or less limited in all the states. The founder and greatest leader of the Republican party, Thomas Jefferson, was before all men a Democrat. In the highest intellectual qualities he was inferior to Hamilton and Madison; but he excelled them in a certain generosity of intelligence which enabled him to see that no form of government can be successful in the long run, if it leaves any class of people with the feeling that they are forcibly deprived of a share in the management of things. Jefferson's opponent, the leader of the Federalists, was Hamilton. Between the two parties Washington pursued a national policy of his own, though his sympathies were mainly with the Federalists.

Citizen Genet. — A firm hand and indomitable will like Washington's were needed at this time, for the foreign sympathies of our two parties were so strong that we were continually running the risk of getting dragged into war. Party quarrels were concerned even more with European politics than with American affairs. The French Revolution broke out in the first year of Washington's first term (1789); by the second year of his second term, it had reached its most frightful period. France and England were now at war. The Republicans realized the good in the French Revolution so far as to sympathize with it in spite of its horrors. The Federalists sympathized with England as the up-

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holder of law and order in Europe. Party strife has never run so high, except just before our Civil War. The French expected us to help them in their war against England, and in 1793 they sent over a minister to the United States, to persuade us to do so. This man, who was called "Citizen" Genet, behaved as if he owned the United States. He tried, without waiting for permission, to fit out privateers in American ports, and thus drag us into war with England. Many Republicans were disposed to uphold him in everything, but his insolence presently disgusted his own supporters. Washington sternly checked his proceedings, and at length complained of him to the French government, which thought it best to recall him.

Jay's Treaty. — In 1795, Washington had one of his hardest trials. Since the peace of 1783, England had treated us as shabbily as she knew how. She still held Detroit and other frontier forts, in disregard of the treaty, and it was believed that the British commandants had secretly helped the Indians on the Wabash. British war-ships, moreover, were in the habit of impressing American seamen, and seizing American ships bound to or from French ports. War might easily grow out of this, and to prevent such a calamity, Washington sent John Jay on a special mission to England. Jay negotiated a treaty which only partially secured the American claims, but Washington's government wisely adopted it as preferable to war. There was great excitement everywhere; Hamilton was stoned on the street, and scurrilous newspapers heaped abuse upon Washington, calling him "the step-father of his country."

Troubles with France. — As Washington refused to be a candidate for a third term, the election of 1796 was warmly contested by the two parties. John Adams, the Federalist candidate, was elected over Jefferson, who, according to the rule at that time, became Vice-President, as second on the list. This was an unwise rule, since under it the death of the President might reverse the result of the election. The administration of John Adams was chiefly occupied with disputes with France. The French were indignant at our attitude of neutrality, and treated us with intoler-

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able insolence. Under Washington's administration, Gouverneur Morris, a Federalist, had been for some time minister to France, but as he was greatly disliked by the gang of anarchists that then misruled that country, Washington had recalled him and sent James Monroe, a Republican, in his place. Monroe was instructed to try to reconcile the French to Jay's treaty, but instead of this he encouraged them to hope that the treaty would not be ratified. Washington accordingly recalled him and sent Cotesworth Pinckney, a Federalist, in his place. The French government were so enraged at the ratification of Jay's treaty that they would not allow Pinckney to stay in Paris, and at the same time decrees were passed discriminating against American commerce. The first act of Mr. Adams was to call an extra session of Congress, to consider how war with France was to be avoided. A special commission was sent to Paris, but the government there would not receive the commissioners. Prince Talleyrand had the impudence to send secret emissaries to them, to demand a large sum of money as blackmail, to be paid to several members of the French government, on condition of their stopping the outrages upon American commerce. The indignant envoys sent home to America an account of this infamous proposal, and Mr. Adams laid the dispatches before Congress, substituting the letters X. Y. Z. for the names of Talleyrand's emissaries. Hence, these papers have ever since been known as the "X. Y. Z. dispatches." They were published, and aroused intense excitement on both sides of the Atlantic. The United States prepared for war. For the moment, the Republican party seemed overwhelmed. From all quarters went up the war-cry, "Millions for defence; not one cent for tribute." A few excellent frigates were built; an army was raised, and Washington was placed in command, with the rank of lieutenant-general. It was during this excitement that the song of "Hail, Columbia" was published. For about a year there was really war with France, though it was never declared. In February, 1799, Captain Truxton, in the frigate *Constellation*, defeated and captured the French frigate *L'Insurgente* near the island of St. Christopher. In February, 1800, the same gallant officer in a

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desperate battle destroyed the frigate *La Vengeance*, which was much his superior in strength of armament. The French, seeing our warlike attitude, had already, early in 1799, grown somewhat more civil. Talleyrand tried to disavow the X. Y. Z. affair, and made conciliatory overtures to Vans Murray, the American minister at the Hague. President Adams wisely decided to meet the French government half-way, and accordingly, in spite of the fiercely warlike temper of the Federalist party, he appointed Vans Murray minister to France, and sent over two commissioners to aid him in adjusting the difficulties. When these envoys reached Paris, they found Napoleon Bonaparte at the head of the government, and succeeded in settling everything amicably. The course of John Adams, in resisting popular clamor and making peace with France, deserves our highest praise. It was one of the noblest actions of his life, but it prevented his re-election to the presidency. For a long time there had been intense jealousy and dislike between Adams and the other great Federalist leader, Hamilton; and on the occasion of the French mission, these antagonisms bore fruits in a quarrel between Mr. Adams and his cabinet, and presently in a split in the Federalist party.

Alien and Sedition Laws. — Another affair contributed largely to the downfall of the Federalist party. In 1798, during the height of the popular fury against France, the Federalists in Congress presumed too much upon their strength, and passed the famous alien and sedition acts. By the first of these acts, aliens were rendered liable to summary banishment from the United States at the sole discretion of the President; and any alien who should venture to return from such banishment was liable to imprisonment for life. By the sedition act, any scandalous or malicious writing against the President or Congress was liable to be dealt with in the United States courts, and punished by fine and imprisonment. This act was unconstitutional, for it was an infringement upon freedom of the press; and both acts aroused more widespread indignation than any others that have ever passed in Congress.

Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. — From the southern

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Republicans the alien and sedition laws called forth a vigorous remonstrance. A series of resolutions, drawn up by Madison, was adopted in 1798 by the Legislature of Virginia, and a similar series, still more pronounced in character, and drawn up by Jefferson, was adopted in the same year by the Legislature of Kentucky. The Virginia resolutions asserted with truth that, in adopting the Federal constitution, the states had surrendered only a limited portion of their powers; and went on to declare that, whenever the Federal government should exceed its constitutional authority, it was the business of the state governments to interfere and pronounce such action unconstitutional. Accordingly, by these resolutions, Virginia declared the alien and sedition laws unconstitutional, and invited the other states to join in the declaration. Not meeting with a favorable response, Virginia renewed these resolutions the next year.

There was nothing necessarily seditious, or tending toward secession, in the Virginia resolutions; but the attitude assumed in them was uncalled for on the part of any state, inasmuch as there existed, in the Federal supreme court, a tribunal competent to decide upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress. But the Kentucky resolutions went further. They declared that our Federal constitution was a compact, to which the several states were the one party and the Federal government was the other, and each party must decide for itself as to when the compact was infringed, and as to the proper remedy to be adopted. When the resolutions were repeated in 1799, a clause was added which went still further and mentioned "nullification" as the suitable remedy, and one which any state might employ. This was venturing upon dangerous ground; for if it were once admitted that a state might take it upon itself to prevent the execution of a United States law within its own borders, a long step would be made toward admitting the right of secession. In after times secessionists often appealed to the Kentucky resolutions; but their doctrine was never generally admitted, though different states, north and south, under the influence of strong excitement, seemed at times ready to act upon it.

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Death of Washington.[1] — When appointed to command the army, July 3d, 1798, Washington accepted the commission upon the express understanding that he was not to be called into the field until an emergency should arise which should require his presence. During the following year he continued to superintend from a distance the concerns of the army, as his ample and minute correspondence manifests; and he was at the same time earnestly endeavoring to bring the affairs of his rural domain into order. A sixteen years' absence from home, with short intervals, had deranged them considerably, so that it required all the time he could spare from the usual occupations of life to bring them into tune again. It was a period of incessant activity and toil, therefore, both mental and bodily. He was for hours in his study occupied with his pen, and for hours on horseback, riding the rounds of his extensive estate, visiting the various farms, and superintending and directing the works in operation. All this he did with unfailing vigor, though now in his sixty-seventh year.

Occasional reports of the sanguinary conflict that was going on in Europe would reach him in the quiet groves of Mount Vernon and awaken his solicitude. "A more destructive sword," said he, "was never drawn, at least in modern times, than this war has produced. It is time to sheathe it and give peace to mankind." A private letter written to the Secretary of War, bespeaks his apprehensions: "I have for some time past viewed the political concerns of the United States with an anxious and painful eye. They appear to me to be moving by hasty strides to a crisis; but in what it will result, that Being, who sees, foresees, and directs all things, alone can tell. The vessel is afloat, or very nearly so, and considering myself as a passenger only, I shall trust to the mariners (whose duty it is to watch) to steer it into a safe port."

Winter had set in, December, 1799, with occasional wind and rain and frost, yet Washington still kept up his active round of in-door and out-door occupations, as his diary records. He was in full health and vigor, dined out occasionally, and had fre-

[1] The paragraphs under this caption are abridged from the concluding chapter of Irving.

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quent guests at Mount Vernon, and, as usual, was part of every day in the saddle, going the rounds of his estates, and, in his military phraseology, "visiting the outposts."

He had recently walked with his favorite nephew, Lawrence Lewis, about the grounds, showing the improvements he intended to make, and had especially pointed out the spot where he purposed building a new family tomb, the old one being damaged by the roots of trees which had overgrown it and caused it to leak. "This change," said he, "I shall make the first of all, for I may require it before the rest."

"When I parted from him," adds Lewis, "he stood on the steps of the front door, where he took leave of myself and another. . . . It was a bright frosty morning; he had taken his usual ride, and the clear healthy flush on his cheek and his sprightly manner, brought the remark from both of us that we had never seen the general look so well. I have sometimes thought him decidedly the handsomest man I ever saw; and when in a lively mood, so full of pleasantry, so agreeable to all with whom he associated, that I could hardly realize he was the same Washington whose dignity awed all who approached him."

For some time past Washington had been occupied in digesting a complete system on which his estate was to be managed for several succeeding years, specifying the cultivation of the several farms, with tables designating the rotations of the crops. It occupied thirty folio pages, and was executed with that clearness and method which characterized all his business papers. This was finished on the 10th of December, and was accompanied by a letter of that date to his manager or steward. It is a valuable document, showing the soundness and vigor of his intellect at this advanced stage of life, and the love of order that reigned throughout his affairs. "My greatest anxiety," said he, on a previous occasion, "is to have all these concerns in such a clear and distinct form, that no reproach may attach itself to me when I have taken my departure for the land of spirits." It was evident, however, that full of health and vigor, he looked forward to his long-cherished hope, — the enjoyment of a serene old age in this home of his heart.

According to his diary, the morning on which these voluminous instructions to his steward were dated was clear and calm, but the afternoon was lowering. The next day (11th), he notes that there was wind and rain, and "at night *a large circle round the moon.*" The morning of the 12th was overcast. That morning he wrote to Hamilton, heartily approving of a plan for a military academy, which the latter had submitted to the Secretary of War. About ten o'clock he mounted his horse, and rode out as usual to make the rounds of his estate. The ominous ring round the moon, which he had observed on the preceding night, proved a fatal portent. "About one o'clock," he notes, "it began to snow, soon after to hail, and then turned to a settled cold rain." Having on an overcoat, he continued his ride without regarding the weather, and did not return to the house until after three. His secretary, Tobias Lear, approached him with letters to be franked, that they might be taken to the post-office in the evening. Washington franked the letters, but observed that the weather was too bad to send a servant out with them. Mr. Lear perceived that snow was hanging from his hair, and expressed fears that he had got wet; but he replied, "No, his great-coat had kept him dry." As dinner had been waiting for him he sat down without changing his dress. "In the evening," writes his secretary, "he appeared as well as usual."

On the following morning the snow was three inches deep and still falling, which prevented him from taking his usual ride. He complained of a sore throat, and had evidently taken cold the day before. In the afternoon the weather cleared up, and he went out on the grounds between the house and the river, to mark some trees which were to be cut down. A hoarseness which had hung about him through the day grew worse towards night, but he made light of it.

He was very cheerful in the evening, as he sat in the parlor with Mrs. Washington and Mr. Lear, amusing himself with the papers which had been brought from the post-office. When he met with anything interesting or entertaining, he would read it aloud as well as his hoarseness would permit, or he listened and made occasional

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comments, while Mr. Lear read the debates of the Virginia assembly. On retiring to bed, Mr. Lear suggested that he should take something to relieve the cold. "No," replied he; "you know I never take anything for a cold. Let it it go as it came."

In the night he was taken extremely ill with ague and difficulty of breathing. Between two and three o'clock in the morning he awoke Mrs. Washington, who would have risen to call a servant; but he would not permit her, lest she should take cold. At day-break, when the servant-woman entered to make a fire, she was sent to call Mr. Lear. He found the general breathing with difficulty, and hardly able to utter a word intelligibly.

His old friend, Dr. Craik, soon arrived, and two other physicians were called in. Various remedies were tried, but without avail. In the course of the afternoon he appeared to be in great pain and distress from the difficulty of breathing, and frequently changed his posture. Between five and six o'clock he was assisted to sit up in his bed. "I feel I am going," said he; "I thank you for your attentions, but I pray you will take no more trouble about me; let me go off quietly; I cannot last long."

Between ten and eleven o'clock he expired without a struggle or a sigh.

On opening his will, which he had handed to Mrs. Washington shortly before death, it was found to have been carefully drawn up by himself in the preceding July; and by an act in conformity with his whole career, one of its first provisions directed the emancipation of his slaves on the decease of his wife. It had long been his earnest wish that the slaves held by him *in his own right* should receive their freedom during his life, but he had found it would be attended with insuperable difficulties on account of their intermixture by marriage with the "dower negroes," whom it was not in his power to manumit under the tenure by which they were held. With provident benignity he also made provision in his will for such as were to receive their freedom under this devise, but who, from age, bodily infirmities, or infancy, might be unable to support themselves, and he expressly forbade, under any pretence whatsoever, the sale or transportation out of Virginia, of any slave of

whom he might die possessed. Though born and educated a slaveholder, this was all in consonance with feelings, sentiments, and principles which he had long entertained. In a letter to Mr. John Mercer, in September, 1786, he writes: "I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law." And eleven years afterwards, in August, 1797, he writes to his nephew, Lawrence Lewis, in a letter which we have had in our hands, "I wish from my soul that the Legislature of this state could see the policy of a gradual abolition of slavery. It might prevent much future mischief."

A deep sorrow spread over the nation on hearing that Washington was no more. Congress, which was in session, immediately adjourned for the day. The next morning it was resolved that the Speaker's chair be shrouded with black; that the members and officers of the House wear black during the session, and that a joint committee of both Houses be appointed to consider the most suitable manner of doing honor to the memory of the man, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens." Public testimonials of grief and reverence were displayed in every part of the Union. Nor were these sentiments confined to the United States. When the news of Washington's death reached England, Lord Bridport, who had command of a British fleet of nearly sixty sail of the line, lying at Torbay, lowered his flag half-mast, every ship following the example; and Bonaparte, First Consul of France, on announcing his death to the army, ordered that black crape should be suspended from all the standards and flags throughout the public service for ten days.

The character of Washington may want some of those poetical elements which dazzle and delight the multitude, but it possessed fewer inequalities and a rarer union of virtues than perhaps ever fell to the lot of any other man. Prudence, firmness, sagacity, moderation, an overruling judgment, an immovable justice, courage that never faltered, patience that never wearied, truth that disdained all artifice, magnanimity without alloy. It seems as if Providence

had endowed him in a pre-eminent degree with the qualities requisite to fit him for the high destiny he was called upon to fulfil — to conduct a momentous revolution which was to form an era in the history of the world, and to inaugurate a new and untried government, which, to use his own words, was to lay the foundation "for the enjoyment of much purer civil liberty and greater public happiness than have hitherto been the portion of mankind."

The fame of Washington stands apart from every other in history, shining with a truer lustre and a more benignant glory. With us his memory remains a national property, where all sympathies throughout our widely-extended and diversified empire meet in unison. Under all dissensions and amid all the storms of party, his precepts and example speak to us from the grave with a paternal appeal; and his name — by all revered — forms a universal tie of brotherhood, — a watchword of our Union.

"It will be the duty of the historian and the sage of all nations," writes the eminent British statesman, Lord Brougham, "to let no occasion pass of commemorating this illustrious man; and until time shall be no more, will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue, be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."

Downfall of the Federalist Party. — By the spring of 1800 it became apparent that the Republicans were steadily gaining ground. In April the New York state election went against the Federalists. Soon after this the President dismissed some of his cabinet officers who were too friendly to Hamilton, and the break in the Federalist party became irreparable. Cotesworth Pinckney was the second choice of that party for President, and the Hamiltonians tried to divert votes to him from Adams. The election was very close. Of the electoral votes, 73 were for Jefferson, 73 for Aaron Burr, 65 for Adams, 64 for Pinckney, and 1 for Jay. As there was no name highest on the list, it was left for the election to be decided between the two highest candidates, by the House of Representatives. Intrigues followed. Some of the Federalists wished to elect Burr instead of their archenemy Jefferson; but Hamilton used all his influence against such a scheme, and at last,

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on February 17, 1801, Jefferson was elected by the House. In another fortnight the government would have been left without any executive head. There were fears of anarchy and threats of civil war. To provide against the recurrence of such a difficulty, the twelfth amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1804, changed the method of conducting presidential elections to that which has ever since been employed.

The inauguration of Jefferson was the first that took place in the city of Washington, whither the Federal government had been removed from Philadelphia in 1800. The national capital, which is now fast becoming one of the finest cities in the world, was then a wretched village in the woods. Many of the Federalists believed that the election of Jefferson would entail speedy ruin upon the country; but such fears proved groundless, as usual. His first administration was marked by national prosperity. It coincided with the only interval of peace between England and France during the Napoleonic period, and for the moment we were unmolested by those powers. There was no serious change in the administration of our government. Jefferson pardoned those persons who had been imprisoned under the alien and sedition laws, and the Republican House of Representatives impeached Judge Chase of Maryland, for alleged harshness in conducting trials under those laws; but he was acquitted by a Republican Senate. Very few removals from office were made for political reasons. The Supreme Court, under the lead of Chief-justice Marshall, remained Federalist in complexion, and during the next quarter of a century did work of imperishable renown in strengthening and interpreting the Constitution. The Republicans had become reconciled to many Federalist ideas which at first they had condemned, and now that the government was in their own hands they were not so jealous of its powers.

The Louisiana Purchase. — This was shown in what was incomparably the greatest event of Jefferson's administration. The population of the United States was rapidly increasing, and was beginning to pour into the Mississippi valley. In 1802 the state of Ohio was admitted into the union; Mississippi and Indiana

were already organized as territories; and a growing interest was felt in the western country. It was now learned that France had just acquired by treaty from Spain the territory of Louisiana, so that the mouth of the Mississippi river, and all the vast region to the west of it as far as the Rocky Mountains, had passed into the hands of an active and aggressive European power. Napoleon had, indeed, acquired this territory with a vague intention of regaining the ascendency in America, which France had lost in the Seven Years' War; but in 1803 the prospect of renewed war with England made him change his mind. With her control of Canada and her superior fleet, England might easily wrest from his grasp the two ends of the Mississippi river and defeat his schemes. It seemed better to put Louisiana out of England's reach by selling it to the United States; and accordingly Jefferson found no difficulty in buying it of Napoleon for fifteen million dollars. By this great stroke the area of the United States was more than doubled; before 1803 it was 827,844 square miles; Jefferson's purchase added to it 1,171,931 square miles, out of which have since been formed "the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska; the territories of Dakota, Montana, and Indian Territory; and a great part of the states of Minnesota and Colorado and the territory of Wyoming." The effect of this great acquisition of territory, by such an active and prosperous people as the Americans, was to insure them the ultimate control of the continent, without the need of any foreign warfare worth mentioning. It presently set us free for an indefinite length of time from European complications; but, on the other hand, it added new and formidable features to the rivalry between the free states and the slave states.

In making this purchase, which was destined to exercise such profound influence upon the history of the United States, Jefferson did not pretend that he had constitutional authority for what he was doing. The act was so clearly for the public good that he assumed the responsibility, trusting that a new constitutional amendment would justify it; but he was so completely upheld by public sentiment that no such elaborate step was thought necessary; the universal acquiescence was enough.

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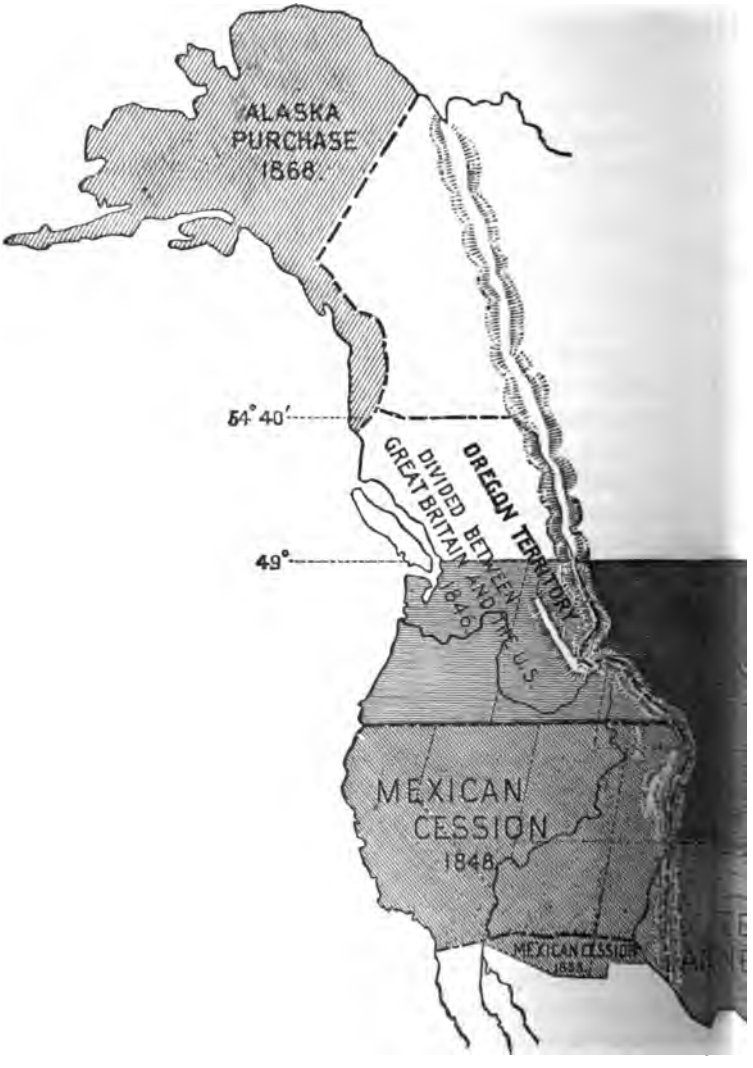

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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY BY THE UNITED STATES.

	SQ. MILES.
Area of United States in 1783	827,844
Austria-Hungary, German Empire, France, and Spain	834,906
Louisiana Purchase, 1803, with the portion of Oregon territory retained in 1846	1,171,931
Austria-Hungary, German Empire, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, France, and Spain	1,171,154
Florida Purchase, 1819	59,268
England and Wales	58,320
Texan Annexation, 1845	375,239
Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Switzerland	370,472
Mexican Cessions, 1848–53	591,318
German Empire, France, and Spain	593,963
Alaska, 1867	577,390
Austria-Hungary, German Empire, and Norway	575,314
United States since 1867	3,602,990
Europe	3,986,975

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Exploration of Oregon. — As an expander of American dominion, Jefferson did not stop here. The region beyond the Rocky mountains and north of California was then quite unexplored. In 1804 Jefferson sent an expedition under captains Lewis and Clark, which explored the valley of the Columbia river as far as the Pacific Ocean, and thus gave us a title to Oregon, though many years elapsed before we took possession.

The Tripolitan War. — The Barbary States on the Mediterranean coast of Africa had been for more than four centuries a nuisance to the civilized world. Their pirate cruisers swarmed upon the high seas and robbed the merchant ships of all nations. Important captives they held for ransom, and all others they sold into hopeless slavery. European war-ships often punished them, but were unable to put down the evil; and the greatest nations had tried to bribe them to keep the peace by paying blackmail. The United States had at first felt obliged to adopt this humiliating policy, but at length our patience was exhausted. A small fleet was sent to the Mediterranean, and bombarded Tripoli. After a desultory warfare extending over two years, Tripoli sued for peace; and the British navy presently following our example, a few years more saw the end of this abominable nuisance.

Burr and Hamilton. — The popularity of Jefferson's administration was shown in the elections of 1804. When he was nominated for re-election, George Clinton was nominated with him for the vice-presidency, instead of Burr, who in 1801 had shown too much readiness to intrigue with Federalists. Cotesworth Pinckney and Rufus King were the Federalist candidates. The election was not a close one like the election of 1800. Out of 176 electoral votes, the Federalists received only 14, and in both houses of Congress the Republican majority was overwhelming. After the nominations, but before the election, the country was shocked by a dreadful tragedy. The disappointed Burr had tried, with Federalist help, to succeed Clinton as governor of New York, but was defeated. Here, as before in 1801, Hamilton had used his influence against him, and now, in a fit of desperation, Burr determined to get rid of this enemy. He

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contrived, in July, 1804, to force Hamilton into a duel, in which the latter was slain. The mourning of the country over the loss of this great man was intense, and the wretched Burr found that his public career was ruined. After a wild attempt to set up a government for himself in the Mississippi valley, he was arrested and tried for treason, and though acquitted for want of sufficiently definite evidence, he became an outcast from society.

Embargo. — Jefferson's second administration was the beginning of a stormy period which ended in war. Under Washington and Adams we had with difficulty been kept from getting drawn into the world-wide struggle between England and France. Now that strife was renewed on such a gigantic scale as to force the whole civilized world to take sides. With his famous Berlin and Milan decrees, Napoleon sought to prevent neutral vessels from entering British harbors, while England replied with decrees, known as orders in council, forbidding neutral vessels to enter the harbors of any nation in league with Napoleon, or under his leadership. The United States, as a prominent maritime neutral nation, had obtained a large share of the carrying trade, and these decrees wrought great injury to American commerce. If an American vessel touched at almost any port of continental Europe, the first British cruiser that came along deemed her its lawful prey; if she touched at a British port, then she might expect to be seized by the next French craft she should meet. The two greatest naval powers in the world were thus united in a wholesale robbery of American ships and American merchandise. But England did us most harm, because she had more war-ships and more privateers than France. In another respect England possessed a peculiar power of annoying us. She claimed and exercised the right of stopping the vessels of other nations, and forcibly taking from them any seamen who appeared to be British subjects, in order to compel them to serve in the British navy. Such a claim, on the part of France, would annoy Americans but little, for no one was likely to mistake an American for a Frenchman. But to distinguish an American from an Englishman was not so easy, and consequently a great many citizens of the United States were

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impressed into the British service. The Revolutionary feeling of hostility to Great Britain, which had begun before 1800 to diminish in intensity, was revived and strengthened by these outrages. In 1807 the British frigate *Leopard*, of fifty guns, close to the coast of Virginia, fired upon the American frigate *Chesapeake*, of thirty-eight guns, and killed or wounded more than twenty men. The American ship, being not even prepared for action, hauled down her flag, and was boarded by the British, who seized four of the crew and carried them off to Halifax. One of these, who was a British subject, was hanged as a deserter; the other three were condemned to death, and then reprieved on condition of entering the British service.

At the news of this dastardly outrage the whole country was thrown into such excitement as had not been witnessed since the battle of Lexington. A cabinet meeting was held at Washington, measures were taken for procuring military stores and strengthening our coast defences, and the states were called upon for one hundred thousand men. But the British government avoided war for the moment by sending a special envoy to Washington to chaffer and procrastinate. The act of the *Leopard* was disavowed, but there was no willingness shown to make reparation. Feeling unprepared for war, the United States government had recourse to an exceedingly stupid and dangerous measure. It hoped to browbeat England and France by depriving them of our trade, and accordingly in 1807, there was passed the "embargo act," which forbade any vessel to set out from the United States for any foreign port. This wonderful piece of legislation did more harm to American commerce than all the cruisers of France and England could do; while, as a means of bringing either of these adversaries to reason, it was quite useless. England, indeed, seemed rather to enjoy it, for while it diminished her commercial dealings with America, it increased her share in the general carrying-trade of the world. In America the distress was felt most severely in New England, and, as usual in those days, whenever any part of the country felt dissatisfied with the policy of the Federal government, threats of secession were heard. In

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1809 the embargo was repealed, and the "non-intercourse act" took its place. This act prohibited trade with England and France so long as their obnoxious measures should be kept in force, but it allowed trade with all other countries. It was as ineffectual as the embargo, but did not do quite so much harm to American commerce. The close of Jefferson's presidency was thus a season of national humiliation. In twenty years our great statesmen had done a wonderful work in creating a government able to make itself respected at home; but it was still too weak, in a military sense, to make itself respected abroad.

§ 2. Second War with Great Britain.

Strength of the Republicans. — This humiliating situation of the United States was not due to any fault of Jefferson or his party, and in the election of 1808 they won another great victory, though not quite so decisive as in 1804. The Federalist candidates were the same as before, Pinckney and King; and now they obtained 47 of the 176 electoral votes. James Madison, who had been Secretary of State since 1801, was elected President, and George Clinton was re-elected to the vice-presidency. Madison was a political thinker of the highest order, and had done more than any other man toward constructing our Federal Constitution. He had been a leading Federalist, though more moderate than Hamilton or Adams; but had soon taken sides with the Republicans. But his intelligence was too broad to allow him to be a mere man of party; he was never an out-and-out Republican, like Jefferson. By 1804 many of the most intelligent Federalists had gone over to the Republicans; and the more rigid-minded men who were left, especially in New England, made the party more and more narrow and sectional, and at length brought it into general discredit. The most notable defection from the Federalist party was that of John Quincy Adams, about the time of the embargo.

Declaration of War. — In 1810 Congress repealed the non-intercourse act, which as a measure of intimidation had accomplished nothing. Congress now sought to use the threat of

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non-intercourse as a sort of bribe. It informed England and France, that if either nation would repeal its obnoxious edicts, the non-intercourse act would be revived against the other. Napoleon, who was as eminent for lying as for fighting, then informed the United States that he revoked the Berlin and Milan decrees as far as American ships were concerned. At the same time he gave secret orders by which the decrees were to be practically enforced as harshly as ever. But the lie served its purpose. Congress revived the non-intercourse act against Great Britain alone; and in 1811, hostilities actually began on sea and land. On sea, the American frigate *President* had an encounter with the British sloop *Little Belt*, and nearly knocked her to pieces without suffering any damage. On land, Tecumseh and his warriors, attacking our northwestern settlements with British assistance, were defeated at Tippecanoe by Gen. Harrison. The growing war-feeling was shown in the election of Henry Clay, of Kentucky, as speaker of the House of Representatives, while on the floor of the House the leadership fell to John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina, and in the Senate to William Crawford, of Georgia. Mr. Madison was nominated for a second term on condition of adopting the war-policy; and on June 18, 1812, war against Great Britain was formally declared. Five days later the British government revoked its orders in council; but this concession came too late. The Americans had lost all patience, and probably nothing short of an abandonment of the right of search on Great Britain's part could have prevented the war. The Federalists of New England, however, still opposed the war, and of the members of Congress who voted for it, three-fourths were from the South and West. That this Federalist opposition was somewhat factious, would appear from the presidential campaign. The Federalists were too weak to nominate a candidate for the presidency, and Mr. Madison's only competitor was De Witt Clinton, of New York, who had been nominated by a section of the Republicans as likely to prove a more efficient war magistrate than Madison. Most of the Federalists now supported Clinton in a coalition which, as usual in such cases, proved disastrous to both sides. Of 218 electoral votes,

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Madison received 128, and was elected; the Federalists fell more than ever into disfavor, and Clinton's career was henceforth restricted to his own state.

Naval Victories. — The election showed that the war was popular. It had been made so by a series of naval victories which astonished everybody. On the 13th of August, the frigate *Essex*, Captain Porter, captured the sloop *Alert*, after a fight of eight minutes, without losing a man. On the 19th, the frigate *Constitution*, Captain Hull, after a half-hour's fight in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, captured the frigate, *Guerrière*. The American ship had 14 men killed and wounded, and was ready for action again in a couple of hours; the British ship lost 100 men, her three masts with all her rigging were shot away, and her hull was so badly damaged that she could not be carried off as a prize. On the 13th of October, the sloop *Wasp*, Captain Jones, captured the sloop *Frolic*, in a desperate fight off Cape Hatteras. On the 25th, the frigate *United States*, Captain Decatur, captured the frigate *Macedonian*, off the island of Madeira, after a fight of an hour and a half. The British ship lost 106 men, was totally dismasted, and had nearly 100 shot-holes in her hull, but was brought away to America; Decatur's ship lost only 12 men, and was quite uninjured.

These remarkable victories continued. On the 29th of December, the *Constitution*, Captain Bainbridge, in a two hours' fight off the coast of Brazil, knocked to pieces the frigate *Java*, which lost 230 men and had to be destroyed. On the 24th of February, 1813, off the coast of Guiana, the sloop *Hornet*, Captain Lawrence, destroyed the brig *Peacock*, which sank before her crew could be removed. The *Hornet's* rigging was much injured, but she lost only four men.

To appreciate the force of these facts, we need to remember that during the preceding twenty years of almost continuous warfare with France and her allies, in hundreds of such single combats, the British navy had lost but five ships. Now in six fights within a single year against American vessels, the British had been shockingly defeated every time. The explanation was to be found partly in the superiority of our ship-building, partly in the superiority of

our gun-practice and the better discipline of our crews. One of the British captains won success by training his men after the American method. On the 1st of June, 1813, the British frigate *Shannon*, Captain Broke, captured the American frigate *Chesapeake*, in a severe battle near Boston harbor. The Americans lost 148 men, and the British 83; and the *Chesapeake* suffered more damage than her antagonist, though the disparity was less than in the case of the American victories above mentioned. The extreme jubilation in England served as an index to the chagrin which had been caused by the six successive defeats. On the 14th of August, the American brig *Argus* was captured in the British channel by the brig *Pelican*, and for a moment it might have seemed as if the spell of American success was broken. But a few weeks later Lieutenant Burrows, in the brig *Enterprise*, captured the brig *Boxer*, off Portland, Maine. In the spring Captain Porter, in the frigate *Essex*, had sailed around Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean, where he made a famous cruise and did immense damage to British commerce. In March, 1814, he was attacked in the harbor of Valparaiso by two British frigates, the *Phœbe* and *Cherub*, and after the bloodiest fight of the war, the *Essex* surrendered. In April, 1814, the American sloop *Peacock* captured the brig *Epervier*, off the coast of Florida; in May the *Wasp* captured the sloop *Reindeer*, and in September the sloop *Avon*, both actions taking place in the British channel. In both there was the same prodigious disparity of loss as in earlier fights. The *Reindeer* and *Avon* were completely destroyed, the one losing 65 men, the other 100, while in the former action the *Wasp's* loss was 26, in the latter only three. On the 20th of February, 1815, the *Constitution*, now commanded by Captain Stewart, capped the climax by capturing the frigate *Cyane*, and the sloop *Levant*, in an action of forty minutes near the island of Madeira. The two British ships together were barely a match in strength for the *Constitution*, but were very skilfully handled; and the victory of "Old Ironsides" was as brilliant as any recorded in naval annals. A few weeks later the *Hornet* captured the brig *Penguin*, off the Cape of Good Hope, and in the Indian Ocean the *Peacock* closed the long tale of victory by

overcoming the weaker *Nautilus*. These last three victories occurred after peace had been declared.

Thus out of sixteen sea-combats, with approximately equal forces, the Americans had been victorious in thirteen. The record of our privateers was not less remarkable. During the war we took about 1700 British vessels, while the British took about an equal number from us. Considering that the American navy in 1812 consisted of about a dozen ships, while the British navy numbered more than a thousand, and that the Americans had not a single line-of-battle ship afloat, these results might well be called marvellous. No other nation has ever won such laurels in contending against the "mistress of the seas." The moral effect upon Europe was prodigious. Henceforth the United States ceased to be regarded as a nation that could be insulted with impunity.

The War in the Northwest. — Except for the moral effect of these splendid sea-fights, the United States gained comparatively little by the war. On land the offensive operations of the army were feeble and ineffectual. The army was small and poorly trained, and too much under the control of politicians. Hence we began with defeats. The military object of the Americans was to invade Canada, and conquer it if possible. The military object of the British was to invade the United States, and either detach a portion of our northwestern territory, or secure positions which might prove valuable in bargaining for terms of peace. The most important frontier town, Detroit, was held by William Hull, governor of the Michigan Territory, a gallant veteran of the Revolutionary war. When war was declared he marched into Canada, but was driven back to Detroit by a superior force under General Brock. After a short siege Hull was obliged to surrender the town, thus throwing open to the enemy the whole region northwest of Ohio. In the fit of unreasoning rage and disappointment caused by this grave disaster, Hull was tried by a court-martial and sentenced to death, but was pardoned by Mr. Madison on account of past services. Subsequent research has shown that the verdict was grossly unjust; and the reputation of this brave but unfortunate man is now redeemed. In October a small force crossed Niagara

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river and foolishly attacked the British in their strong position on Queenstown Heights; it was defeated with heavy loss. Harrison, who had succeeded to the command in the northwest, now attempted to recover Detroit; but his advanced guard, under General Winchester, was defeated at the river Raisin on the 22d of January, 1813, by the British and Indians under General Proctor, and all the prisoners were cruelly massacred by the Indians. Harrison was then driven back to Fort Meigs by Proctor, who besieged him there, but unsuccessfully.

The War on the Lakes. — During the summer of 1813 both British and Americans were busily engaged in building fleets with which to control Lake Erie. On the 10th of September the two fleets met in battle, the British commanded by Commodore Barclay, the Americans by Commodore Perry. The forces were nearly equal. The battle, won by magnificent skill and daring on the part of the American commander, ended in the surrender of the whole British fleet, and turned the scale of war in the northwest. Ferried across the lake by Perry's fleet, Harrison's army now entered Canada, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Proctor at the river Thames (October 5). This was a severe blow to the Indians also, for their famous leader, Tecumseh, was killed. As a consequence of the victories of Perry and Harrison, the Americans recovered Detroit, and the British were driven from our northwestern territory.

Next summer the Americans again invaded Canada, under command of an excellent general, Jacob Brown, with whom served an officer presently to become famous,— Winfield Scott. They crossed the Niagara river, and defeated the British in four well-fought battles at Chippewa (July 5), Lundy's Lane (July 25), and Fort Erie (Aug. 15 and Sept. 17); but in spite of these successes, they obtained no secure foothold in Canada, and retreated across the river before cold weather. While these things were going on, the British were planning an invasion of northeastern New York, by the route which Carleton and Burgoyne had followed. To this end it was necessary to gain control of Lake Champlain, as Carleton had done in 1776. Fleets were built, as on Lake Erie the year

before, and on the 11th of September a decisive battle was fought not far from Valcour Island, where Arnold had maintained such a heroic struggle. The British fleet was annihilated by Commodore Macdonough, and the British enterprise was abandoned. But while this attempt upon New York was a failure, the British succeeded in seizing the unoccupied wilds of Maine east of the Penobscot river, and thus creating a panic in New England.

The War in the South.—The region west of Georgia and south of the Tennessee river was then a wilderness with no important towns except Natchez and Mobile. The principal military power in it was that of the Creek Indians, who took the occasion to attack the frontier settlements, and in August, 1813, began with a terrible massacre at Fort Mimms, near Mobile. This brought upon the scene the formidable Tennessee militia, commanded by Andrew Jackson, who as a youth had served under Thomas Sumter in the Revolutionary War. After a bloody campaign of seven months, Jackson had completely subdued the Creeks, and was ready to cope with a very different sort of enemy.

In March, 1814, Napoleon was dethroned and sent to Elba, and thus some of Wellington's finest troops were detached for service in America. In August some 5000 of these veterans landed in Chesapeake Bay, took the defenceless city of Washington, and burned the public buildings there, which was not much to their credit. They then attempted Baltimore, but were defeated, and retired from the scene to take part in a more serious enterprise. This expedition against Washington was designed chiefly for insult; the expedition against New Orleans was designed to inflict deadly injury. It was intended to make a permanent conquest of the lower Mississippi, and to secure for Great Britain the western bank of the river. In December the British army of 12,000 men, under Sir Edward Pakenham, landed below New Orleans. To oppose these veterans of the peninsula, Jackson had 6000 militia of that sturdy race whose fathers had vanquished Ferguson at King's Mountain, and whose children so nearly vanquished Grant at Shiloh. He awaited the enemy in an entrenched position, where, on the 8th of Jan-

uary, 1815, Pakenham was unwise enough to try to overwhelm him by a direct assault. In less than half an hour the British were in full retreat, leaving Pakenham and 2600 men behind them, killed or wounded; the American loss was 8 killed and 13 wounded. The disparity of loss is perhaps unparalleled in history.

Treaty of Ghent. — News travelled so slowly in those days that the victory of New Orleans, like the three last naval victories, occurred after peace had been made. From the first the war had been unpopular in New England. Our victories on the sea made little difference in the vast naval force of Great Britain, which was able to blockade our whole Atlantic coast. Now that Napoleon was out of the way, it would be necessary for the United States to fight single-handed with Great Britain. In view of these things, and provoked by the invasion of Maine, the Federalists of New England held a convention at Hartford, in December, 1814, to discuss the situation of affairs and decide upon the proper course to be pursued. As there was much secrecy in the proceedings, a suspicion was aroused that the purpose of the convention was to break up the Union and form a separate New England confederacy. This suspicion completed the political ruin of the Federalist party. What might have come from the Hartford convention we do not know, for on the 24th of December the treaty of peace was signed at Ghent. The treaty left things apparently just as they had been before the war, for England did not explicitly renounce the right of search and impressment. But in spite of this it had been made evident that European nations could no longer regard the United States as a weak nation which might be insulted with impunity. Partly for this reason, and partly because of the long European peace which followed, the British claim to the right of search and impressment was no longer exercised, and at length in 1856 was expressly renounced.

§ 3. Rise of the Democracy.

The Era of Good Feeling. — In the presidential election of 1816, the Federalist candidate, Rufus King, received only 34 electoral votes, against 187 for the Republican candidate, James Mon-

roe. In 1820, when Monroe was nominated for a second term, the Federalists put no candidate into the field, and Monroe's election was practically unanimous; for form's sake one of the electors voted for John Quincy Adams, so that no other president might share with Washington the glory of an election absolutely unanimous. The two parties had now acquiesced in each other's measures, and all, save a few malcontents, called themselves Republicans. The end of the war was the end of the political issues which had divided parties since 1789, and some little time was required for new issues to define themselves; so that the period of Monroe's administrations has been called "the era of good feeling." In point of fact, however, it was by no means a time of millennial happiness.

Florida. — The changed attitude of the United States toward European powers was illustrated in two events of this period. The Seminole Indians, aided by the Spanish authorities in Florida, molested our southern frontier, until General Jackson invaded that territory in order to put an end to the nuisance. Though Jackson's rough measures were not fully sustained by the United States, yet resistance on the part of Spain was so hopeless that she consented to sell Florida to the United States for five million dollars; and a treaty to this effect was made in 1819.

Monroe Doctrine. — About this time the revolt of Mexico and the Spanish colonies in South America had made considerable progress, and it seemed likely that the "Holy Alliance" of Austria, Prussia, and Russia would interfere to assist Spain in subduing her colonies. To check such a movement, Mr. Monroe declared, in a message to Congress in 1823, that the United States regarded the continents of North and South America as no longer open to colonization, and would resent an attempt, on the part of any European nation to reduce any independent American nation to the condition of a colony. In this bold declaration the United States had the full sympathy of England, and it proved effectual. The attitude of mind implied in such a declaration showed that our period of national weakness was felt to have come to an end.

Growth of the Nation. — Since the time of Washington the

growth of the United States had been remarkable indeed. The population now numbered nearly ten million; the public revenue had increased from five million dollars to twenty-five million dollars. New states were formed with surprising rapidity, as the obstacles to migration were removed. The chief obstacles had been the hostility of the Indians, and the difficulty of getting from place to place. During the late war the Indian power had been broken by Harrison in the north, and by Jackson in the south. In 1807 Robert Fulton had invented the steamboat. In 1811 a steamboat was launched on the Ohio river at Pittsburg, and presently such nimble craft were plying on all the western rivers, carrying settlers and traders, farm produce and household utensils. This gave an immense impetus to the western migration. After Ohio had been admitted to the Union in 1802, ten years had elapsed before the next state, Louisiana, was added. But in six years after the war a new state was added every year: Indiana in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, Missouri in 1821. The admission of the last-named state was a portentous event, for it suddenly brought the slavery question into the foreground.

Growth of Slavery. — Before the Revolution all the colonies had negro slaves, but north of Maryland these slaves were few in number and of no very great value as property. Hence they were soon emancipated in all the northern states except Delaware. At the close of the eighteenth century there was a strong anti-slavery feeling even in Virginia and North Carolina, and it was generally supposed that slavery would gradually become extinct without making serious political trouble. The only states strongly in favor of slavery were South Carolina and Georgia, where the cultivation of rice and indigo seemed to make negro labor indispensable. But at about that time the inventions of the steam-engine, the spinning-machine, and the power-loom had combined to set up the giant manufactories of England, and there was thus suddenly created a great demand for cotton. In 1793 Eli Whitney, a Connecticut schoolmaster living in Georgia, invented the famous cotton-gin, an instrument so simple that slaves could use it, and

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which enabled cotton to be cleaned and got ready for market with astonishing speed. Hitherto very little cotton had been grown in South Carolina and Georgia, but now cotton-growing became very profitable, and there was a great demand for negro slaves. In 1808, according to a provision of the Federal Constitution, the importation of slaves from Africa was prohibited by law, so that henceforth cotton-planters could only obtain slaves by buying them in such border states as Virginia and Kentucky. This made the raising of negroes so profitable to the tobacco-planters of the border states, that anti-slavery sentiments soon died out among them, and the way was prepared for uniting all the slave states into a solid South opposed to a solid North. Henceforth there was no likelihood that slavery would die a natural death. On the contrary, the policy of the slave-holders became extremely aggressive, and sought new territory in which to introduce this barbarous system of labor and build up new states to maintain and extend their authority in the Federal Union.

The Missouri Compromise. — It was not until the westward migration had crossed the Mississippi river, and entered upon the vast Louisiana territory which Jefferson had added to the national domain, that the conflict began. A kind of compromise had been kept up from the beginning by admitting a free state and a slave state by turns, so as to balance each other in Congress. Thus Vermont had been counterbalanced by Kentucky, Tennessee by Ohio, Louisiana by Indiana, Mississippi by Illinois. In like manner Alabama, in 1819, was naturally counterbalanced in the following year by Maine; but as Missouri was also knocking at the door of Congress, the southern members now refused to admit Maine until the northern members should consent to admit Missouri as a slave state. The discussion was the most important that had come up since the adoption of the Constitution; for it involved the whole question of the power of the government to allow or prohibit slavery in the national domain. It was settled in 1820 by the famous Missouri Compromise, effected chiefly by the efforts of Henry Clay. Missouri was admitted as a slave state, but it was agreed that slavery should be prohibited in the re-

mainder of the Louisiana purchase north of the parallel of 36° 30′. In other words, the slave-holders gained their point by promising "not to do so any more"; and, like most such promises, it was kept till an occasion arose for breaking it. That occasion did not arise for more than thirty years, and it was not until the latter part of this interval that the question of slavery again became uppermost in national politics.

The Young West. — It was the extension of national territory or the admission of new states that brought up the slavery question. Several years now elapsed before the national area or the number of states was increased. Enough country was already covered to answer the needs of the people until better means of communication were devised. The most important avenue of trade opened in this period was the Erie Canal, which brought the Hudson river directly into connection with the Great Lakes. This insured the commercial supremacy of the city of New York, as the chief outlet for western traffic. At the time of the Declaration of Independence, the state of New York ranked seventh among the thirteen in population, and the Indian frontier was between Albany and Utica. In the census of 1820 the city of New York for the first time showed a larger population than Philadelphia, and the state came to the head of the list, instead of Virginia, which had hitherto been the foremost state. It was the westward migration from New England that first filled up central New York, and carried the state to the head of the list. The Erie canal and steam navigation on the lakes presently carried on this migration into Michigan; but it was not till 1837 that that state was admitted into the Union as a balance for Arkansas, admitted in 1836. New England people had meanwhile occupied the northern parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; but it was not New England that first determined the character of the young west. Long before the overflow of New England had filled rural New York, the overflow of Virginia and North Carolina had made the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and a hardy population from all parts of the Alleghanies had thrust itself into all parts of the west, from the prairies of Illinois to the highlands of Alabama.

These people were as different from the slave-holding planters of South Carolina or Louisiana as from the merchants and yeomanry of New England; and when by and by the stress of civil war came, they were the stout ligament which held the Union together. They were rough and ready, inclined to despise the refinements of civilized life, very loose in their ideas of finance, and somewhat too careless in their use of pistols. They were intensely American withal, cared nothing for a European civilization of which they knew nothing, and were sufficient unto themselves. These men had their representative statesman in Thomas Benton,[1] and their popular hero in Andrew Jackson.

Whigs and Democrats. — In the presidential election of 1824 all parties called themselves Republicans, and political issues were so ill-defined that the contest seemed to concern itself only with the personal merits of the candidates. The real but unrecognized issue was between the notions of the young democratic west and the polite, half-aristocratic notions of the old Atlantic states. The four candidates were John Quincy Adams, one of the grandest figures in American history; Henry Clay, the genial author of the Missouri Compromise; William Crawford, earliest representative alike of the wire-pullers and of the secessionists; and the invincible soldier, Andrew Jackson. The latter had the greatest number of electoral votes, but no one had a majority; and so the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where the friends of Clay, uniting with the friends of Adams, secured the election of the latter. Jackson's friends thought that their hero had been ill-used, but were made happy by the next election, in 1828, where Adams and Jackson were the only opposing candidates, and the former obtained only 83 out of 261 electoral votes. Jackson's victory in 1828 was the victory of the west over the east, and marked the rise of the new democracy. It was in the canvass preceding this election that Jackson's supporters assumed the name of Democrats. Their opponents were known at first as "National Republicans"; but in the course of his administration, as they saw

[1] He did not represent their shaky financial notions, however; on this point his views were so sound that he was nicknamed "Old Bullion."

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fit to represent Jackson as a kind of tyrant, like George III., they took on the name of "Whigs"; and henceforth, until 1854, Whig and Democrat were the names of the two great political parties in the United States.

The Whigs approved of allowing the Federal government to use the public money in building roads, dredging rivers, and making other internal improvements; the Democrats thought that such things ought to be done by the local governments or by private enterprise. The Whigs espoused the policy of taxing the whole community in order to support a few manufacturers in carrying on a business which, without such aid, it was presumed would be a losing one. This was done by means of a high tariff upon imported goods. It was ingeniously called "protecting American labor," and was glorified by Clay as "the American system," though in reality the custom is as old as human greed, and might as well be called Asiatic as American. The Democrats opposed this policy, but not always intelligently. Again, the Whigs were in favor of continuing the National Bank which had been chartered by Congress in 1816; the Democrats were bitterly opposed to it; and, with regard to all these points — internal improvements, tariff and bank — the Whigs favored a loose, and the Democrats a strict, interpretation of the Federal Constitution.

Tariffs. — The war of 1812 had made it difficult to obtain manufactured goods from abroad, and articles of an inferior quality had in many instances begun to be made in the United States. Our manufacturers thought this scarcity a desirable thing, and tried to prolong it after the end of the war by taxing imported goods so heavily as to make people buy their inferior articles instead. One effect of the tariff has been to prevent American goods from attaining the high standard of excellence which they would have reached under a system of free competition. For example, if Scotch woollens were to be admitted free of duty, American woollens would either have to be made as excellent as the Scotch, or people would stop buying them; and accordingly they would soon come to be as fine as the Scotch goods. But people were afraid that unless foreign competition were ruled out, it would

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be impossible to get American manufactories well started. High tariffs were accordingly adopted in 1828 and 1832.

Nullification. — These tariffs were bitterly opposed by the southern states, except Louisiana, where the sugar planters were ready to admit the high-tariff principle in order to apply it to foreign sugars. The southerners had no manufactures of their own, and naturally preferred to buy good clothes and good tools at a low price, rather than poor clothes and poor tools at a high price. The doctrine of the Kentucky resolutions of 1799 made great progress in the south; and in 1832 a state convention in South Carolina declared the tariff law null and void, forbade the collection of duties at any port in the state, and called for troops to resist the Federal government if necessary. This was "nullification." It found no favor in the eyes of Jackson, though he disliked the tariff law as much as the South Carolinians. He declared that "the Federal Union must and shall be preserved," sent an armed fleet to Charleston harbor, and warned the people of South Carolina that any attempt at resisting the law would be put down with a high hand. Presently, in 1833, a new tariff law, known as the "Compromise Tariff," was passed, and some concessions were made which afforded South Carolina an opportunity to repeal her ordinance of nullification.

A New Era. — About 1830 the United States were entering upon an era of more rapid progress than had ever been witnessed before. The era was quite as remarkable for the civilized world as a whole. In 1830 the first American railroad was put in operation, and by 1840 nearly all the chief cities east of the Alleghanies were connected by rail, and the system was rapidly extending itself in the west. The effect of railroads was especially great in America, where the ordinary roads have always been very bad, as compared with those of Europe. Their effect in hastening the growth of our western country by and by surpassed that which had been wrought by steamboats. In 1836 John Ericsson invented the screw propeller, which required much less fuel than the paddle wheel; and two years afterward steamships began to make regular trips across the Atlantic. Presently this set up the vast emigra-

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tion of laborers from Europe, which has been going on ever since. Our cities began to lose their village-like appearance; in 1830 New York had a population of rather more than two hundred thousand. Agricultural machines began to be invented; friction matches came into use; anthracite coal came in to aid both manufactures and locomotion; and in 1836 the Patent Office had so much to do that it was made a distinct bureau. At the same time our methods of education and our newspapers were improved, and American literature began to attract the world's attention. Before 1830, Bryant, Irving, and Cooper had become distinguished; in the decade after 1830, Longfellow, Whittier, Hawthorne, Holmes, Bancroft, and Prescott appeared on the scene, soon to be followed by Emerson. In this period Daniel Webster, already famous for many years, was at the height of his wonderful power. He was probably the greatest orator that ever lived, after Demosthenes and Chatham, and as a master of the English language he was superior to Chatham. His magnificent speeches, the most impressive passages from which were made familiar to every schoolboy, contributed greatly to raise the love of the Union into a romantic sentiment for which people would fight as desperately as ever cavalier fought in defence of his king. In this way Webster rendered incalculable service, and not a bit too soon. For humanitarian movements were beginning to mark this new era; and along with prison reform and temperance societies, came the abolitionists, with their assaults upon negro slavery, bravely led in the press by William Lloyd Garrison, in Congress by John Quincy Adams, who in 1831 was elected to the House of Representatives, where he staid till his death in 1848. The southern members tried to smother the discussion of the subject of slavery, but Adams could not be silenced, and in 1836 he went so far as to enunciate the doctrine upon which Mr. Lincoln afterward rested his proclamation of emancipation.

The Spoils System. — Some of the changes which marked this new era were by no means changes for the better. Hitherto, all our presidents, taken from the two oldest states, Massachusetts and Virginia, had been men of aristocratic type, with well-trained

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minds and polished manners, like European statesmen; and all except Monroe had been men of extraordinary ability. In Jackson, the first president from beyond the Alleghanies, the idol of the rough pioneer west, we had a very different type of man. There was immense native energy, with little training; downright honesty of purpose, with a very feeble grasp of the higher problems of state-craft. Jackson was a man of violent measures and made many mistakes. His greatest mistake was the use of government offices as rewards for his friends and adherents. Heretofore the civil service had been practically independent of politics, as it is to-day in England. There had been but one instance of a great party overthrow; that was in the election of 1800. Jefferson's followers then wished him to turn Federalist postmasters and collectors out of office, and put Republicans in their places; but he had been too wise to do so. In 1829 Jackson introduced into national politics the principle of "rotation in office," by which government officials were liable to be turned out every fourth year, not for any misconduct, but simply to make room for hungry applicants belonging to the opposite party. Jackson was not the inventor of this system. It had already been tried in state politics, and brought to something like perfection in New York. It was a New York politician, William Marcy, who first used the phrase, "to the victors belong the spoils," thereby implying that a public office is not a public trust but a bit of plunder, and that the services of an officer paid by the people are due, not to the people, but to a party or a party-chief. The author of the phrase doubtless never supposed that he was making one of the most infamous remarks recorded in history; and the honest Jackson would probably have been greatly surprised if he had been allowed a glimpse of the future, and seen that he was introducing a gigantic system of knavery and corruption which within forty years would grow into the most serious of the evils threatening the continuance of our free government.

Whigs come into Power. — Jackson made another mistake, which was trivial compared with the adoption of the spoils system, but which created much more disturbance at the time. His antip-

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athy to the National Bank led him not only, in 1832, to veto the bill for the renewal of its charter, but in the following year to withdraw the public money deposited in the bank, and distribute it among various state banks. This violent measure led to a series of events, which in 1837 culminated in the most distressing commercial panic that had ever been known in America. Martin Van Buren, of New York, was then President, having been elected in 1836 over the western soldier, Harrison. Van Buren belonged to Jackson's wing of the Democratic party, in the ranks of which a schism was appearing between the nullifiers and the men who were devoted to the Union. He was what would now be known as a "machine politician," but of the more honorable sort. His administration was a fairly able one. In the course of it one phase of the National Bank question reached a satisfactory solution in the so-called sub-treasury system, which after some vicissitudes, was finally established in 1846, and is still in force. By this system the public revenues are not deposited in any bank, but are paid over on demand to the treasury department by the collectors, who are required to give bonds for the proper discharge of their duty. The establishment of this system was creditable to Van Buren's administration, but the panic of 1837 caused so much distress as to make many people wish for a change in the government. Turning to their own uses the same kind of popular sentiment which had elected Jackson, the Whigs nominated again the plain soldier, Harrison, who had lived in a log cabin and had hard cider on his table. In the famous "hard-cider campaign" of 1840, Harrison won a sweeping victory, getting 234 electoral votes to Van Buren's 60. The Whigs had a majority in both houses of Congress. But the managers of the party had made a mistake such as has since recurred in American politics. For Vice-President, they had nominated a Democrat, John Tyler, of Virginia, in the hope of getting votes from those Democrats who were dissatisfied with Jackson and Van Buren. Just one month after Harrison's inauguration he died, and Tyler became President. By this unexpected event the Whigs lost the fruits of their victory. The President was able, by his vetoes, to defeat their measures, and thus

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their attempts to undo the work of Jackson and Van Buren, as regards the National Bank, ended in failure.

Oregon and Texas. — Under Tyler's administration, questions of foreign policy, involving chances of war, again came into the foreground; but they were very different questions from those which had occupied our attention in the beginning of the century, and the mere statement of them gives a vivid impression of the enormous growth of the United States since the war of 1812. The northwestern corner of North America, down to the parallel of 54° 40′, now known as the territory of Alaska, was then a kind of appendage to Siberia, and belonged to Russia. The region between Russian America and California, known as Oregon, was claimed by the United States, on the ground of the discoveries of Lewis and Clark. But Great Britain also had claims upon this region, and since 1818 it had been subject to the joint occupation of Great Britain and the United States. But by 1842 the American stream of westward migration, crossing the Rocky Mountains, had poured into Oregon, and it began to be a question how this vast territory should be divided. The Americans claimed everything, and the Democrats went into the next presidential campaign with the alliterative war-cry, "Fifty-four forty or fight"; but popular interest in the question was not strong enough to sustain this bold policy. Great western statesmen, like Benton, appreciated the importance of Oregon much better than great eastern statesmen like Webster; but none were fully alive to its importance, and the southerners, represented by Calhoun, felt little interest in a territory which seemed quite unavailable for the making of slave states. Accordingly in 1846 the matter was compromised with Great Britain, and the territory was divided at the forty-ninth parallel, all above that line being British, all below American. If the feeling of national solidarity in the United States had been nearly as strong as it is to-day, we should probably have insisted upon our claim to the whole; in which case we should now, since our purchase of Alaska from Russia, possess the whole Pacific coast north of Mexico to Behring's Strait. It is perhaps to be regretted that such a bold policy was not pursued in 1846. It had many chances of success, for

our available military strength, all things considered, was then probably not inferior to that of Great Britain.

Very different was the popular feeling with regard to Texas. That magnificent country, greater in extent than any country of Europe except Russia, had been settled by emigrants from the United States, and in 1835 had rebelled against Mexican rule. In 1836 the American General Houston had defeated the Mexican General Santa Anna in the decisive battle of San Jacinto, and won the independence of Texas. After this the slave-holders of the southern states wished to annex Texas to the Union. Lying south of the parallel of 36° 30′, it might become a slave state, and it was hoped that it might hereafter be divided into several states, so as to maintain the weight of the southerners in the United States Senate. After the admission of Arkansas in 1836, and Michigan to balance it in 1837, the South had no more room for expansion, unless it should acquire new territory; whereas the North had still a vast space westward at its command. It seemed likely that the North would presently gain a steady majority in the Senate; and in the House of Representatives, where strength depended on population, the North was constantly gaining, partly because the institution of slavery prevented the South from sharing in the advantages of the emigration from Europe, and partly for other reasons connected with the inferiority of slave labor to free labor. It was, therefore, probable that before long the North would come to control the action of Congress, and might then try to abolish slavery. This was a natural dread on the part of the South, and the abolitionist agitation tended to strengthen and exasperate it. The only safeguard for the South seemed to be the acquisition of fresh territory, and thus the annexation of Texas came now to furnish the burning question in politics, and to array the northern and southern states against each other in a contest for supremacy which could only be settled by an appeal to arms. In the presidential election of 1844, the Democratic candidate was James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and the Whig candidate was Henry Clay; and there was a third nomination, which determined the result of the election. The abolitionists had put forward James Birney as a

presidential candidate in 1840, but had got very few votes; they now put him forward again. The contest was close. The success of the Whigs seemed probable, until the weakness of Clay's moral fibre ruined it, — a lesson for American politicians, by which too few have had the good sense to profit. In the idle hope of catching Democratic votes, he published a letter favoring the annexation of Texas at some future time. This device met the failure which ought to follow all such flimsy manœuvres. It won no Democratic votes for Clay, but angered a great many anti-slavery Whigs, who threw away their votes upon Birney, and thus carried the state of New York over to Polk, and elected him President. It was the most closely contested election in our history, except those of 1800, 1876, and 1884.

§ 4. The Slave Power.

War with Mexico. — The Democratic party, thus reinstated, was quite different from the Democratic party which had elected Jackson and Van Buren. Its policy was now shaped mainly by the followers of Calhoun, the representatives of slavery and nullification, though the latter political heresy was not likely to assert itself, so long as they could control the Federal government. With the election of Polk, the North and South are finally arrayed in opposition to each other; the question as to slavery comes to the front, and stays there until the Civil War.

In 1845 Texas was admitted to the Union, with the understanding that it might hereafter be divided, so as to make several slave states. Mexico was offended, but no occasion for war arose until it was furnished by boundary troubles, due to that peculiar craving for territory which at this moment possessed the minds of the slave-holders. The boundary between Texas and Mexico was a matter of dispute; and early in 1846, Mr. Polk ordered General Taylor to march in and take possession of the disputed territory. This action was resented by Mexico, and led to a war, which lasted nearly eighteen months. In the course of it California was conquered by Fremont, New Mexico by Kearney, and the northern

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portion of Mexico by Taylor; while Scott, landing at Vera Cruz, advanced and captured the city of Mexico. The United States soldiers vanquished the Mexicans wherever they found them, and whatsoever the disparity of numbers. Thus at Buena Vista, Feb. 22, 1847, Taylor routed a Mexican army outnumbering him more than four to one; and some of the exploits of Doniphan in his march to Chihuahua, remind us of the Greeks at Cunaxa or Arbela. Many incidents of the war were quite romantic, and it is interesting to the student of history as having been the school in which most of the great generals of our Civil War were trained to their work. In February, 1848, a treaty was made, in which Mexico gave up to the United States a territory almost as extensive as that which Jefferson had obtained from Napoleon. It brought the map of the United States very nearly to what it is to-day, except for the acquisition of Alaska.

Wilmot Proviso. — This immense acquisition of territory was a most fortunate event for everybody concerned in it; but its immediate effect upon our politics was far more disturbing than anything which had occurred since 1820. The anti-slavery party looked upon the war with strong disfavor, and their sentiments found expression in the most remarkable political poems of modern times, the first series of Biglow Papers by James Russell Lowell. There was a renewal of the sectional strife which had been quieted for a time by the Missouri Compromise. Slavery had been prohibited in the new territory by Mexican law, and the North wished to have this prohibition kept in force, but the South would not consent. To some the simplest solution seemed to be to prolong the Missouri Compromise line from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, but neither party was willing to give up so much to the other. Opposition to slavery had greatly increased at the North since 1820, and this had naturally increased the obstinacy of the South, so that it was becoming difficult to make compromises. In 1846 David Wilmot, a Democratic member of Congress from Pennsylvania, laid down the principle upon which, though not adopted at the time, the North was destined finally to take its stand and march to victory. By the famous Wilmot

Proviso, slavery was to be forever prohibited in the whole of the territory acquired from Mexico. The proviso was not adopted in Congress, but in 1848 it called into existence the Free-Soil party, formed by the union of anti-slavery Democrats and Whigs with the abolitionists. This party nominated Martin Van Buren for President, and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and the Whigs nominated the military hero, Taylor; and neither of these two parties dared in its platform to say a word about the one burning question of the day, — the question of slavery in the new territory. The Free-Soilers decided the election by drawing from the Democratic vote in New York, and so Taylor became President. Taylor was by far the ablest of the Presidents between Jackson and Lincoln; he was brave, honest, and shrewd; and though a Louisiana slave-owner, he was unflinching in his devotion to the Union. He received warm support from the great Missouri senator, Thomas Benton, the most eminent in ability of the Jacksonian Democrats. The political struggle during Taylor's administration related chiefly to the admission of California as a state in the Union.

California. — Hitherto the westward migration had gone on at a steady pace, filling up one area after another as it went along. In 1846 Iowa was admitted to the Union, the first free state west of the Mississippi; in 1848 the admission of Wisconsin at last filled up the region east of that river; and the two states served as a counterweight in the Senate to Florida and Texas. Now the immigration took a sudden leap to the Pacific coast. In 1848 gold was discovered in California, and people rushed thither from all points of the compass, in quest of sudden riches. Within a year the population had become large enough to entitle it to admission to the Union, and there was need of a strong government to hold in check the numerous ruffians who had flocked in along with honest people. In 1849 the people of California agreed upon a state constitution forbidding slavery, and applied for admission to the Union. The southern members of Congress hotly opposed this, and threats of secession began to be heard. The controversy went on for a year, until it was settled by a group of compromise

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measures devised by Clay, who thirty years before had succeeded so well with his Missouri Compromise. It was now agreed that California should be admitted as a free state; and in return for this concession the northern members consented to a very stringent law for the arrest, by United States officers, of fugitive slaves in the northern states. The region between California and Texas was to be organized into two territories, — Utah (including Nevada) and New Mexico (including Arizona); and the question whether slavery should be allowed in these territories was postponed. Before these measures had become law, Mr. Taylor, who, supported by Benton, had taken strong ground against the threats of secession, suddenly died, and the Vice-President, Millard Fillmore, became President. Mr. Fillmore, like his two successors, belonged to the class of politicians whom the southerners called "doughfaces," — men who were ready to make almost any concessions to the slave power, for the sake of avoiding strife.

Effects of the Compromise. — Instead of bringing quiet, as the Missouri Compromise had done, the Compromise of 1850 was the prelude to more bitter and deadly strife. The cruelties attending the execution of the fugitive slave law aroused fierce indignation at the North, and presently produced a book which had an enormous sale, and was translated into almost all the literary languages of the world. "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, was a story written to show what negro slavery really was. The book was written in a wonderful spirit of fairness, rather understating than exaggerating the evils of slavery, and it carried all the more conviction for that reason. Its influence in strengthening the anti-slavery feeling at the North must have been incalculably great. Further service was done in the same direction by the bold speeches and lectures of two famous Boston orators, the lawyer Wendell Phillips and the minister Theodore Parker. At the same time the political attitude of the extreme abolitionists was very unwise. Some of them called the Federal Constitution a "covenant with hell," because it permitted slavery; and seemed ready to see the Union broken up, rather than submit to the demands of the South. Many anti-slavery Whigs,

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without going to such lengths, became disgusted with their party for approving the late compromises, and abstained from voting at the next election. The Whigs having triumphed in 1848 with one of the two chief heroes of the Mexican War, now nominated the other, General Scott. The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce, a northern "doughface"; and the Free-Soilers nominated John Hale, much the ablest of the three candidates. There were 254 electoral votes for Pierce and only 42 for Scott, and this crushing defeat put an end to the Whig party. Its two great leaders, Webster and Clay, had just been removed by death. They were succeeded by such men as Sumner, Seward, and Chase, declared enemies of slavery. Calhoun had also died, and a person of much smaller calibre, Jefferson Davis, succeeded him as leader of the slave-holders.

Kansas-Nebraska Bill. — The slave power was now at its wit's end for new territory in which to extend itself. The stars in their courses had begun to fight against it. The admission of California gave the North a preponderance in the Senate; the wonderful growth of the northwestern states, in which the influence of New England ideas was steadily increasing, was giving it a preponderance in the lower house; and a time was likely to arrive when the South could no longer depend upon the aid of "doughface" presidents. It seemed necessary at once to get a new slave state to balance California, but the available land south of 36° 30′ was all used up. West of Arkansas lay the Indian Territory, while it was a long way across Texas to New Mexico; and on these lines the westward movement of white men was likely to advance too slowly. The impatience of the slave power vented itself but imperfectly in secret and illegal filibustering expeditions against Cuba and some of the states of Central America. It was hoped that Cuba might be conquered and annexed as a slave state; but all these wild schemes failed, and Spain could not be persuaded to sell Cuba. A more practicable scheme seemed to be to get control of the territory lying west of Missouri and Iowa, and introduce slavery there. This land lay to the north of 36° 30′, and was therefore forever to be free soil, ac-

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cording to the terms of the Missouri Compromise. But with the aid of northern doughfaces the South might hope to obtain the repeal of that celebrated compact; and now once more its wishes were gratified, so far as mere legislation could go; but it soon became apparent that it was only sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind. The needed northern leader was found in Stephen Douglas, an Illinois Democrat, who hoped to become President. He maintained that the compromise of 1850, by leaving the slavery question undetermined in New Mexico and Utah, had virtually repealed the Missouri Compromise, and made it necessary to leave that question undetermined in the Kansas-Nebraska territory. There was no strict logic in this doctrine; for Kansas-Nebraska, being part of the Louisiana purchase, was covered by the Missouri Compromise, whereas New Mexico-Utah lay wholly outside the area contemplated in that agreement. But in the stress of political emergencies, it is apt to fare ill with strict logic. In 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed, reopening the slavery question in the lands west of Missouri and Iowa. This was substantially a repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It was a great and alarming concession to the slave power. Douglas and his followers intended it to ensure peace, but its immediate consequence was the great Civil War.

For according to Douglas' doctrine, which was known as "squatter sovereignty," it was now to be left to the settlers in Kansas and Nebraska whether they would have slavery or not. It was a plausible doctrine, because it appealed to that strong love of local self-government which has always been one of the soundest political instincts of the American people. But its practical result was to create a furious rivalry between North and South, as to which should get settlers enough into Kansas to secure a majority of popular votes there. The issue, thus clearly defined, at once wrought a new division between political parties. In the autumn of 1854 all the northern men who were opposed to the extension of slavery, whatever their former party names might have been, combined together under the name of "Anti-Nebraska Men," and succeeded in electing a majority of the House of Representatives.

Soon afterward they took the name of Republicans, and because of their alleged fondness for negroes, their scornful opponents called them "Black Republicans."

The Struggle for Kansas. — The course of westward migration now became determined by political reasons. Anti-slavery societies subscribed money to hasten immigration into Kansas, while Missouri and Arkansas poured in a gang of border ruffians, to make life insecure for northern immigrants and deter them from coming. The plains of Kansas soon became the scene of wholesale robbery and murder. The preliminary phase of the Civil War had begun. A state of war existed in Kansas till 1858, when the tide of northern immigration had become so strong as to sweep away all obstacles and to decide that slavery should be forbidden there. Meanwhile the debates in Congress had grown so fierce as to end in personal violence. In 1856 Charles Sumner made a speech which exasperated the slave-holders; and shortly afterward, Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina, sought out Sumner while he was writing at his desk in the senate-chamber, and beat him over the head with a stout cane until he had nearly killed him. An attempt was made to have Brooks expelled from Congress, but it failed of the requisite two-thirds vote. Brooks then resigned his seat and appealed to his constituents, who re-elected him to Congress by an almost unanimous vote, while many southern newspapers loudly applauded his conduct.

Dred Scott. — In the presidential campaign of 1856, the Democrats nominated a northern doughface, James Buchanan, and endorsed the principle of squatter sovereignty; the Republicans nominated the western explorer Fremont, and asserted the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories, thus planting themselves upon the ground of the Wilmot Proviso. A small remnant of doughface Whigs nominated Fillmore, and tried to turn attention away from the great question at issue, by protesting against the too hasty naturalization of foreign-born citizens. Buchanan obtained 174 electoral votes, Fremont 114, and Fillmore 8. The large Republican vote showed that the northern people were at last awakening to the danger, and it astonished and alarmed

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the South. The secessionist feeling was diligently encouraged by southern leaders who had political ends to subserve by it. The slave power became more aggressive than ever. The renewal of the African slave trade, which had been forbidden since 1808, was demanded, and without waiting for the question to be settled, the infamous traffic was resumed on a considerable scale, and with scarcely any attempt at concealment. In the summer and autumn of 1857, the English fleet which watched the African coast, charged with the duty of suppressing the slave trade, captured twenty-two vessels engaged in this business, and all but one of these were American. By 1860 the trade had assumed large proportions, and was openly advertised in the southern newspapers. Not satisfied with this, the slave-holders strove to enlist the power of the Federal government in actively protecting their baneful institution. The principle of squatter sovereignty had not served their purpose, for they could not compete with the North in sending settlers to Kansas, and in the struggle there they were already getting worsted. They accordingly threw squatter sovereignty to the winds, and demanded that the Federal government should protect slavery in all the territories. The question was brought to the test in a case which was decided in the Supreme Court in 1857. Dred Scott, a slave who had been taken by his owner from Missouri into free territory, brought suit to obtain his freedom. Of the nine judges of the Supreme Court, five were slave-holders, and some of the others were doughfaces. When the case was at last brought before them, it was decided that, according to the Constitution, slaves were not persons but property, and that slave-owners could migrate from one part of the Union to another and take their negroes with them, just as they could take their horses and cows, or the bank-notes in their waistcoat pockets. Two of the judges, Benjamin Curtis, of Massachusetts, and John McLean, of Ohio, delivered dissenting opinions.

The Crisis. — The revival of the African slave trade attracted little notice at the time, in comparison with the Dred Scott decision. The effect of the two, taken together, would have been to drown the whole Union in a deluge of barbarism, to blight the

growth of the American people both materially and morally, and to make us a nuisance in the eyes of the civilized world. The northern people refused to accept the verdict of the Supreme Court, and the northern Democrats, led by Douglas, became unwilling to co-operate any longer with the Democrats of the South. Some of them drifted into the Republican party, others tried to maintain the already effete principle of squatter sovereignty; but nearly all were driven to the unwelcome conclusion that the day of compromises was gone. Thus North and South were at last definitely arrayed against each other, and the air was full of dismal forebodings of war. In the autumn of 1859 a blow was struck, slight enough in itself, but prophetic of the coming storm. John Brown, a Connecticut man of the old Puritan type, had been an anti-slavery leader in the Kansas fights. Now with fanatical fervor he made up his mind to inaugurate a crusade against the slave power. With a handful of followers he attacked the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, in the hope of getting arms and setting up in the wild mountains of that neighborhood an asylum for fugitive slaves. He was, of course, captured and put to death, but his daring act sounded the key-note of the approaching conflict. For that very reason he got at the moment but little sympathy in the North, where the Republican majority, content with the moderate policy of excluding slavery from the territories, were very unwilling to be considered allies of the extreme abolitionists, whom they regarded as disturbers of the peace.

In the presidential election of 1860 there were four candidates. The southern Democrats had separated from the northern Democrats, the Whig doughfaces were not yet extinct, and the Republicans were daily waxing in strength. The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and declared that the Federal government must forbid slavery in the territories. The southern Democrats nominated John Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and declared that the Federal government must protect slavery in the territories. These two parties had the courage of their conviction; the others shuffled, but in different ways.

The northern Democrats, in nominating Douglas, took their

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stand upon a principle, though it was one that had already been proved inadequate; they left the question of slavery in each territory to be decided by the people who should settle in the territory; but in order to catch southern votes, they made a concession similar to that which Clay had made in 1844, and vaguely announced themselves as willing to submit to the decision of the Supreme Court. This weakness, in presence of the Dred Scott verdict, gained them no votes at the South, where they could not outbid Breckenridge, and it lost them many votes at the North.

The still surviving remnant of doughface Whigs nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and declared themselves in favor of "the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws," — a phrase which might mean almost anything. These good people were so afraid of war, that they would fain keep the peace by shutting their eyes and persuading themselves that the terrible slavery question did not really exist, and that all would go well if men would only be good and kind to one another.

In the electoral college Lincoln obtained 180 votes, Breckenridge 72, Bell 39, and Douglas 12. The popular vote for Douglas was very large, but it was not so distributed as to gain a majority in any state except Missouri; beside the nine electoral votes of that state he obtained three in New Jersey. The result of the election was a decisive victory for the Republicans. Its significance was far-reaching. It not only meant the overthrow of the Dred Scott doctrine and the squatter sovereignty doctrine, but it even went back of the Missouri Compromise doctrine, and put an immediate stop to the extension of slavery into the territories. It said not a word about the abolition of slavery in states where it already existed, but it meant that hereafter free labor was to have enormous room for expansion, while slave labor was to have none.

§ 5. The Civil War.

The North and the South in 1860. — The year of Lincoln's election was the census year in which the population of the United States first showed itself greater than that of its mother country.

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In 1776 the population of Great Britain and Ireland was about 8,000,000, and that of the United States about 3,000,000. In 1860 the population of Great Britain and Ireland was about 29,000,000, and that of the United States was over 31,000,000. The agricultural products of the United States far surpassed in volume those of any other country, and in merchant-shipping we were second only to Great Britain, — a fact curious and sad to contemplate now, when our idiotic navigation laws have succeeded in nearly destroying our merchant marine. Between 1830 and 1860 the growth of American civilization had been prodigious in all directions, — in facilities of travel and exchange, in home comforts, in manufactures, in literature and art; and, above all, in that awakening of moral sense which enabled us to pass unscathed through the terrible ordeal of the next four years.

In all this material and moral progress the South had by far the smaller share; not because of any natural inferiority in the people, but simply because of the curse of slavery, which blighted everything within its reach. Where labor was held in disrespect, as the mark of an inferior caste, immigration would not come; railroads, commerce and manufactures would not thrive; ideas from other parts of the modern world were not kindly received; and the advance of civilization was accordingly checked. In 1860, besides their 4,000,000 negro slaves, the seceding states had a white population of about 4,000,000, with which to contend against 23,000,000 at the North; and this enormous disparity was further increased by the still greater superiority of the North in material resources. The struggle of the South for four years against such odds showed of what heroic stuff its people were made; but they had also one great military advantage which went far toward neutralizing these odds. To win their independence it was not necessary for them to conquer the North or any part of it, but only to defend their own frontier; whereas, on the contrary, for the North to succeed, it was necessary for its armies to effect a military occupation of the whole vast southern country, and this was in some respects a greater military task than had ever been undertaken by any civilized government.

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In planning secession the southern leaders realized how great this military advantage was, and they counted upon three other advantages, which, however, they failed to obtain. If they could have won these three other advantages, they might have succeeded in establishing their independence. *First*, they expected that all the slave states would join in the secession movement, which was far from being the case. *Secondly*, they hoped that northern Democrats would offer such opposition to the Republican administration as to paralyze its action. In this they were sadly disappointed. As soon as it came to war, the great majority of northern Democrats loyally supported the government; and the party of obstructionists, known as "Peace Democrats," and nicknamed "Copperheads," was too small to do much harm. *Thirdly*, the southern leaders hoped to get aid from England and France. They believed that the English manufactories were so dependent upon their cotton that the English government would not allow their coast to be blockaded. "Cotton is king," they said. Then the French emperor, Napoleon III., had designs upon Mexico that were incompatible with the Monroe doctrine, and he would be glad to see the power of the United States divided. In these hopes, too, they were disappointed. Napoleon was desirous of recognizing the independence of the South, but unwilling to take such a step, save in concert with England, and he was unable to persuade England. In the latter country there was much difference of sentiment, the working people mainly sympathizing with the North, and fashionable society with the South; but in spite of great suffering from scarcity of cotton, the government could not, without glaring inconsistency, while suppressing the African slave trade with one hand, lend support to the principal slave power on earth with the other. The most it could do was to wink at the departure of a few blockade-runners and privateers from British ports.

Fort Sumter and Bull Run. — As soon as the election of 1860 showed that the slave power could no longer control the policy of the Federal Union, the state of South Carolina called a convention, which on the 20th December passed its ordinance of secession.

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Other states, in which the secessionist party was not quite so strong, now thought it necessary to stand by South Carolina, and in the course of January, 1861, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas passed ordinances of secession. The other slave states still held aloof, political opinions being much divided. In general their people disapproved of secession, but did not recognize the right of the Federal government to defend itself by making war against the rebellion in a seceding state. This doctrine found expression in the annual message of President Buchanan, and his feeble attitude encouraged the seceders to believe that by a brave show of force they might succeed in effecting their purpose without war. In February, 1861, delegates from six of the seceding states met at Montgomery in Alabama, organized a government known as the "Confederate States of America," adopted a constitution, and chose Jefferson Davis for President, and Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, for Vice-President. Their term of office was to be six years. Many United States forts and arsenals were seized, but a few, and more particularly Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, held out. The South Carolinians prepared to attack Fort Sumter, and succeeded in preventing Buchanan's government from sending supplies thither. When Mr. Lincoln succeeded to office, he sent a fleet to aid Fort Sumter; and as soon as the South Carolinians heard of this, they fired upon the fortress and captured it without bloodshed. This event aroused fierce excitement throughout the North, for it showed people what they had hitherto been extremely unwilling to believe, — that the South was ready to fight, and could not be curbed without war. April 15, two days after the fall of Fort Sumter, the President called for 75,000 troops to put down the rebellion, and the response was so hearty that within two months 200,000 men were under arms. The first blood was shed on the 19th, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, when a Massachusetts regiment, hurrying to the defence of the Federal capital, was fired upon by a mob in Baltimore.

Many people in the border states were enraged by Mr. Lincoln's call for troops. The governors of Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia, refused to obey, and those states

seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy, but not with their full force. The people of the Alleghany mountains were loyal to the Union; in eastern Tennessee they aided the Federals as far as possible; in Virginia they seceded from their own state, and formed a new government, known as the state of West Virginia, which was afterward admitted into the Union. Even thus curtailed, the accession of Virginia to the Confederacy increased its military strength enormously. Its capital was at once removed from Montgomery up to Richmond, and it became much easier to threaten Washington, or to invade the North. Virginia was, besides, the greatest and richest of the slave states, and furnished the southern army with its ablest leaders, many of whom — such as Lee, Johnston, Jackson, and Ewell — were opposed to secession, but thought it right to govern their own course by that of their state.

Immense consequences now hung upon the action of the other three border states. Missouri was the most powerful slave state, except Virginia, and the geographical position of Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, was of incalculable military importance. If these three states had joined the Confederacy, they might have turned the scale in its favor. Maryland remained firm, through the steadfast loyalty of her governor and the presence of Federal troops. In Kentucky and Missouri, where the governments were disloyal, the situation soon became stormy and doubtful.

The first campaign east of the Mississippi was in West Virginia, from which the Confederate troops were driven in July by General McClellan. At the same time popular impatience prevailed upon General Scott to allow a premature and imprudent advance toward Richmond. On July 21 General McDowell had nearly accomplished the defeat of General Beauregard in a severe battle at Bull Run, when General Joseph Johnston arrived on the scene with fresh troops, and the Federal troops were put to flight. Until Johnston's arrival the forces were about equally matched in numbers. Some 5,000 men were killed and wounded, so that it was the bloodiest battle that had yet been fought in America by white men; but its only military significance was that it made the South over-confi-

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dent, while it nerved the North to greater efforts. Until the following spring, there were no important operations in the East, except that Port Royal and a few other places on the coast were captured, and held as convenient stations for the blockading fleet. The blockade was soon made effective along the whole length of the southern coast from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, an achievement which most people had thought impossible. The command of the Army of the Potomac was given to McClellan immediately after Bull Run, and in November he succeeded Scott as commander-in-chief of the Federal armies. He showed great skill in organizing the army, which, under his training, became an excellent instrument of warfare.

Affair of the Trent. — Toward the end of the year we came near getting into serious trouble with Great Britain. Two southern gentlemen, Mason and Slidell, were sent out by the Confederacy as commissioners to England and France, to seek aid from those powers. They ran the blockade, and at Havana took passage for England in the *Trent*, a British steamer. Some distance out, the *Trent* was overhauled by an American war-vessel under Captain Wilkes, and the two Confederate agents were taken out and carried to Boston harbor, where they were imprisoned in Fort Warren. This was an exercise of the right of search which the United States government had always condemned, and to put an end to which it had gone to war with Great Britain in 1812. The right had been relinquished by Great Britain in 1856. It was impossible for the United States to uphold the act of Captain Wilkes without deserting the principles which it had always maintained. Mr. Lincoln therefore promptly disavowed the act and surrendered the prisoners, although such a course was made needlessly difficult for him by the blustering behavior of the British government, which had immediately begun to threaten war and get troops ready to send to Canada.

Successes in the West. — In Missouri the secessionist party was very strong, and controlled the state government; but it was completely defeated by the boldness and sagacity of Francis Blair and Nathaniel Lyon, who in May and June, 1861, overturned the gov-

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ernment and set up a loyal one in its place. The prompt action of these two men saved Missouri to the Union. After a brief career of victory, Lyon was defeated and killed, August 10, in a severe battle at Wilson's Creek. The Confederates gained little from their slight success and their hold grew weaker, until in March, 1862, they were thoroughly and decisively defeated at Pea Ridge, in Arkansas, by General Curtis.

Meanwhile in Kentucky the state government had begun by trying to maintain an impossible attitude of neutrality, but the Union sentiment grew stronger and stronger, until in September the Confederate general, Polk, invaded Kentucky and occupied the bluffs at Columbus, blocking the descent of the Mississippi river. Kentucky now declared for the Union, and General Grant entered the state from Illinois and anticipated Polk in securing the mouths of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, two great streams which were to serve as military highways by which the Union armies were to penetrate into the heart of the Confederacy. This was for Grant the beginning of a long and successful, though fiercely contested advance. The Confederates had set up a defensive line from Columbus on the Mississippi river to Cumberland Gap in the Alleghanies, and placed in command of it Sidney Johnston, an officer of high reputation. His head-quarters were at Bowling Green, and he was confronted by a Federal army under General Buell. This was the middle one of the three great Federal armies, and came to be known as the army of the Cumberland. The centre of the Confederate line was at Forts Henry and Donelson, strongholds intended to bar the ascent of the two great rivers. This centre was confronted by Grant, with troops which presently formed the western one of the three great Federal armies, and was known as the army of the Tennessee. The right of the Confederate line was at Millspring, and in January it was thoroughly defeated by the extreme left division of Buell's army, under General Thomas. In February, aided by the river fleet, Grant captured Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, taking 15,000 prisoners, and breaking through the centre of the Confederate line. Johnston and Polk were now obliged to retreat for fear of being cut off.

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Kentucky was secured to the Union, and the greater part of Tennessee recovered. Andrew Johnson was appointed military governor of the state.

The Confederates set up their second defensive line along the railroad from Memphis to Chattanooga, and began massing their forces on this line at Corinth. The armies of Grant and Buell advanced to attack them there. Both these armies were now moving under the directions of General Halleck, who was intending to come from St. Louis and take command in the field. Before he arrived there was a great battle. Grant was at Pittsburg Landing on the west bank of the Tennessee river, about twenty miles from Corinth, awaiting the arrival of Buell's army. Johnston moved to attack and crush him there before the junction of the armies could be effected. There ensued on April 6 and 7 the battle of Shiloh, in which nearly 100,000 men were engaged, and lost one-fourth of their number in killed and wounded. Johnston, who was one of the slain, came near effecting his purpose, but Grant's resistance was stubborn, and at the close of the first day three divisions of Buell's army came upon the scene, so that next day the Confederates were defeated. This battle decided the fate of Corinth, which, however, did not fall for several weeks, because the incapable Halleck now took command of the Federals.

While these things were going on, the Federal fleet under Farragut captured New Orleans and laid open the Mississippi river up to Vicksburg; and the river fleet, at first with the aid of a small army under Pope, captured Island No. 10, and then annihilated the Confederate river fleet at Memphis. The fall of that city and of Corinth broke down the second Confederate line of defence, and laid open Vicksburg on the one hand and Chattanooga on the other, to the attack of the Federals. Thus the first year of active warfare in the West, from June, 1861, to June, 1862, was an almost unbroken career of victory for the Federal armies. To complete the conquest of the Mississippi, it was necessary to take Vicksburg, with its outpost, Port Hudson, which between them commanded the mouth of the Red river, and thus kept open the communica-

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tions of the eastern part of the Confederacy with its states of Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas. To take Vicksburg would lop off these states and inflict an irreparable damage upon the fighting power of the Confederacy. While this object was so important, it was scarcely less important for the Federals to hold Chattanooga, and thus open the way into Georgia, while preventing the Confederates from recovering any of the lost ground in Tennessee. But Halleck was unequal to the situation; and while he failed to seize Vicksburg, which the Confederates soon made one of the most formidable strongholds in the world, he also failed to seize Chattanooga.

Merrimac and Monitor. — The great river fights at New Orleans and Memphis showed that one of the Confederacy's chief sources of weakness lay in its naval inferiority. But before these fights it had seemed for a moment as if it might be going to become formidable on the water, after all. The Confederates took the United States frigate *Merrimac* at Norfolk Navy Yard, and transformed her into an ironclad ram, with sloping sides and huge iron beak. The United States had in Hampton Roads a fleet of five of the finest wooden war-ships in the world. On the 8th of March, 1862, this fleet was wretchedly defeated by the *Merrimac*. Their shot bounded harmlessly from her sides, while she sank one of the ships with her beak, and might very likely have sunk them all, had not darkness stopped the fight. But John Ericsson, the inventor of the screw propeller, had lately completed his invention of the turret ship; and a few hours after the *Merrimac's* victory, the first vessel of this class, the famous *Monitor*, appeared in Hampton Roads. Next day she had an obstinate fight with the *Merrimac*, and compelled her to retire from the scene though she could not destroy her. The immediate effect of this naval battle was to render antiquated all the most recently built ships then existing in all the navies of the world. The naval superiority of the North was no more interrupted, and Federal fleets, supported by small armies, went on seizing the chief harbors on the southern coast, until by the end of the war they possessed them all.

McClellan in Virginia. — The eastern campaigns were not so

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successful as the western, partly because the Confederate generals were much abler, as compared with their antagonists; partly because military affairs were too much mixed up with politics. In advancing upon Richmond, McClellan thought it wisest to start by sea and proceed up the bank of the James river; but the government wished him to march directly across Virginia, in order to keep his army always interposed between the enemy and Washington. McClellan's objection to this course was that the nature of the country offered the enemy a series of immensely strong defensive lines, which could be carried only at a terrible cost of life. He was at length allowed to follow the James river route, but his plan was hampered in a way that ruined it without protecting Washington. Part of his army, under McDowell, was sent by the direct route to Fredericksburg, and in order to keep his right wing within co-operating distance of it, he was obliged to move, not close by the James river, but by the Chickahominy, with his base of supplies on the York river. . Small Union forces, under Banks and Fremont, were also kept in and about the Shenandoah valley. These arrangements were liable to prove very disastrous, if turned to account by skilful adversaries. McClellan justly complained that his plans were so interfered with as never to have left him a fair chance. At the same time he seems to have been very far indeed from making the best use of the opportunities within his reach. At first the Confederates kept him a month besieging Yorktown, which they then abandoned, and retired into the neighborhood of Richmond. In advancing, the need for keeping his right wing thrown out toward McDowell, brought McClellan into an awkward position astride of the Chickahominy river, which by a sudden rise nearly severed the two halves of the army. At the end of May the Confederates pounced upon one-half at Fair Oaks, and in a hard-fought battle it barely saved itself. Joseph Johnston was here wounded, and his place was taken by Robert Lee, whose first move was to send the famous "Stonewall" Jackson to the Shenandoah valley. Jackson easily defeated the forces there, and created such a panic in Washington that McDowell's force was withdrawn for the defence of the capital. McClellan now decided

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to change his base from the York river to the James, and thus secure a much better position. But before he had effected the change, Jackson had returned from the Shenandoah, and the united Confederate army hurled itself upon McClellan, in the hope of crushing him while making the change. After seven days of hard fighting, June 26 to July 1, with a loss of 15,000 men on each side, Lee was driven off, and McClellan reached the James river, in a position where he was more dangerous to Richmond than before.

Meanwhile the scattered forces between Washington and Richmond were put in command of John Pope, against whom Lee presently sent Jackson. Now Halleck, who had been brought to Washington and made commander-in-chief, stupidly played into the enemy's hands by removing McClellan's army from the vicinity of Richmond, and bringing it around by sea to unite with Pope. Lee's hands being left quite free by this clumsy movement, he forthwith joined Jackson and inflicted an ignominious defeat upon Pope at Bull Run, Aug. 29. The capital was threatened; the country wild with excitement. To screen Pope, charges of misconduct and disobedience were brought against one of his ablest officers, Fitz John Porter, who was found guilty and dismissed from the army. The charges were afterward proved to have been groundless, and after a quarter of a century, in spite of the shameful resistance of political partisans, General Porter was restored to his rank in the army.

After the overthrow of Pope, the Confederates pushed on into Maryland, and McClellan again commanded the Federals. At Antietam, on the 17th September, a great battle was fought between 40,000 Confederates under Lee and 60,000 Federals under McClellan, who had about 25,000 more troops unused. Each side lost about 12,500 men, and at the end the advantage was slightly with the Federals. Lee retreated slowly into Virginia, followed by McClellan, who was blamed for not accomplishing more. Early in November he was superseded by Burnside, who accomplished still less.

Western Campaigns. — In June, 1862, the great Union force at

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Corinth was divided, Buell's army marching eastward to seize Chattanooga, while Grant's remained about Corinth till it should be ready to start for Vicksburg. The campaign was so badly managed by Halleck that the Confederates, under Bragg, seized Chattanooga before Buell's arrival, and were thus enabled to bring such pressure to bear in that direction that heavy reinforcements had to be sent from Grant to Buell. Thus weakened, Grant was unable to advance for several months. Meanwhile Bragg took advantage of his superior position to strike across Tennessee and invade Kentucky, in two columns, one directed against Buell's base at Louisville, the other moving through Cumberland Gap toward Cincinnati. This bold movement, occurring simultaneously with Lee's invasion of Maryland, served to alarm the North, but the Confederates failed to recover any of the ground they had lost. Buell's movements were made with great skill, and, after a bloody and indecisive battle between parts of the armies at Perryville, Oct. 8, Bragg retreated through Cumberland Gap and made his way back to Chattanooga.

While these things were going on, the Confederate army in Mississippi, under Van Dorn, made a desperate attempt to turn Grant's left wing at Corinth, so as to force him back down the Tennessee river. That wing was commanded by Rosecrans, who defeated the Confederates at Iuka, Sept. 19, and Corinth, Oct. 3 and 4, and foiled their scheme. Soon after this Rosecrans superseded Buell in the command of the army of the Cumberland. Bragg had advanced to Murfreesborough, and at Stone River, near that town, a battle occurred, Dec. 31 to Jan. 2, in which 40,000 men were engaged on each side, and each lost more than 10,000. Bragg was obliged to retreat to Tullahoma; but the battle decided nothing, except that it is very hard for Americans to defeat Americans, — a point that was fully illustrated in the course of this war. By this time Grant had begun his first movement against Vicksburg, and met with his first repulse; his communications were cut in his rear, and his ablest lieutenant, Sherman, was defeated Dec. 29, in an assault upon the bluffs north of the town.

Emancipation of the Slaves. — Since the South had brought on

this war in defence of slavery, the abolitionist sentiment had grown very rapidly at the North, and it had now become supported by the military needs of the hour. The summer's events had shown that the war was not likely soon to be ended; and there was some fear, lest England, through distress from the scarcity of cotton, should join with France in an attempt to bring it prematurely to a close. It was also the clear dictate of common sense, that in waging such a terrible and costly war, the earliest opportunity should be taken of striking at the cause of the war; otherwise victory, even when won, could not be final, but the seeds of future disease would be left in the body politic. The part which Mr. Lincoln played at this crisis was that of a bold and far-sighted statesman, and entitles him to rank by the side of Washington in the grateful memories of the American people. The Constitution gave him no authority to abolish slavery, but there was a broad principle of military law that did. In 1836 John Quincy Adams had declared in Congress that, if ever the slave states should become the theatre of war, the government might interfere with slavery in any way that military policy might suggest. Again, in his speech of April 14, 1842, he said, in words of prophetic clearness, "Whether the war be civil, servile, or foreign, I lay this down as the law of nations: I say that the military authority takes for the time the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the states where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of slaves." It was upon this theory that Mr. Lincoln acted. In announcing it, he seized the favorable moment when the tide of southern invasion had begun to roll back from Maryland and Kentucky, and on Sept. 22, 1862, issued a preliminary proclamation, to the effect that on the following New Year's Day, in all such states as had not by that time returned to their allegiance, the slaves should be henceforth and forever free. This did not affect the slaves in the loyal border states, who were left to be set free by other measures; but it practically settled the question that the

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re-establishment of the authority of the United States government would be attended by the final abolition of slavery. For a moment it seemed as if the proclamation had weakened the Republican vote, but it really added incalculable strength to the administration; and as for foreign intervention, it made it almost impossible, owing to Great Britain's attitude toward slavery.

The Great Crisis of the War. — The first half of the year 1863 was a gloomy time, for it was not enough that the Federal government should hold its own: it must make progress, and no progress seemed to be made. Grant found himself baffled all winter by the almost insoluble problem how to invest Vicksburg. In May, in one of the most brilliant campaigns recorded in history, he won five battles and laid close siege to that stronghold; but the full measure of his success was not yet reached, and the people were disheartened by defeat in other quarters. In middle Tennessee, Bragg and Rosecrans held each other in check till the middle of June. In Virginia, the incompetent Burnside had been terribly defeated by Lee at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, with a loss of more than 12,000 men. He was superseded by Joseph Hooker, from whose admirable conduct in subordinate positions great hopes were now entertained. But at Chancellorsville, May 1 to 4, Lee won the most brilliant of all his victories. With 45,000 men, against Hooker's 90,000, he succeeded in maintaining a superiority of numbers at each contested point, until he forced his adversary from the field. Lee's loss was 12,000; Hooker's was 16,000; but the Confederates also lost "Stonewall" Jackson, a disaster so great as to balance the victory.

Lee now played a grand but desperate game, and turning Hooker's right flank, pushed on through the western part of Maryland into Pennsylvania, so as to threaten Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. There was intense alarm at the North. The army of the Potomac was moved northward to cover the cities just mentioned, and Hooker was superseded in the command by Meade. The two armies came into collision at Gettysburg, where in a tremendous battle, July 1 to 3, Meade at length succeeded in defeating Lee. About 82,000 Federals and 74,000 Confeder-

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ates were engaged; the loss of the former was 24,000; of the latter, 30,000. That is, out of 156,000 men, the loss was 54,000, or more than one-third; so that the battle of Gettysburg was one of the greatest of modern times. It marked the turning-point of the Civil War, but it was not in itself a decisive victory, like Blenheim or Waterloo. Lee moved slowly back to his old position on the Rapidan, where he and Meade held each other in check until the following spring.

On the next day after Gettysburg, a much more decisive triumph was won by Grant in the capture of Vicksburg with its whole army of defence, nearly 32,000 strong. This was the heaviest blow that had yet been dealt to the Confederacy; its whole western zone was now virtually conquered, and it became possible to concentrate greater forces against its middle and eastern zones. The news of Gettysburg and Vicksburg made the 4th of July, 1863, a day of rejoicing at the North, albeit of mourning in thousands of bereaved homes. The next note of victory was sounded on Thanksgiving Day.

Chattanooga. — Late in June Rosecrans began a series of skilful movements against Bragg, which caused him to fall back into Chattanooga. Early in September, by moving against his communications, Rosecrans forced him to evacuate that place; but in manœuvring among the mountains the Union general suddenly discovered that he had misinterpreted his adversary's movements and thus had dangerously extended his own lines. While thereupon engaged in concentrating his forces upon Chattanooga, he was attacked by Bragg, who had meanwhile been heavily reinforced from Virginia. A terrible battle was fought Sept. 19 and 20, in Chickamauga valley, between 55,000 Federals and 70,000 Confederates, in which each side lost one-third of its number. After an extraordinary series of mishaps had led to the total rout of the Federal right wing, the army was saved by the magnificent skill and bravery of Thomas, who commanded on the left. Rosecrans occupied Chattanooga, but in such plight that he seemed in danger of losing it and his army also. He was besieged by Bragg, who occupied the strong positions of Lookout Mountain and Mis-

sionary Ridge, commanding the town. In October Rosecrans was superseded by Thomas, and Grant was put in command of all the armies between the Mississippi and the Alleghanies. Reinforcements under Hooker were sent from Virginia, and Sherman came up from Vicksburg with a large part of the army of Tennessee. In the brilliant battle of Chattanooga, Nov. 24 and 25, the Confederates were totally defeated, and Grant won another prize of scarcely less value than Vicksburg. The area of the Confederacy was now virtually cut down to the four states of Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia.

Combined Operations Under Grant. — In March, 1864, Grant superseded Halleck as commander-in-chief, with the rank of lieutenant-general. Grant now gave his personal supervision to the army of the Potomac, while retaining Meade in immediate command. After the battle of Chattanooga, the defeated Confederates had retired to Dalton, in Georgia, where Bragg was superseded by Johnston. The Union army opposed to Johnston was commanded by Sherman, and early in May a simultaneous forward movement was begun in Georgia and in Virginia.

Grant had won his great victories at Vicksburg and Chattanooga, not by hard pounding so much as by skilful strategy. Twice at Vicksburg he had tried the hammering process without success. In Virginia, having an immense superiority in numbers (122,000 against 62,000), he at first tried to crush Lee by simple hammering. In pursuing the direct route through Fredericksburg to Richmond, he encountered a series of strong defensive positions of which Lee availed himself with consummate skill. In assaulting these positions, Grant generally failed; but his superiority in numbers enabled him to operate against Lee's right flank, and slowly push him back to the Chickahominy. After a month of this terrible warfare, including the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, Grant had lost 64,000 men, or more than the whole army with which Lee started. Having now reached the Chickahominy, and finding it impossible to break through Lee's lines of defence, Grant changed his plan of campaign and swung round upon Petersburg, to operate against the

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southern communications of Richmond. Here Lee succeeded in holding him at bay for nine months, with forces constantly weakening. Grant's losses could be repaired, but Lee's could not.

The North, indeed, was still rich and flourishing, whilst the Confederacy was at the end of its resources. The food supply from the west was cut off, clothes and tools were giving out, and the blockade was stricter than ever. Farragut's great victory in Mobile Bay closed up that entrance in August, while on the ocean the chief Confederate cruisers were captured. One of these cases — the destruction of the famous *Alabama* in June by the *Kearsarge*, off the coast of France, — was especially interesting, as the *Alabama* was British-built and manned by British seamen and gunners, and the contest seemed to teach a similar lesson to those of 1812. The guns of the *Kearsarge* sent her to the bottom in an hour.

Sherman's campaign in Georgia revealed the exhausted condition of the Confederacy. He advanced from Chattanooga with 100,000 men against Johnston's weaker force of 75,000, and by a series of skilful flank movements pushed him back upon Atlanta, after three battles at Resaca, Dallas, and Kenesaw Mountain, in which the Federals lost altogether about 14,000 men, and the Confederates about 11,000. Johnston's conduct had been extremely skilful, but he was now removed from command. His successor, Hood, believed in hard blows, and soon received some in two fierce sorties from Atlanta, July 22 and 28, in which he lost 13,000 men to Sherman's 4,000. On Sept. 2 Sherman took Atlanta. Hood now made a fatal mistake. He moved northwestward by Tuscumbia and Florence into middle Tennessee, thinking that Sherman would follow him. But instead, Sherman divided his army, sending back part of it under Thomas, to deal with Hood, while he himself prepared to continue his advance through Georgia. Hood, moving northward, was first defeated at Franklin, Nov. 30, with heavy loss, by Schofield. Then Hood encountered Thomas in a great battle at Nashville, Dec. 15 and 16. Hood had about 44,000 men; Thomas about 56,000. The Federals lost about 3,000 men; the Confederates were totally defeated, with a loss of 15,000, and in the pursuit which followed, their army ceased

to exist. Of all the battles fought in the course of the war, this was the most completely a victory. Meanwhile Sherman started from Atlanta about the middle of November, with 60,000 men marched unopposed through Georgia to the sea-coast, and captured Savannah, Dec. 21. Throughout the North, congratulations over these remarkable campaigns mingled with the Christmas greetings.

End of the War. — The foregoing survey shows the Union arms as having advanced, from the beginning, with remarkable steadiness and rapidity, toward the overthrow of the Confederacy; but very few people were able to see this until after it was all over. These four years seemed very long while they were passing, and as people were always hoping for a colossal blow which would at once end the war, they failed to take account of the steady progress which was really being made. Besides this, the operations near Washington naturally assumed more prominence in people's eyes than the western operations, and here the prolonged resistance of Lee served further to confuse the popular estimate of passing events. Lee's defensive warfare was one of the most wonderful things in history, and imposed upon people's imaginations till they were almost ready to forget that even he could not hold out indefinitely, without a Confederacy behind him. Even in the summer of 1864 Lee was able to alarm the government at Washington by sending the gallant Early on an expedition down the Shenandoah valley, like that which Jackson had conducted two years before. In a very able and romantic campaign, Sheridan completely defeated Early; but the impression produced upon the northern mind was great. In the nominating conventions held in the course of the summer, between the battle of Spottsylvania and Sherman's capture of Atlanta, the Republicans nominated Lincoln for re-election; but some radical Republicans, who condemned his measures as too feeble, nominated Fremont; and the Democrats, with scarcely less absurdity, in nominating McClellan, demanded that peace should be made, on the ground that the war was a failure. Before the election, Fremont withdrew his name. McClellan obtained 21 electoral votes from New Jersey, Dela-

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ware, and Kentucky; the 212 votes of the other states not in rebellion were given to Lincoln.

Early in 1865 the Confederacy fell so suddenly that it seemed like the collapse of a bubble. The year opened auspiciously with Schofield's capture of Wilmington, the last Confederate port except Charleston, which fell as soon as Sherman's northward march began. He advanced through the Carolinas, partly over the same route taken by Cornwallis in 1781. From various quarters Johnston contrived to gather 40,000 men to oppose him, but was defeated near Goldsborough, March 19. By this time Lee had made up his mind to abandon Petersburg and Richmond, move by way of Danville, and effect a junction with Johnston. To prevent such a concentration of forces, Grant moved Sheridan southwesterly to Five Forks, upon Lee's right or southern flank. Here Sheridan, in the last battle of the war, secured his position. To avoid being outflanked, Lee was forced to lengthen his line, already too weak; and now Grant, with 100,000 men, broke through it. The Confederate government fled from Richmond, and Lee, driven westward, was headed off at Appomattox Court-house, where on April 9 he surrendered his army, now reduced to 26,000 men. A fortnight later, Johnston surrendered to Sherman, and the war was ended. Never was an overthrow more complete and final than that of the Confederacy, and never had soldiers fought more gallantly than those who were now surrendered. All were at once set free on parole, and no dismal executions for treason were allowed to sully the glorious triumph of the United States. The public rejoicings were clouded by the death of the wise and gentle Lincoln, struck down in the moment of victory by the hand of a wretched assassin. His name will forever be remembered, side by side with the name of Washington; for he was, in many ways, the second founder of the United States. The work of unparalleled glory begun by Washington — of founding a nation so peaceful and so mighty that, through its own peaceful development, it might by and by sow broadcast over the world the seeds of permanent peace among men — was brought to its next stage of completion by Lincoln. So long as the chief

source of contention remained, the future might well seem doubtful. The work of 1776 first came to full fruition in 1865; and when this is duly considered, it reveals the moral grandeur of American history, and suggests lessons which we shall all do well to learn.

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GLOSSARY.

WITH THE PRONUNCIATION OF DIFFICULT WORDS.

By D. H. M.

ĕ, e as in met; ă, a as in far; ā, a as in fate; g̈, g as in get; ṅ, n nearly like ng.

AB'ATIS (literally, *a mass of things thrown down*): a defence constructed by piling up felled trees with their branches towards the enemy's line.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL: principal officer on the staff of commander-in-chief.

ADMIRALTY: see COURT OF ADMIRALTY.

AGRARIAN LAW: a Roman law for the equal division of public lands. In general, any law which divides the property of a country equally among its inhabitants.

AIDE-DE-CAMP (ād'de-koṅ, literally, *a camp assistant*): an officer who assists a general in his military duties, conveying orders and procuring intelligence.

AIX LA CHAPELLE (āks-lă-shă'pel'): a city of Prussia.

ALIEN: a foreign resident, or a person born of foreign parents who has never obtained the rights of citizenship.

AMERICAN FABIUS: see FABIUS.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI: see VESPUCCI.

ANDRÉ (an'dray).

ANTIETAM (an-tee'tam): a creek in Maryland.

APPOMATTOX (ap'po-mat'tox): a river and village in Virginia.

APPROACHES: intrenchments or military works of any kind, such as mounds of earth, etc., by which a besieging force draws nearer to the besieged, while at the same time they protect themselves from attack.

A QUEL REGIMENT? *to what regiment* (do you belong)?

ARCHIVES: here, documents relating to a family; *e.g.*, the Washington archives kept at Mt. Vernon.

ARMADA (literally, *a fleet of armed ships*): the Invincible Armada was a fleet of 130 ships of war sent out by Philip II. of Spain in 1588 for the conquest of England. The expedition proved a total failure, partly through defeat and partly through a tremendous storm which wrecked a great number of the vessels.

ARMISTICE: a temporary suspension of hostilities by agreement of the parties.

AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION: see WAR.

AUTO-DA-FE (au'tō-dă-fā, literally, *an act*, in the sense of a decree or judgment, *of faith*): usually, the execution

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of a judgment of the Spanish Inquisition condemning a heretic to be burnt; hence the public destruction of anything, as the Stamp Act, by committing it to the flames.

AUVERGNE (ō'vairn'): a province of France.

BALBOA (băl-bō'ă).

BALE FIRE: a signal or alarm fire, usually kindled on a height.

BARONETCY: the title and honor of a baronet, an order of rank founded by James I. of England; a baronet has the title of Sir; he does not possess a seat in the House of Lords.

BASTION (from French *bâtir*, to build): a mass of earth, faced with sods, brick, or stones, built out from a rampart, of which it is a part, so as to protect it by the guns of the place.

BATEAU (bă-tō', pl. *bateaux*, same pronunciation): a long, light boat.

BATEAUX: see BATEAU.

BATH: see KNIGHT COMMANDER.

BATTALION: 1. a division of an army in order of battle; 2. a body of infantry or foot-soldiers, varying in number from 300 to 1,000 men.

BATTERY: a body of cannon for field operations, consisting generally of from four to eight guns, with wagons carrying ammunition and artillerymen.

BAYARD (bā'erd): a French knight of the 15th century, renowned for his valor, generosity, and high sense of honor. The "Bayard of the South": Marion, an American officer who exhibited the spirit of Bayard.

BEAT UP: to make a sudden and unexpected attack.

BEAU IDEAL (bō-I-dē'al): an ideal person or thing, any model of excellence conceived by the mind.

BEAUJEU (bō'zhuh').

BEAUREGARD (bō'reh-gard').

BELLES LETTRES (bĕl-lĕt'tr): rhetoric, poetry, history, or polite literature in general.

BILLET: to quarter or place soldiers in private houses.

BIVOUAC: to encamp in the open air without tents or covering. It is usually done on the eve of a battle when the enemy are close at hand.

BLACKMAIL: any kind of extortion, especially extortion by means of intimidation or threats.

BLOCK-HOUSE: a fortress constructed of heavy timber.

BOMB (bum): a hollow ball of iron filled with explosive material — now usually called a shell. It is fired from a mortar or short cannon, and so arranged that it bursts with great violence just as it strikes the object aimed at.

BOMB-KETCH (bum'kech): a small, strongly built vessel for throwing bombs in an attack by sea.

BOOM: a chain or other obstruction fastened across a river or harbor to prevent the passage of an enemy's ships.

BOROUGH: in Virginia, a district or town sending one or more burgesses or representatives to the legislature called the House of Burgesses.

BOSTON TEA-PARTY: a popular name given to an occurrence in Boston Harbor, when, on Dec. 15, 1773, a body of citizens disguised as Indians destroyed a large quantity of tea which the British government was attempting to land against the will of the colonists.

BOUNTY: a premium offered by government to induce men to enlist in military service.

BOUQUET (boo'kay').

BOURLAMAQUI (boor'lă-mă'kē').

BRIGADE: a division of troops consisting of several regiments or battalions.

BURGESS: see BOROUGH.

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BURNING IN EFFIGY: see EFFIGY.

BUSH-FIGHTER: one who fights from behind trees or bushes.

CABAL: a number of persons united in a secret purpose or intrigue, generally of a political character.

CABINET: a council of state, those who manage the affairs of a government.

CALLIGRAPHY: fine or ornamental penmanship.

CANISTER SHOT: shot enclosed in a metal case; when fired from a cannon the case bursts, and the shot scatter in every direction with deadly effect.

CANTON: to quarter or station an army, to establish a camp.

CANTONMENT (literally, *a small district* or *territory*): the place where an army, or any part of it, is quartered.

CAPTAIN-GENERAL: the commander-in-chief of an army.

CARRIAGE: a wagon or wheeled vehicle of any kind for carrying ammunition, military supplies, or artillery.

CARRYING-PLACE: a narrow tract of land across which merchandise, military stores, etc., are carried from one navigable body of water to another.

CARTIER (kar'tē-ā').

CARTOUCHE-BOX: a box for carrying cartridges or ammunition.

CARTRIDGE-PAPER: a paper used in making cartridges.

CAVALIER: a name given to a member of the party, chiefly country gentlemen and nobles, that maintained the cause of Charles I. during the Civil War in England. The cavaliers were noted for their dashing and daring horsemanship; hence the name.

CAVALRY: a body of soldiers on horseback. They are classified as light and heavy cavalry with reference to the size of the men and horses and their equipments. A complete regiment of cavalry is divided into four squadrons, and each of them into troops of sixty-eight men each.

CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS: formerly all books, newspapers, etc., were examined by censors or officers appointed for that purpose in order to prevent the publication of anything obnoxious to the government or to the church.

CHANCERY: a high court of justice.

CHARGER: a war-horse.

CHARTER (Lat. *charta*, parchment or paper on which anything may be written): 1. in colonial history, a solemn written grant made by the king to a colony, conferring or securing certain rights and privileges, such as the power of making laws, electing magistrates, etc.; 2. an act of incorporation or establishment, as a bank charter.

CHAUDIÈRE (shō-de-air'): a river and lake of Canada.

CHEVALIER (shev'a-leer'): a French title of rank, a member of certain orders of knighthood.

CHEVAUX DE FRISE (shev'o'de-frēz'): pieces of timber traversed with long projecting wooden or iron spikes and used to defend a passage against the advance of cavalry. Felled trees are also sometimes used for the same purpose, their projecting branches being turned towards the enemy.

CHIHUAHUA (che-wah'wah): a city of Mexico.

CIPHER: a secret character used in writing.

CLARION: a kind of trumpet giving a very clear and shrill sound.

CLAYMORE: usually, a double-edged broadsword resembling the large, heavy swords formerly used by the Scotch Highlanders.

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COCKADE: a knot of ribbon or a leather rosette worn on the hat as a badge.

COHORN: a small portable mortar or cannon for throwing shells.

COLIGNY (ko'lēn'ye').

COLUMN: a body of troops, narrow in front, but deep from front to rear — the opposite of a *line*, which is extended in front with but little depth.

COMMISSARIAT: 1. that department of an army whose duty it is to supply provisions, transports, camp equipage, forage for horses, etc.; 2. the body of officers in that department usually under the command of a commissary-general.

COMMISSARY: an officer in the commissariat.

CONOCOCHEAGUE (kon'o-ko-chig'): a river of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

CONTINENTAL: a soldier belonging to the army of Congress or the United States during the war of American independence. The American army before Boston was called the *Continental Army* in distinction from that under the British commander, General Gage, which was called the *Ministerial Army*, because representing the ministry or government of England.

CONTRECŒUR (kontr'-kur').

CORDON: a line of military posts or sentinels.

CORPORAL: the lowest officer of a body of foot-soldiers.

CORPS (kōr, literally, *a body*): a body of troops; any division of an army.

CORPS DE RESERVE: a body of reserved troops.

CORVETTE: a war-vessel carrying a single tier of guns and having no quarter-deck.

COUP DE GRACE (koo'dĕ-grăs', literally, *a stroke of mercy*): originally, the fatal blow given by an executioner to a criminal on the wheel or rack in order to end his sufferings — a finishing stroke, a death-blow.

COUP DE MAIN (koo'deh-măn', literally, *a stroke* or *blow of the hand*): a sudden and unexpected enterprise or attack.

COURT-MARTIAL: a court of military officers organized for the trial of military offences.

COURT OF ADMIRALTY: a tribunal having jurisdiction in maritime cases, whether civil or criminal, such as disputes between joint owners of vessels, mutiny, etc.

COVENANT: an oath taken by the Scottish Puritans to maintain their religion.

COVENANTER: one who swore to maintain the Covenant. The Covenanters resisted the attempts of Charles II. to enforce the rites of the Church of England.

COVER: 1. a hiding-place; 2. to protect or defend.

COVER: the table furniture for the use of one person, such as a plate, spoon, knife and fork, glass, napkin, etc.

COW-BOY: one of a band of marauders during the American Revolution, generally a deserter or refugee belonging to the British side, who infested the neutral ground between the British and American lines, and plundered the Revolutionists. A similar class belonging to the American side were called "Skinners."

CULLODEN: a place in Scotland where the Scottish rebels, headed by the Young Pretender, who claimed the English throne, were defeated by the English forces in 1746. After the battle many Scotch Highlanders fled to America.

DEATH'S-HEAD: a human skull, or a figure or a painting representing one, often with two bones crossed beneath.

DEFILE: to march off in a line, or file by file.

DE MONTS (deh-mon').

DEPLOY (literally, *to unfold*): to extend or form in a line of small depth troops that have been previously formed in one or more columns.

DETTINGEN: see WAR OF AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

DICTATORIAL: after the manner of a Roman dictator, a magistrate invested with unlimited power, both civil and military; hence, any absolute or arbitrary power.

DIESKAU (dees'kōw).

DIVISION: a part of an army; specifically, two or three brigades commanded by a major-general.

DOUBLE SAP: see SAP.

"DOWER NEGROES": negroes included in the property which a woman brings to her husband in marriage, or those to which she has a right after his death.

DRAGOON: a cavalry or horse-soldier, styled heavy or light dragoon, according to his arms, etc.

DUCHY: the dominions of a duke; a dukedom.

DUQUESNE (dū'kāne').

EDICT OF NANTZ (or NANTES): see HUGUENOT.

EFFIGY: an image or picture. "To burn in effigy": to burn the image or picture of a person as an expression of contempt or dislike.

EMBRASURE: an opening in a wall or parapet through which cannon are fired.

ENFILADE: to pierce or rake a line of troops or a military work with shot through its whole length.

ENSIGN: an officer who formerly carried the ensign, or colors, of the regiment.

ENTAIL: 1. an estate which by law can descend only to a particular heir or heirs, as to the eldest son, and at his death to his eldest son, and so on; 2. to settle the descent of an estate so that it shall descend only to a certain heir or heirs — to transmit in an unalterable course or line.

ESCALADE: 1. a furious attack made by troops on a fortified place, in which ladders are used to scale or mount the walls; 2. to scale or mount a fort with ladders.

EXPRESS: a messenger sent on a particular errand or occasion.

FABIAN: delaying, avoiding battle after the manner of the Roman general Fabius.

FABIUS: a celebrated Roman who conducted a war against the Carthaginian general Hannibal, and whose policy was to wear out the enemy by delay rather than risk a battle in the open field. Washington's circumstances were such that at more than one period he found it expedient to follow this policy; hence the name, *American Fabius*.

FANFARONADE: 1. a flourish of trumpets; 2. bluster, empty boasting.

FASCINE: a bundle of sticks used in strengthening ramparts in fortifications, or in filling ditches, in order to make a passage for troops to pass over in making an attack.

FATIGUE DUTY, etc.: the work of soldiers distinct from the use of arms, as digging trenches, building fortifications, etc. "Fatigue party": one engaged in fatigue duty.

FAUQUIER (fōk'ē-ā').

FEINT (faint): a pretended attack.

FÊTE (fate, literally, *a feast*): a holiday or festival.

FEUDAL (from *feud*, cattle or property): that which relates to the feudal system, a form of government formerly prevailing in Europe, under

which all land was held either directly from the king as supreme owner, or from one of the king's tenants, on condition of doing military or other service by way of rent.

FEU DE JOIE (fed-zhwä', literally, *fire of joy*): a bonfire, or a firing of guns in token of joy.

FIELD-MARSHAL: the highest rank conferred in the British or French armies.

FIELD-PIECE: a small cannon mounted on wheels for use on the battle-field.

FILIBUSTERING: the act of engaging in lawless military expeditions, especially for plunder.

FIORD (fyôrd, pronounced in one syllable): a long, narrow inlet bounded by high banks or rocks. Fiords are common on the coast of Norway.

FIRELOCK: a musket, or other gun having a flint-lock in distinction from modern guns, which are fired by a percussion-lock.

FIRE-SHIP: a vessel filled with combustible materials, such as tar, oil, etc., and furnished with grappling-irons to hook on and set fire to an enemy's ships.

FIRST CONSUL: the title given to the first one of three chief magistrates or rulers of France from 1799–1804.

FLANK: 1. the side of an army or of any body of troops; 2. that part of a fort which defends another part; 3. to attack the flank of the enemy, to take them at a disadvantage.

FLOTILLA: a small fleet or a fleet of small vessels.

FLYING SQUADRON: see SQUADRON.

FONTAINEBLEAU (fōn'tān-blō'): a place near Paris.

FONTENOY: see WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

FORLORN HOPE: 1. an advance body of troops or skirmishers; 2. a detachment of men appointed to lead an assault on a fort or to perform any perilous service.

FOSSE (foss): a trench or moat around a fort.

FRANK: to exempt from charge for postage, the privilege of sending letters, etc., free.

FREEMAN: in the colonial history of America, a person entitled to vote, one having all the privileges of citizenship.

FRIGATE: a fast-sailing armed vessel or man-of-war, usually carrying from thirty to sixty guns.

FURLOUGH: permission given to a soldier to be absent from service for a specified time.

FUSEE: a small, light musket.

FUSILEER: a soldier armed with a light musket.

GABION: a large, tall basket filled with earth to shelter men from an enemy's fire. Fascines (bundles of sticks) are usually placed on the top of a row of gabions.

GALLEY: a low, flat-built vessel navigated with sails and oars.

GARTER: see KNIGHT OF THE GARTER.

GENERAL: a beat of drum which notifies the infantry to be ready to march.

GENERAL COURT: a name sometimes given to a state legislature.

GENET (zheh'nay').

GENII (gē'ni-ī, plural of *genius* or *genie*): good or bad spirits.

GLEBE: the land belonging to a parish church.

GONDOLA: in the United States, a large, flat-bottomed boat for carrying produce; also used to transport troops.

GORGES (gor'jez).

GORGET: armor for the throat; also, a high leather collar.

GOURGUES (goorg̃).

GRAPESHOT: cannon-shot about the

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size of very large grapes. They are so packed that when fired they scatter with great destructive force.

GREENS: the name of a famous British corps, or regiment, derived from the color of their uniforms.

GRENADIER: originally a soldier who threw small explosive shells called grenades. When hand-grenades ceased to be used, the name "grenadier" was retained for the companies who were picked men of more than ordinary height, and were distinguished by a particular dress which included a high bear-skin cap. In the British army the grenadier company was the first of each battalion. Later the name was given to a regiment of guards.

GROTON (graw'ton): a town in Massachusetts.

GUERILLA WARFARE (literally, *little* or *petty warfare*): warfare carried on in an irregular manner by independent bands of armed countrymen.

GUICHEN (ghee'shoṅ'): a village of France.

GUINEA: an English gold coin no longer used — worth a little more than $5.

GUNBOAT: a small vessel fitted to carry one or more heavy cannon, and from its light draught capable of running close inshore or up rivers.

HABEAS CORPUS (literally, *you may have the body*): in law, a writ to inquire into the cause of a person's imprisonment or detention, with the view of obtaining his liberation. It was established by act of Parliament in the reign of Charles II. (1679) to prevent the king from detaining persons in custody without bringing them to trial.

HALCYON: calm, peaceful, happy.

HAMPSHIRE GRANTS: a name given during the Revolution to a part of the country lying west of the Connecticut River and now included in the state of Vermont.

HARD MONEY: silver or gold coin as opposed to the Continental or paper money issued by the American government during the Revolution, which soon fell in value so that a dollar of it was worth only a small part of that sum, and eventually ceased to have any value whatever.

HEAVY DRAGOON: see DRAGOON.

HELL GATE: a narrow and rocky part of the East River near the upper end of New York City; it received its name from the difficulty and danger which formerly attended its navigation.

HESSIAN: one of a body of troops from Hesse-Cassel and other German states, hired by the British government to aid in suppressing the American Revolution. These mercenaries were often employed in expeditions where plundering, burning, and other brutal acts were the prominent features; and for this reason they were especially detested by the colonists.

HOLY ALLIANCE: a treaty concluded in 1815 between the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, of which the declared object was to establish a union of the three forms of Christianity — the Greek Church, the Roman Church, and Protestantism — as a foundation for government.

HORNWORK: an outwork in fortification, consisting of angular points or horns.

HOUSE OF BURGESSES: a name given to the Virginia legislature. See BURGESS.

HOWITZER: a short, light cannon specially designed for the horizontal firing of shells or bombs.

HUGER: (ū'jee').

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HUGUENOT (hū'ge-not) : a French Protestant of the sixteenth century. By a law called the Edict of Nantz or Nantes, Henry IV. of France granted toleration to his Protestant subjects in 1598. In 1685 Louis XIV. revoked the Edict. Persecution again began against the Huguenots, and thousands fled to England and Germany. Eventually many, among whom were the ancestors of Paul Revere, emigrated to America and took an active part in the Revolution.

HULLED : to hull, to pierce the hull or body of a ship with a cannon-ball.

HUSSAR : one of a company of light cavalry.

IMPEACH : to accuse by public authority. In the United States, a charge of impeachment is brought by the House of Representatives and tried by the Senate.

INDENTURE : any bond or covenant, but usually one made between a master and his apprentice; each party to the agreement keeps a copy of the paper. Originally, this was one sheet which was cut in two in an indented or irregular line, so that each part might correspond with the other, and thus prove it genuine.

INFANTRY : soldiers that serve on foot, as distinguished from cavalry or horse soldiers. Infantry are classed as light or heavy, according to their equipments.

INTERIM : the meantime; time intervening.

INVINCIBLE ARMADA : see ARMADA.

IROQUOIS (Ir'o-kwoy).

ISLE AUX NOIX (eel'ō-nwä', *nut-tree island*) : an island near Quebec.

JEAN RIBAUT (zhän re'bō').

JUNIUS : the name assumed by the unknown writer of a series of remarkable political letters, published in a London newspaper in the reign of George III., severely criticising the king and the government.

JUSTIFICATION : in theology, the act or state by which a person is accounted just or righteous in the sight of God; that by which he is saved, as justification through faith in Christ, or justification through good works.

KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE BATH : a member of an English military order instituted or revived by George I. in 1725. It originally consisted of the king, a grand master, and thirty-six companions.

KNIGHT OF THE GARTER : a member of one of the most exclusive and illustrious orders of military knighthood in Europe, founded in the fourteenth century, by Edward III. of England. It is nominally limited to twenty-six members.

KOSCIUSKO (kos-yoo'sko, Polish pron.) : a Polish patriot of noble family who came to America in 1777, and fought with distinction at New York and Yorktown, gaining the friendship of Washington. After the Revolution he returned to his native country.

LA MOTHE (lah'mot').

LARGE PICKETS : see PICKETS.

LAUZUN (lō'zun') : a town of France.

LECTURES : Mrs. Hutchinson's lectures consisted in preaching and discussing the theological doctrines of her day.

LEGION : a body of troops.

LETTER IN CIPHER : see CIPHER.

LETTER OF MARQUE : usually, a government commission, granted to the commander of a private ship, to attack and seize the vessels of another nation by way of retaliation or as an offset to seizures made by them.

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LEVY: troops raised by government.
LIGHT DRAGOON: see DRAGOON.
LIGHT HORSE: see CAVALRY.
LIGHT TROOPS: soldiers selected and equipped for rapid movement. They are often employed to protect other troops.
LINE: usually, the infantry of an army, but sometimes used of cavalry.
LINE-OF-BATTLE-SHIP: see SHIP-OF-THE-LINE.
LINSTOCK: a match formerly used for firing a cannon.
LORD OF THE MANOR: see MANOR.

M.: an abbreviated prefix to French names of persons, as M. Girard, signifying Monsieur, and equivalent to the English Mr.
MACARONI: one of a body of Maryland troops in the Revolution, remarkable for their showy uniforms.
"MACHINE POLITICIAN": one who regards politics as a trade requiring little intelligence and no principle.
MAGAZINE: a strong building, usually fireproof, for storing gunpowder and other explosives; also, a room on a man-of-war used for the same purpose.
MAGELLAN (ma-jellan').
MANOR: (măn'or) the estate of a lord or of a person of rank.
MANORIAL COURT: a domestic court held within the manor for settling disputes among tenants, punishing offences, etc.
MARBOIS (mar'bwah').
MARQUETTE (mar'ket').
MARQUISATE: the dignity or estate of a marquis.
MARTINET: a military or naval officer who is an exceedingly strict disciplinarian; one who is very particular about little things.
MCCREA (mak-krā).
MÊLÉE (mā-lā): a general or confused fight; a hand-to-hand contest.
MIDSHIPMAN: a petty officer in the navy, occupying the highest rank among the petty officers.
MILITIA: a body of citizens trained to the exercises of war for the defence of a country, but not permanently organized during peace, or under government pay like regular troops.
MINISTERIALIST: 1. one of a party who upheld the British ministry in their tyrannical measures against the American colonies; 2. Ministerialist army, etc., the troops sent to America by the British government to suppress the Revolution.
MINUTE MAN: one of a body of American troops who held themselves ready for service at a minute's notice.
MIREPOIX (meer'pwah').
MORTAR: a short cannon with a large bore, used for throwing bombs, shells, etc.
MOTHE (mot).
MYRMIDON: a soldier of a rough character, one of a ruffianly band following an unscrupulous leader.

NARROWS: a short strait which connects New York harbor with the lower bay.
NETHERLANDS: the Low Countries, now known as Holland and Belgium; when the Dutch from Holland established a colony in America, they called it New Netherland. The British, when they seized it, changed the name to New York, in honor of the Duke of York, Charles II.'s brother, who became James II.
NINETY-SIX: a fort on the site of the village of Cambridge, in Abbeville District, South Carolina. It was so named because it was ninety-six miles from the frontier fort Prince George, on the Keowee River.
NOBLESSE: the nobility of France. It differed from that of England in the

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fact that all the children of noble parents inherited their parents' rank and privileges, while in England these were, and still are, restricted to the eldest son. Here the word is used of the French nobility of Canada.

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER: an officer not holding a commission from the government; a subordinate officer below the rank of lieutenant, as a sergeant or corporal.

NORMAN CONQUEST: the invasion and conquest of England by the Normans under Duke William of Normandy (France) in 1066.

NOUS Y VOICI: *here we are.*

NULLIFICATION: specifically, the act of a state annulling or rendering void an enactment of the general government on the ground that it is unconstitutional.

OFFING: that part of the sea beyond the mid-line between the coast and horizon.

OLD RÉGIME (ray'zheem'): an ancient or former system of government and society, especially that which prevailed in France before the Revolution of 1789.

OLIGARCHY: 1. government by a small, exclusive class; 2. those who form such a class.

ORDERLY BOOK: a book for every company of troops in which the orderly sergeant or officer of the day writes general and regimental orders.

ORDERLY SERGEANT: see ORDERLY BOOK.

ORDNANCE: cannon or other artillery.

ORLEANS (or'lā'oñ').

OURS (oor).

PALATINATE: the province ruled over by a palatine or noble having royal powers and privileges. Such provinces were practically answerable, not to the king, but to the person who governed them. One of the old divisions of Germany was commonly called the Palatinate.*

PALISADE: 1. a row of strong stakes or posts set upright firmly in the ground as a fortification; 2. to surround or fortify with palisades.

PALLADIUM (from the goddess Pallas, whose image protected Troy): anything that protects, as the Constitution of the United States is the palladium of Liberty.

PALMETTO: a kind of palm growing in the Southern States; it is very soft and spongy and may be cut with a knife.

PAR: the original or standard price of any stock or coin: thus the par value of a dollar is one hundred cents, and of a share of stock usually one hundred dollars.

PARALLEL: a trench cut in the ground before a fortress, parallel to its defences, for the purpose of covering the besiegers from the guns of the place.

PARK OF ARTILLERY: the train of artillery with ammunition, etc., which accompanies an army to the field.

PARLEY: 1. to confer with an enemy, as on an exchange of prisoners, or the subject of a surrender or peace; 2. a conference with an enemy. "To beat a parley": to beat a drum as a signal for holding a parley.

PAROLE: a promise given by a prisoner of war that he will not try to escape if allowed to go about at liberty; or if allowed to return to his home, that he will not bear arms against his captors for a certain time.

PARTISAN: 1. one of a party of troops sent on a special enterprise; 2. the officer commanding such a party, a person dexterous in obtaining intelli-

* In England the duchy of Lancaster, the earldom of Chester, and the bishopric of Dur-

gence of the enemy's movements and in annoying them.

PASSE: pass.

PATRICIAN: noble or aristocratic.

PATROON (literally, *a patron* or *protector*): under the old Dutch colonial government of New York and New Jersey one who received a grant of a tract of land with privileges, among which was the right to entail the property.

PELTRY: the untanned or green skins of animals with their fur; when the inner side is tanned, they are called furs.

PICKET: 1. a guard posted in front of an army to give notice of the approach of the enemy, called an *outlying picket*; 2. a detachment of troops kept fully equipped and ready for immediate service in case of alarm, called an *inlying picket*; 3. a small detachment of men, called a *picket guard*, sent out from a camp or garrison to bring in such soldiers as have exceeded their leave of absence.

PISA (pee'zȧ): a city in Italy.

PLANTATION: a colony or settlement in a new country, as Providence Plantations.

PLATOON: formerly a small body of foot-soldiers drawn up so as to form a hollow square or a small body acting together, but separate from the main body. Now, two files forming a subdivision of a company. "Platoon firing": firing by subdivisions.

POLEMIC: a controversialist, or disputant.

POST: "to take post," to establish a military station, to occupy a position with troops.

POSTILION: one who rides (and drives) one of a pair of horses attached to a carriage or other vehicle.

POUND: in English money, the sum of twenty shillings, or nearly $5.

PRAGMATICAL: meddling, officious.

PREROGATIVE: an exclusive or peculiar privilege or pre-eminence.

PRESQUE ISLE (presk eel).

PRESS: 1. to force men into the naval service; 2. a detachment of seamen empowered to seize and press men into the navy.

PRINCE OF ORANGE: afterwards William III. of England.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT: the government of a colony by one or more proprietaries, or proprietors; that is, persons to whom the king of England had granted the ownership of the territory and the right to make laws therein; thus Lord Baltimore was proprietary of Maryland, and William Penn of Pennsylvania.

PROTOTYPE (literally, *the first type, a model*): an original or model after which anything is formed.

PROVINCIAL: the American colonies were originally known as British provinces, or dependencies of the government of Great Britain. For this reason their inhabitants were often called Provincials, a name which was also sometimes given to their soldiers to distinguish them from the regular troops sent over from the mother country.

QUARTERMASTER: an officer who has charge of the quarters (barracks, tents, etc.) of a regiment, and also of the regimental stores of provisions, clothing, etc.

QUIT-RENT: Here, money paid for the privilege of holding land of which the title had been annulled by abolition of the colonial charter.

QUOTA: a certain share or proportion; thus each colony was to furnish its quota of troops.

RAGOUT (ra'goo'): stewed and highly seasoned meat.

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RANGER: a name given formerly to one of a body of mounted troops who ranged the country and often fought on foot.

RANK AND FILE: the whole body of common soldiers.

REDOUBT: 1. usually, a fortification having no defending outworks; 2. a temporary field-fortification; 3. a central stronghold constructed within other works, serving as a place of retreat.

REGICIDE JUDGE (regicide, literally, a *kingslayer*): a name given to a member or judge of the court which condemned Charles I. of England to death.

REGULAR: a soldier belonging to a permanent standing-army; not a volunteer or one of the militia.

REINE (rain): queen.

RENDEZVOUS (ron'deh-voo): 1. a place of meeting by appointment, especially a place for assembling troops; 2. to gather troops at an appointed place.

REPRISAL: 1. the seizure or taking of anything from an enemy by way of retaliation, or as an offset for something taken by him; 2. that which is taken.

REVEILLÉ (re-vāl'yā): a signal given by beat of drum or otherwise at daybreak, for soldiers to rise.

RIBAULT, JEAN: see JEAN.

RICOCHET (rik'o-shet): a rebounding from a flat surface, as of a cannon-ball from the ground.

RICOCHET BALL: a ball fired in such a way that it rolls or bounds along.

ROBIN HOOD: the name of a celebrated English outlaw or robber of the twelfth century. See Scott's "Ivanhoe."

ROCHAMBEAU (rō'shoṅ'bō').

ROUND OF AMMUNITION: sufficient ammunition for firing once.

ROUND-SHOT: a solid shot of cast-iron or shell, generally weighing from three pounds upwards.

ROYAL GREENS: see GREENS.

ROYALIST: originally, in America, a Virginian who adhered to Charles II. of England while that king was in exile. Later, one who defended the king's cause, and was opposed to the independence of the colonies.

ROYAL PROVINCE: a province whose governor was appointed by the king.

ROYALS: the name formerly given to the first regiment of foot-soldiers in the British army — supposed to be the oldest regular corps in Europe.

SACHEM (sā'chem): an Indian chief.

SAIL-OF-THE-LINE: see SHIP-OF-THE-LINE.

SALLY-PORT: a passage from the inner to the outer works of a fort to enable the troops to make a sally or sudden attack on the enemy. Such passages are often constructed under ground; when not in use they are closed with massive gates.

SAP: 1. to dig, sap, or trench; 2. a narrow trench by which approach is made to a besieged place. The earth thrown out in digging a sap forms a rampart or protecting parapet. A *single sap* has such a parapet on one side only; a *double sap* has it on each side.

SAPPING AND MINING: digging a sap or trench and undermining the wall of a fortress in order to blow it up.

SARACEN: an Arab, or Turk; a Mohammedan.

SAVANNAH (or SAVANNA): an extensive plain or meadow, lowland destitute of trees; at certain seasons savannahs are sometimes wet and swampy.

SCHENECTADY (skĕ-nek'ta-dy).

SEINE: a kind of fishing-net.

SEVEN YEAR'S WAR: the war maintained by Prussia in alliance with

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England, against Austria, Russia, and France, 1756–1763. During this war the English conquered and obtained the French possessions in America.

SHIP MONEY: a tax levied by Charles I. on all the counties of England, on the pretext that the money was needed to furnish ships to defend the coast. This was one of the chief causes of the rebellion and civil war.

SHIP-OF-THE-LINE: a man-of-war large enough and of sufficient force to take its place in a line of battle.

[SIC]: *thus, so* (often used of a quotation in which there is something peculiar, to show that it stands thus in the original).

SIEUR (sē-ĕr): a title of respect used by the French.

SIX-POUNDER: a cannon carrying a six-pound shot.

SKINNER: see COW-BOY.

SMALL-CLOTHES: breeches. Before the introduction of trousers, breeches and long stockings with buckle-shoes were generally worn by men. This was the dress at the time of the Revolution.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS: the name assumed by the religious body commonly called Quakers.

SOLDIER OF FORTUNE: a roving soldier who fights for love of adventure.

SOLITAIRE: a black ribbon attached to the bottom of a wig or to the hair, and worn loosely round the neck.

SORTIE: a sudden attack made by a body of besieged troops on their besiegers.

SOUTH SEA BUBBLE: a scheme devised in England, 1711–1720, intended to monopolize trade in the Southern Pacific and Atlantic oceans, and to pay up the national debt of Great Britain. It ended in wild speculation and bankruptcy.

SPANISH SUCCESSION: see WAR.

SPIKE: to render a cannon, which has been abandoned, unserviceable to the enemy, by driving a spike or nail into the touch-hole.

SPRING-TIDE: an unusually high tide, which happens at or soon after the new and full moon. At this time the sun and the moon act together in raising the waters of the ocean.

SPUYT DEN DUIVEL, or SPUYTEN DUYVIL (spī't'n dī'vil).

SQUADRON: 1. usually, the principal division of a regiment of cavalry; 2. a division of a fleet, a detachment of ships of war employed on a particular service, a "Flying Squadron."

STAFF: a body of officers whose duties refer to a regiment as a whole. There is a general staff and a personal staff. The latter consists of persons attached to commanding general officers as military secretaries and aides-de-camp.

STAND-OF-ARMS: a musket or rifle with its usual appendages, as a bayonet, cartridge-box, etc.

ST. CLAIR (in England pronounced sin'klair).

ST. LEGER (in England pronounced sil'li-jer, or sil'lin-jer).

STOCKADE: a barrier or fortification made by planting trunks of trees, stakes, or rough timber in the ground, so as to enclose an area to be defended.

STOCK-JOBBING: speculative, selfish, mercenary.

STRIKE: 1. to haul down a sail or a flag in token of surrender; 2. to take down a tent.

SUBALTERN: an officer holding a position below that of captain; also, any one holding a subordinate or inferior position.

SWIVEL: a small cannon so mounted that it can be turned in any direction.

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TARTAR MOVE: the Tartar tribes of Asia are noted for the suddenness of their movements; hence any expedition undertaken apparently without sufficient deliberation or rashly.

TEMPLE: one of the law-colleges in London, known respectively as the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple. They received their names from the military order of Knights Templars, who occupied the district in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

THREE-POUNDER: a cannon carrying a three-pound solid shot.

TORY: originally one who supported the king and endeavored to extend his power. In the American colonies, especially after the Declaration of Independence, a Tory was one who opposed that measure and defended, either openly or secretly, the cause of Great Britain in its attempts to force the colonies to submit.

TRAILED ARMS: guns carried by the middle, in a slanting position, with the breech or stock near the ground.

TRANSPORT: a vessel employed by government.

TUMBRIL: a covered cart used for military purposes.

TYBURN: the place in London where public executions took place during the last century.

UTOPIAN (from Utopia, the Land of No Where): anything ideally perfect, purely imaginary, or wholly impracticable.

UTRECHT (u'trekt).

VAN: the front of an army or of a fleet.

VANGUARD: the troops who march in the van of an army; the advance guard.

VAUDREUIL (vō'drul', or vō-druh'ye): VERRAZZANO (ver-rat-sä'no).

VESPUCCI, AMERIGO (ä-mä-ree'go vĕs-poot'chee).

VESTRYMAN: a member of a parish or church who has the right to vote at parish meetings.

VICEROY: one who governs in place of a king.

VIDETTE: a mounted sentinel stationed at an outpost or elevated point to watch the enemy and give notice of danger.

VISCOUNT (vī'count).

WAIST OF A SHIP: the middle part of a ship — that between the quarter-deck and forecastle, or that part of the upper deck between the fore and main mast.

WAR HAWK: any person or thing indicating war.

WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION: a war undertaken by England and Holland in 1740 against France, Spain, Prussia, and Bavaria in defence of the right of Maria Theresa to her father's dominions of Austria. England's real object in this war was to maintain the strength of Austria, in order to hold the power of France in check. During this war the famous battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy were fought.

WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION: a war undertaken in 1702 by England (with her allies, Germany, Holland and Portugal) against France and Spain. The object of the war was to prevent Louis XIV. of France from uniting the crowns of France and Spain, which would have given him a controlling influence in European affairs, and also to compel him to recognize the existing Protestant government of England.

WHIG: in England, originally one of a political party that endeavored to restrict the power of the king and extend that of the people. In the Ameri-

can colonies, after the Declaration of Independence, one who favored that measure.

WING OF AN ARMY: one of the extensive divisions of an army, as the right or left wing.

WIRE-PULLER: a politician who operates by secret or underhand means.

YAGER (yaw-ger, literally, *a huntsman*): originally a member of certain German regiments of light infantry or foot-soldiers; any light-armed foot-soldiers carrying a rifle.

YEOMAN: 1. a small farmer, a countryman; 2. a volunteer soldier.

YEOMANRY: 1. the collective body of yeomen; 2. a volunteer military force.

YOUGHIOGHENY (yŏh-ho-gā'nee).

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